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LONDON GAZETTE ACCOUNTS OF THE WAR, &c. &c. &c.

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VOL. VI.

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PREFACE.

THE Sixth Volume of this Collection is now offered to the Public. The termination of hostilities upon the Continent, the conclusion of peace between the Emperor and the French Republic, the republicanising of Italy, and the negotiation at Lisle, render the present at least equal in interest and importance to any of the preceding Volumes. All the official documents relative to those events will be found in this Volume, together with some very important, and hitherto unpublished papers, respecting the United States of America. The Editor must express his hope, that the same assiduity and care will be recognised in this, as have been acknowledged in the former parts of this Collection.

January 1, 1798.

CONTENTS.

	Page
Treaties, Conventions - - - -	i
Proclamations, Manifestos, &c. - - - -	1
Papers on the Negotiation for Peace - -	227
Papers relative to Neutral Powers - - -	278
Parliamentary Papers - - - -	390

APPENDIX.

History of the War - - - - -	1

STATE PAPERS.

TREATIES.

Treaty between his Britannic Majesty and the Landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt. Signed at Franckfort, the 10th Day of June, 1796.

BE it known to those whom it may concern, that his Majesty the King of Great Britain, and his Serene Highness the Landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt, in consideration of the strict ties which unite their interests; and having judged that, in the present situation of affairs, it would contribute to the reciprocal welfare of Great Britain, and of the dominions of Hesse Darmstadt, to cement and strengthen, by a new treaty of alliance, the connexion which subsists between them; his Britannic Majesty, in order to regulate the object relative to this treaty, has thought proper to nominate Charles Craufurd, his envoy at the Imperial and royal armies; and his Serene Highness has nominated, on his part, for the same purpose, the Baron Charles of Barckhaus, his privy counsellor and director of the council of war; who, being furnished with the necessary full powers, have agreed to take for basis of the present treaty, the one formerly concluded between Great Britain and Hesse, the 5th of October, 1793, to adopt such parts of it as may be applicable to the present circumstances, or to settle, by new articles, those points which it may be necessary to regulate otherwise: and as it is not possible to specify each particular case, every thing which shall not appear to be determined in a precise manner, either in the present treaty or in the former treaty, shall be settled with equity and faith, in conformity to the same principles which have been adopted in former instances.

Article I. There shall be, therefore, in virtue of this treaty, between his Majesty the King of Great Britain and his Serene Highness the Landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt, their heirs and successors, a strict friendship, and a sincere, firm, and constant union, so that the one shall consider the interests of the other as his own, and shall strive to promote them with good faith as much as possible, and to prevent and remove all disturbance and injury.

II. His

II. His Majeſty the King of Great Britain deſiring to have in his ſervice a body of troops, to be employed wherever he may think proper, excepting in the Eaſt Indies, or on board the fleet; and his Serene Highneſs wiſhing for nothing more than to give his Majeſty this freſh proof of his attachment, engages, by virtue of this article, to ſet on foot three battalions of infantry, forming a body of two thouſand two hundred and eighty-four men, according to the annexed ſpecification; theſe troops ſhall be ready to paſs in review before his Britannic Majeſty's commiſſioners the 14th day of July of the preſent year, at Darmſtadt, and to begin their march the following day for the place of their deſtination. The general, whom his Britannic Majeſty ſhall appoint commander in chief in the countries where they ſhall ſerve, ſhall have authority to employ them, either together or in detachments, and even to diſperſe them amongſt the different iſlands or diſtricts of his command, in the manner which he ſhall judge the moſt advantageous for his Majeſty's ſervice. It being notwithſtanding well underſtood that theſe troops ſhall always remain under the immediate orders of their own chiefs. The ſaid corps ſhall conſiſt of men diſciplined and exerciſed, and well armed and equipped.

III. In order to defray the expenſes to which the Serene Landgrave ſhall be put for the equipment of the ſaid corps of troops, his Britannic Majeſty promiſes to pay to his Serene Highneſs for each man thirty crowns banco, the crown being reckoned at fifty-three ſols of Holland, or at four ſhillings and nine pence three farthings Engliſh money, of which payment ſhall be made immediately after the review, and according to the effective ſtate as ſhall then be verified. All the camp neceſſaries, as likewiſe all the horſes, waggons, draft horſes, valets de bat, and waggoners, who may be neceſſary for the troops, as well for tranſporting the equipages, proviſions, ammunition, utenſils, ſick, and other objects of every kind, as for the field-pieces, with their implements, and artillery-men, ſhall be furniſhed by his Britannic Majeſty wherever they may be wanted.

IV. Beſides the levy money ſtipulated in the preceding article, his Britannic Majeſty ſhall cauſe to be paid to every officer, as alſo to every one employed, not a fighting man of equal rank, the ſum of three months pay according to his rank, and upon the ſame footing as his national troops, in order to facilitate the expenſe of his private equipment; which payment ſhall be made immediately after the ſignature of the preſent treaty.

V. His Majeſty the King of Great Britain engages himſelf, in like manner, to pay to the Serene Landgrave an annual ſubſidy during the ſix years this treaty is to continue. This ſubſidy ſhall commence from the day of the ſignature, and it ſhall be paid at the rate of eighty thouſand crowns banco per annum. The pay-

ment

ment of this ſubſidy ſhall be made regularly, without abatement, every quarter, to the agent of his Highneſs, in London.

VI. Theſe troops ſhall remain in the ſervice and at the diſpoſition of his Britannic Majeſty during ſix years, and his Majeſty ſhall allow them during this term—

1. Every thing that is neceſſary for their ſubſiſtence, namely, pay, bread, forage, and, in general, all emoluments, as well ordinary as extraordinary, attached to every rank, on the ſame footing that he allows them to his Britiſh troops in the different places of their deſtination; and for this purpoſe the ſtatements of payment ſhall be annexed to the preſent treaty.

2. Medicines and ſuſtenance for the ſick and wounded, with a place, and the neceſſary means of conveyance, wherein they may be treated and taken care of, preciſely on the ſame footing as the national Britiſh troops, by their own phyſicians and ſurgeons.

3. The pay ſhall commence from the day of the review, according to the effective ſtate in which the ſaid corps ſhall be delivered, which ſhall be verified by a table, ſigned by the reſpective miniſters of the high contracting parties, which ſhall have the ſame force as if it had been inſerted word for word in the preſent treaty.

VII. As in the before mentioned table the ſtrength of each company, of which four make a battalion, amounts to one hundred and ſixty-three ſoldiers, it muſt be obſerved that in this number are compriſed ſeven men, unarmed, intended, according to the eſtabliſhed cuſtom in the Heſſian ſervice, to ſerve as ſervants to officers; and it is agreed upon that theſe men ſhall nevertheleſs paſs muſter as ſoldiers in every reſpect.

VIII. As it is to be feared that, notwithſtanding the care made uſe of, it will not be poſſible entirely to prevent deſertion until the arrival of the troops at the place of embarkation, and his Serene Highneſs promiſing to employ every means in his power that the ſaid corps ſhall be embarked complete, it is agreed upon, that there ſhall be at the ſaid review ten ſupernumerary men per company to ſupply the place of deſerters on the march; ſo that, in caſe, on the arrival of the corps at the port, the number of ſupernumeraries ſhall exceed that of the deſerters, the remainder may be diſtributed among the battalions and added to the amount, in order to increaſe, in ſuch caſe, the levy money, pay, &c.; and his Highneſs engages himſelf moreover to cauſe the ſaid corps to be eſcorted by a detachment of cavalry, in order to pick up deſerters, procure quarters, &c. &c. It being well underſtood that the expenſes, as well of the march, as of the return of the detachment of cavalry, ſhall be defrayed by his Majeſty.

IX. All the objects of pay and maintenance ſhall be calculated according to the table of the annual review, ſo that the vacancies

 happening

happening from one review to another shall not make any alteration in the state of payment. His Majesty shall cause these objects to be paid in advance from two to two months, either by assignments payable in favour of the Hessian commissioner upon whatever chest of his Majesty may be nearest to the said commission, or in ready money to his Serene Highness's agent in London.

X. A fresh review shall take place regularly every year: his Majesty shall give three months notice of the number of recruits necessary to complete the corps, which number shall be fixed according to the official report of the first day of April, so that the recruits shall be ready to be delivered to the English commissary the first day of July, at the place of the first review, or one month after, at such port in Germany, or at such place on the frontiers of the Empire as his Majesty may chuse for their reception. The term of their delivery shall be deemed to be that of the new review, and the total of the number of effective men remaining, according to the report of the month of April, added to that of the recruits delivered to the British commissary, shall be considered as the effective state of the new period, and shall not vary until the review of the following year.

XI. There shall be paid for each recruit armed, equipped, disciplined, and exercised, the sum of twenty crowns banco; and his Highness the Landgrave takes upon himself the expenses of transport to the place of embarkation, as well as of escort, which are to be reimbursed by his Britannic Majesty.

XII. As, during the continuance of this treaty, it will necessarily occur, that officers or soldiers, either for family reasons, on account of preferment, or for sickness, will be obliged to return home, his Majesty takes upon himself the expenses of their transport in the two former cases, as far as the frontiers of the Empire, and in the latter, to their own country: his Highness promises, in return, to replace the non-commissioned officers and soldiers to whom he may give permission to return for any other reason than that of sickness, at his own expense, and without requiring the consideration for recruits fixed in the preceding article, reserving to himself nothing but the transport from the frontiers of the Empire unto the place of their destination. Moreover, his Highness will never recal an officer or soldier without urgent cause, or without having acquainted his Majesty thereof; and he will take care that the number of officers shall be always complete.

XIII. The most Serene Landgrave being at the charge of furnishing the said corps with arms and clothing, in consequence of the pay upon the footing of English troops, as agreed upon in these articles, his Majesty shall cause indemnification to be made for such loss only in clothing, arms, and accoutrements as shall be occasioned by some accident of war or of voyage; as well as for

every

every expenſe incurred in the tranſport of theſe ſeveral articles to the troops, and alſo of every thing they may ſtand in need of. It being well underſtood that the aforeſaid articles ſhall be delivered to the Engliſh commiſſary at the ſame time as the recruits of the year, in order that the ſame veſſel may convey both.

XIV. In caſe an officer ſhould loſe his equipage, either on his route or by ſome accident of war, his Majeſty ſhall grant him the ſame indemnification as the Engliſh officers are allowed in ſimilar caſes.

XV. As ſoon as his Serene Highneſs ſhall have put the corps in a ſtate to march, within the term agreed upon, he ſhall be conſidered as having fulfilled his preliminary engagements; ſo that the payment of the levy money, ſubſidy, and pay, ſhall take place according to the aforeſaid determination, even in caſe his Majeſty, on account of ſome unforeſeen event, ſhould not think proper to have the corps reviewed, or to cauſe it to march or embark.

XVI. If before the period of the review his Britannic Majeſty ſhall find himſelf diſpoſed to renounce this treaty entirely, his Serene Highneſs ſhall receive, under the title of indemnification,

1ſt. The levy money.

2d. The equipage money allowed to the officers.

3d. Three months pay for the whole of the troops, according to the table annexed to the ſecond article, &c.

4th. One year's ſubſidy.

XVII. At the end of ſix years, his Britannic Majeſty ſhall ſend back the corps, at the diſpoſal of his Highneſs, in the ſame ſtate in which it was taken into his ſervice, and being at the entire expenſe of tranſport until their arrival at Darmſtadt. It being underſtood that his Majeſty ſhall not pay the levy money for the men who may be wanting at that time, except in the caſe where he ſhall have failed to inform the Serene Landgrave of it ſix months beforehand, in order to ſave his Highneſs the expenſe of a new completion. If by accident the return ſhould be retarded, the treaty ſhall be tacitly prolonged for one year, in every reſpect, and a certain ſum ſhall be agreed upon as an equivalent for levy money, in proportion to the preſent arrangement.

XVIII. If his Majeſty ſhould think proper, after the expiration of the ſix years fixed for the duration of this treaty, to keep the ſaid corps for ſome years longer, his Highneſs conſents to it beforehand; and it will be then only neceſſary to make an arrangement reſpecting the levy and equipage money for the officers, which will be calculated according to the proportions of the preſent treaty.

XIX. His Serene Highneſs reſerves to himſelf the juriſdiction over his troops, as well as all diſpoſitions reſpecting promotion, diſcipline, and interior adminiſtration.

XX. His

XX. His Britannic Majesty grants to his Highness the sum of fifteen thousand pounds sterling, to answer the first expenses of equipping this corps; payment of which shall be made immediately after the signature of this treaty, and shall be carried to the account of levy money.

XXI. Deserters shall be faithfully delivered up on both sides; and neither the soldiers, nor any other persons belonging to the corps of Hesse Darmstadt, shall be permitted to settle in the dominions of his Britannic Majesty.

In witness whereof, we the undersigned, authorised by the full power of his Majesty the King of Great Britain on one side, and of his Serene Highness the reigning Landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt, on the other, have signed the present treaty, and have caused the seals of our arms to be affixed thereto.

Done at Franckfort, the tenth of June, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-six.

(L. S) C. CRAUFURD.
(L. S.) C. B. DE BARCKHAUS.

Treaty of Navigation and Commerce between his Britannic Majesty and the Emperor of Russia, signed at Saint Petersburgh, February 10-21, 1797.

In the name of the most holy and undivided Trinity.

HIS Majesty the King of Great Britain and his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, already united by the ties of the most intimate alliance, and having it equally at heart to cement more and more the good correspondence which subsists between them and their respective kingdoms, and, as much as it is in their power, to make the reciprocal commerce between their subjects prosper, have judged it proper to collect under one point of view, and to fix the reciprocal rights and duties, upon which they have agreed amongst themselves, in order to encourage and facilitate the mutual exchanges betwixt the two nations. In consequence of which, and in order without delay to proceed to the perfection of so salutary a work, their said Majesties have chosen and nominated, for their plenipotentiaries, that is to say, his Majesty the King of Great Britain, the Sieur Charles Whitworth, his envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at the Imperial court of Russia, knight of the order of the Bath; and his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, the Sieur Alexander Count of Besborodko, his actual privy counsellor of the first class, senator minister of the council of state, director general of the posts, and knight of the orders of St. Andrew, of St. Alexander Newsky, of St. Anne of the first class, and grand cross of St. Wladimir of the

firft clafs; the Sieur Alexander Prince of Kourakin, his vice-chancellor, actual privy counfellor, minifter of the council of ftate, actual chamberlain, and knight of the order of St. Andrew, of St. Alexander Newfky, and of St. Anne of the firft clafs, as alfo of the orders of Denmark, of Dannebrog, and of the Perfect Union; and the Sieur Peter of Soimonow, his privy counfellor, fenator prefident of the college of commerce, and knight Grand Crofs of the order of St. Wladimir of the fecond clafs; who, in virtue of their full powers, have agreed and concluded upon the following articles:

Article I. The peace, friendfhip, and good intelligence, which have happily hitherto fubfifted between their Majefties the King of Great Britain and the Emperor of all the Ruffias, fhall be confirmed and eftablifhed by this treaty, in fuch manner, that from the prefent, and for the future, there fhall be between the crown of Great Britain on one fide, and the crown of all the Ruffias on the other, as alfo betwixt the ftates, countries, kingdoms, domains and territories under their dominion, a true, fincere, firm and perfect peace, friendfhip, and good intelligence, which fhall laft for ever, and fhall be inviolably obferved equally by fea and by land, and upon the frefh waters; and the fubjects, people, and inhabitants on each fide, of whatever ftate or condition they may be, fhall mutually treat each other with every poffible kind of benevolence and affiftance, without doing each other any wrong or damage whatfoever.

II. The fubjects of the two high contracting powers fhall have perfect freedom of navigation and of commerce in all their dominions fituated in Europe, where navigation and commerce are permitted at prefent, or fhall be fo hereafter, by the high contracting parties, to any other nation.

III. It is agreed that the fubjects of the two high contracting parties may enter, trade, and remain with their fhips, veffels, and carriages, laden or empty, in all the ports, places, and cities, where the fame is permitted to the fubjects of any other nation whatfoever; and the failors, paffengers, and fhips, whether Britifh or Ruffian (although amongft their crews there fhould be found the fubjects of fome other foreign nation), fhall be received and treated as the moft favoured nation; and neither the failors nor the paffengers fhall be forced to enter, againft their will, into the fervice of either of the two contracting powers, with the exception of fuch of their fubjects whom they may require for their own fervice: and if a fervant or failor fhall defert from his fervice or fhip, he fhall be reftored. It is in like manner agreed that the fubjects of the high contracting parties may purchafe all forts of things which they may be in want of at the current price; repair and refit their fhips, veffels, and carriages; buy all the provifions neceffary for their fubfiftence or voyage; ftay or depart

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at their pleaſure, without moleſtation or hindrance, provided that they conform themſelves to the laws and ordinances of the reſpective dominions of the high contracting parties, where they may be. In like manner, the Ruſſian ſhips which ſhall be at ſea for the purpoſe of navigation, and ſhall be met by Engliſh ſhips, ſhall not be hindered in their navigation, provided that in the Britiſh ſea they conform themſelves to cuſtom; but every ſort of aſſiſtance ſhall be given to them both in the ports ſubject to Great Britain, and in the open ſea.

IV. It is agreed that the ſubjects of Great Britain may carry, by water or by land, in their own ſhips and carriages, or in thoſe which they ſhall have freighted or hired for that purpoſe, into any province whatever of Ruſſia, all ſorts of merchandiſe or effects, of which the trade or entry is not prohibited; that they ſhall be permitted to keep them in their houſes or magazines, to ſell or exchange them wholeſale, freely, and without moleſtation, without being obliged to become citizens of ſuch city or place where they ſhall reſide or trade. By ſelling wholeſale, is underſtood one or more bales of goods, cheſts, caſks, barrels, alſo ſeveral dozens of ſmall articles of merchandiſe of the ſame kind, collected in the ſame place, and in conſiderable lots or other ſorts of package. It is further agreed, that the ſubjects of Ruſſia may carry, in the ſame manner, into the ports of Great Britain and of Ireland, where they ſhall be eſtabliſhed or reſide, all ſorts of merchandiſe or effects, of which the trade or the entry is not prohibited, which is underſtood equally of the manufactures and productions of the Aſiatic provinces, provided that it be not actually prohibited by ſome law now in force in Great Britain; that they ſhall be permitted to keep them in their houſes or magazines, to ſell or exchange them wholeſale, freely; become citizens of ſuch city or place where they ſhall reſide or trade; and that they may buy and tranſport out of the dominions of Great Britain all ſorts of merchandiſe and effects which the ſubjects of any other nation may there buy and tranſport elſewhere, particularly gold and ſilver, wrought or unwrought, except the coined money of Great Britain. It is agreed that Britiſh ſubjects, trading in the dominions of Ruſſia, ſhall have the liberty, in caſe of death, of an extraordinary event, or of an abſolute neceſſity, when there remain no other means of procuring money, or in caſe of bankruptcy, of diſpoſing of their effects, either in Ruſſian or foreign merchandiſe, in the manner in which the perſons intereſted ſhall think moſt advantageous. The ſame thing ſhall be obſerved with regard to Ruſſian ſubjects in the dominions of Great Britain. All this is to be underſtood with the reſtriction, that every permiſſion on either ſide, ſpecified in this article, ſhall be in no wiſe contrary to the laws of the country, and that the

Ruſſian

Ruſſian ſubjects, as well as the Britiſh ſubjects, and their clerks, conform themſelves, on both ſides, punctually to the rights, ſtatutes, and ordinances of the country in which they ſhall trade, in order to obviate all ſorts of frauds and pretexts. It is for this reaſon the deciſions of the ſaid caſes happening to the Britiſh factories in Ruſſia ſhall depend, at St. Peterſburgh, upon the college of commerce, and in the other cities, where there is no college of commerce, upon the tribunals which have cognizance of commercial affairs.

V. And in order to preſerve a juſt equality between Ruſſian and Britiſh ſubjects, both the one and the other ſhall pay the ſame duties of exportation and of importation, whether it be in Ruſſia or in Great Britain and Ireland, whether it be in Ruſſian or in Britiſh veſſels; and no regulation ſhall be made by the high contracting parties in favour of their own ſubjects, which the ſubjects of the other high contracting party ſhall not enjoy, and that underſtood *bona fide*, under whatever name or form it may be, in ſuch manner as that the ſubjects of one of the powers ſhall have no advantage over thoſe of the other in the reſpective dominions.

VI. Every aſſiſtance and poſſible diſpatch ſhall be given for the loading and unloading of veſſels, as well as for the entry and departure of their merchandiſe, according to the regulations made for that purpoſe; and they ſhall not in any manner be detained, upon the penalties announced in the ſaid regulations. In like manner, if the ſubjects of Great Britain make contracts with any chancery or college whatſoever, for delivering certain merchandiſe or effects, on the declaration that thoſe merchandiſes are ready to be delivered, and after they ſhall have been actually delivered within the term fixed in thoſe contracts, they ſhall be received, and the accounts ſhall be regulated and liquidated, in conſequence, between the ſaid college or chancery and the Britiſh merchants, within the time which ſhall have been fixed in the ſaid contracts. The ſame rule ſhall be obſerved in the dominions of Great Britain towards Ruſſian merchants.

VII. It is agreed that the ſubjects of Great Britain may, in all the cities and places of Ruſſia where it is allowed to any other nation to trade, pay for merchandiſe bought in the ſame current money of Ruſſia which they have taken for their merchandiſe ſold, unleſs the contrary ſhould be ſtipulated in their contracts. The ſame is to be underſtood equally reſpecting Ruſſian merchandiſe in the dominions of Great Britain.

VIII. In the places where embarkations are uſually made, it ſhall be permitted to the ſubjects of the high contracting parties, to load their ſhips or carriages with, and to tranſport by water and by land all ſorts of merchandiſe which they may have bought (with the exception of thoſe of which the exportation is prohibited),

hibited), on paying the cuſtom-houſe duties, providing that thoſe ſhips and carriages conform themſelves to the laws.

IX. The ſubjects of the high contracting parties ſhall not pay more duties upon the entry or departure of their merchandiſe than are paid by the ſubjects of other nations. Nevertheleſs, in order to prevent, on both ſides, the cuſtom-houſe from being defrauded, in the caſe of the diſcovery of merchandiſe imported clandeſtinely, and without paying the cuſtom-houſe duty, they ſhall be confiſcated, and the merchants convicted of contrabanding ſhall be ſubjected to the fine eſtabliſhed by the law in ſuch caſes.

X. It ſhall be permitted to the high contracting parties to go, come, and trade freely in the ſtates with which the one or the other of thoſe parties ſhall be, in preſent or in future, at war, provided that they do not carry ammunition to the enemy: with the exception, nevertheleſs, of places actually blockaded or beſieged, whether by ſea or land; but at all other times, and with the exception of warlike ammunition, the ſubjects aforeſaid may tranſport into thoſe places every other ſort of merchandiſe, as well as paſſengers, without the ſmalleſt hindrance. With reſpect to the ſearching of merchant ſhips, ſhips of war and privateers ſhall conduct themſelves as favourably as the courſe of the war then exiſting may poſſibly permit it towards the moſt friendly powers which ſhall remain neuter, obſerving, as much as poſſible, the acknowledged principles and rules of the law of nations.

XI. All cannons, mortars, fire-arms, piſtols, bombs, grenades, balls, bullets, muſkets, flints, matches, powder, ſaltpetre, ſulphur, cutlaſſes, pikes, ſwords, belts, cartouch-boxes, ſaddles and bridles, beyond the quantity which may be neceſſary for the uſe of the ſhip, or beyond that which each man ſerving on board the veſſel, or paſſenger, ſhall have, ſhall be eſteemed warlike proviſions or ammunition; and if any are found, they ſhall be confiſcated, according to the laws, as contraband or prohibited effects; but neither the ſhips, paſſengers, nor the other merchandiſe found at the ſame time, ſhall be detained or prevented from continuing their voyage.

XII. If, which God forbid, peace ſhould be broken between the two high contracting parties, neither perſons, ſhips, nor merchandiſe, ſhall be detained or confiſcated; but the term of a year at leaſt ſhall be granted, for the purpoſe of ſelling, diſpoſing of, or carrying away their effects, and withdrawing themſelves wherever they ſhall pleaſe, which is to be underſtood equally reſpecting all thoſe who ſhall be in the ſea and land ſervice; and they ſhall be permitted, previous to or at their departure, to conſign the effects of which they ſhall not have diſpoſed, as well as the debts to which they may have a claim, to ſuch perſon as they ſhall judge proper, to be diſpoſed of according to their will and profit;

profit; which debts the debtor ſhall equally be obliged to pay as if the rupture had not taken place.

XIII. In the event of a ſhipwreck happening in a place belonging to one or other of the high contracting parties, not only every aſſiſtance ſhall be given to the unfortunate perſons, and no violence done to them, but alſo the effects which they ſhall have thrown out of the ſhip into the ſea ſhall not be concealed, detained, nor damaged, under any pretext whatever; on the contrary, the above-mentioned effects and merchandiſe ſhall be preſerved and reſtored to them, upon a ſuitable recompence being given to thoſe who ſhall have aſſiſted in ſaving their perſons, veſſels, and effects.

XIV. It ſhall be permitted to Britiſh merchants to build, buy, ſell, and hire houſes, in all ſtates and cities of Ruſſia, excepting only the permiſſion of building, buying, ſelling, and hiring houſes in thoſe cities of the empire which have particular rights of citizenſhip, and privileges contrary thereto; and it is expreſsly ſtipulated, that at St. Peterſburgh, Moſcow, Archangel, Riga, and Narva, as well as in all ports of the Black Sea, the houſes which Britiſh merchants ſhall have purchaſed or built, ſhall, as long as they ſhall continue to belong to them, and reſide therein, be exempted from having ſoldiers quartered in them; but ſuch houſes as they ſhall let or hire ſhall be ſubjected to all city taxes, the tenant and proprietor agreeing with each other on that ſubject. As to every other city in Ruſſia, the houſes which they ſhall purchaſe or build, as well as thoſe which they ſhall hire or let, ſhall not be exempt from having ſoldiers quartered in them. It is, in like manner, permitted to Ruſſian merchants to build, buy, ſell, and hire houſes in Great Britain and Ireland, and to diſpoſe of them as it is allowed to the ſubjects of the moſt favoured nations. They ſhall have the free exerciſe of the Greek religion in their own houſes, or in the places allotted for that purpoſe. In like manner Britiſh merchants ſhall have the free exerciſe of the Proteſtant religion. The ſubjects of both the one and the other power, eſtabliſhed in Ruſſia or in Great Britain, ſhall have the diſpoſal of their property, and the power of leaving it by will to whom they ſhall judge proper, according to the cuſtom and the laws of their own country.

XV. Paſſports ſhall be granted to all Britiſh ſubjects who ſhall deſire to quit Ruſſia, after having publiſhed their names and places of abode in the Gazettes, according to the cuſtom of the preſent day, without obliging them to give ſecurity; and if at the time there does not appear any juſt cauſe for detaining them, they ſhall be permitted to depart, after providing themſelves, however, with paſſports from the tribunals eſtabliſhed for that purpoſe. The ſame facility ſhall be granted, on the like occaſion, according

ing to the cuftom of the country, to Ruffian fubjects, who fhall defire to quit the dominions of Great Britain.

XVI. Britifh merchants, who fhall hire or keep fervants, fhall be obliged to conform themfelves to the laws of the empire upon this fubject; which Ruffian merchants fhall be equally obliged to do in Great Britain.

XVII. In all law-fuits and other affairs, Britifh merchants fhall not be under any other jurifdiction than that of the college of commerce, or that which fhall be hereafter eftablifhed for the adminiftration of juftice between merchants. If it fhould happen, however, that Britifh merchants were to have law-fuits in any cities at a diftance from the above-mentioned college of commerce, both they and the other party fhall carry their complaint before the magiftrates of the faid cities. Ruffian merchants in Great Britain fhall have reciprocally the fame protection and juftice, according to the laws of that kingdom, which other foreign merchants have there, and fhall be treated in the fame manner as the fubjects of the moft favoured nation.

XVIII. Ruffian merchants refiding in Great Britain, and Britifh merchants refiding in Ruffia, fhall not be obliged to fhew their books or papers to any perfon whatfoever, unlefs it be to afford evidence in courts of juftice; neither fhall the faid books or papers be taken or detained. If it fhould happen, however, that a Britifh merchant becomes a bankrupt, the affair fhall be under the jurifdiction, at St. Peterfburgh, of the college of commerce, or of that which fhall hereafter be eftablifhed for the purpofe of adminiftering juftice in commercial affairs, and, in the other cities at a diftance, under that of the magiftrate of the city; and the bufinefs fhall be carried on according to the laws which are, or fhall hereafter be made upon that fubject. If, however, Britifh merchants, obftinately refolved not to become bankrupts, fhould refufe to pay their debts either into the banks of his Imperial Majefty or to individuals, it fhall be permitted to arreft a part of their effects, equivalent to their debts, and in cafe thofe effects fhould prove inadequate to that purpofe, they may arreft their perfons, and detain them until the majority of their creditors, both as to the number and value of their refpective demands, confent to liberate them: with refpect to their effects which fhall have been arrefted, they fhall remain in the cuftody of thofe who fhall be appointed and duly authorifed for that purpofe by the majority of the creditors as aforefaid; and the perfons fo appointed fhall be obliged to appraife the effects as foon as poffible, and to make a juft and equitable diftribution to all the creditors, according to their refpective claims. The fame courfe fhall be purfued, in fimilar cafes, with regard to Ruffian merchants in the dominions of Great Britain, and they fhall be protected therein in the manner regulated in the preceding article.

XIX. In cafe of complaints and of law-fuits, three perfons of irreproachable character, from amongft the foreign merchants, fhall be, according to the circumftances of the cafe, appointed by the college of commerce, and in fuch places where there is none, by the magiftrate, to examine the books and papers of the complainants; and the report which they fhall make to the college of commerce, or to the magiftrate, of what they fhall have found in the faid books and papers, fhall be confidered as good proof.

XX. The cuftom-houfes fhall take care to examine the fervants or the clerks of Ruffian merchants, at the time of their enregiftering their purchafes, if they are furnifhed, for that purpofe, with the orders or full powers of their mafters, and if they are not, they fhall not be credited. The fame meafures fhall be adopted with the fervants of Britifh merchants; and when the faid fervants, having orders or full powers from their mafters, fhall have enregiftered the merchandife on account of their mafters, the latter fhall be refponfible therefor in the fame manner as if they had themfelves enregiftered them. With refpect to the Ruffian fervants employed in fhops, they fhall, in like manner, be enregiftered by the tribunals eftablifhed for that purpofe, in the cities where thofe fhops fhall be; and their mafters fhall be refponfible for them, in matters of trade, and in the purchafes which they fhall have made in their name.

XXI. In the cafe of Ruffian merchants who are in debt to Britifh merchants upon bills of exchange, or who have made contracts for the delivery of merchandife, not paying their bills of exchange, or not delivering their merchandife at the place or at the time agreed upon and mentioned in the faid bills or contracts, the college of commerce, after complaints to that effect fhall have been made, and proofs given, fhall fummon them three times, granting them a fufficient time to appear in perfon; and if they allow it to elapfe without appearing, the faid college fhall condemn them, and fend an exprefs, at the expenfe of the plaintiff, to the governors and to the tribunals of government, enjoining them to put the fentence into execution, and thereby compel the debtors to fulfil their engagements. And if the demands fhould be found frivolous or unjuft, then the Britifh merchants fhall be obliged to pay the damage which they fhall have occafioned, either by the lofs of time, or by the expenfes of the voyage.

XXII. The brack fhall be eftablifhed with juftice, and the brackers fhall be anfwerable for the quality of the merchandife and for fraudulent packages, and obliged, upon fufficient proofs againft them, to pay for the loffes which they have occafioned.

XXIII. A regulation fhall be made in order to prevent the abufes which may be practifed in the packing of leather, hemp, and lint; and if any difputes fhould happen between the purcha-

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ſer and ſeller reſpecting the weight or the tare of any merchandiſe, the cuſtom-houſe ſhall decide it according to equity.

XXIV. In every thing which relates to taxes and duties upon the importation and exportation of merchandiſe in general, the ſubjects of the two high contracting parties ſhall always be conſidered and treated as the moſt favoured nation.

XXV. The ſubjects of the two contracting powers ſhall be at liberty, in their reſpective dominions, to aſſemble together with their conſul, in body, as a factory, and make amongſt themſelves, for the common intereſt of the factory, ſuch arrangements as they ſhall judge proper, provided they are in no reſpect contrary to the laws, ſtatutes, and regulations of the country or place where they ſhall be eſtabliſhed.

XXVI. Peace, friendſhip, and good intelligence ſhall continue for ever between the high contracting parties; and, as it is cuſtomary to fix a certain period to treaties of commerce, the abovementioned high contracting parties have agreed that the preſent ſhall laſt eight years, reckoning from the expiration of the convention concluded between them on the 25th of March, 1793; and this treaty ſhall have effect immediately after its ratification: this term being elapſed, they may agree together to renew or prolong it.

XXVII. The preſent treaty of navigation and commerce ſhall be approved and ratified by his Britannic Majeſty and his Imperial Majeſty of all the Ruſſias, and the ratification, in good and due form, ſhall be exchanged in the ſpace of the months, or ſooner if it can be done, reckoning from the day of the ſignature.

In faith of which, the reſpective plenipotentiaries have cauſed two copies of it to be made, perfectly conformable to each other, ſigned with their hands, and have thereunto affixed the ſeal of their arms.

Done at St. Peterſburgh the 10-21ſt of February, 1797.

(L. S.)	ALEXANDER Count of Beſborodko.
(L. S.)	Prince ALEXANDER of Kourakin.
(L. S.)	PETER of Soimonow.
(L. S.)	CHARLES WHITWORTH.

DECLARATION.

We, the underſigned, being furniſhed with the full powers of his Majeſty the King of Great Britain on one ſide, and his Majeſty the Emperor of all the Ruſſias on the other, having, in virtue of thoſe full powers, concluded and ſign , at St. Peterſburgh, on February 10-21, 1797, a treaty of navigation and commerce, of which the 9th article ſtates, The ſubjects of the high contracting parties ſhall not pay higher duties, on the importation and exportation of their merchandiſe, than are paid by the ſubjects of another nation, &c. declare by theſe preſents, in virtue of thoſe ſame full powers, that by the words other nations, European nations alone are to be underſtood.

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The present declaration shall be considered as making part of the above-mentioned treaty of navigation and commerce, signed February 10-21, of the present year, and this day ratified.

In faith of which, we, the respective plenipotentiaries, have caused two copies of it, perfectly conformable to each other, to be made, have signed them with our own hand, and have thereunto affixed the seal of our arms.

Done at Moscow, on the 30th April, 11th May, 1797.

(L. S.) ALEXANDER Count of Besborodko.
(L. S.) Prince ALEXANDER of Kourakin.
(L. S.) CHARLES WHITWORTH.

Convention stipulated at Monte Bello upon the 5th and 6th of June, 1797, between Citizen Buonaparte, General in Chief of the French Army of Italy, Citizen Faypoult, Minister of the French Republic at Genoa, and his Excellency M. Michael Angelo Cambrosa, Louis Carbonera and Gerolino, Deputies of the Republic of Genoa.

THE French republic and the republic of Genoa being desirous to consolidate the union and harmony which have always existed between the French republic and the republic of Genoa; thinking likewise that the happiness of the Genoese nation requires that it should regain possession of the deposit of its sovereignty; the two states have agreed upon the following articles:

I. The government of the republic of Genoa acknowledges the sovereignty to reside in the aggregate of all the citizens of the territory of the state.

II. The legislative power shall be entrusted to two representative councils: the one composed of three hundred, and the other of one hundred and fifty members. The executive power shall be delegated to a senate of ten members, over which a doge shall preside: the senators shall be in the nomination of the councils.

III. Every commune shall have a municipality, and every district an administration.

IV. The mode of election of all the authorities, the limits of the districts, the portion of authority entrusted to all the different bodies, the organization of the judicial power and the military force, shall be determined by a committee of legislation, charged with the task of framing the constitution, and all the organical laws of the government, with the reserve of doing nothing contrary to the Catholic religion, to guarantee the consolidated debts, to preserve the free port of the city of Genoa and the bank of St. George, and to take measures, as far as means shall permit, to provide for the support of the poor nobles who at present exist. This committee shall be obliged to complete its work in the space of one month, reckoning from the day of its formation.

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V. The people finding themselves restored to the enjoyment of their rights, every kind of privilege and exclusive establishment which breaks the unity of the state is necessarily annulled.

VI. The provisional government shall be entrusted to an executive committee, which shall be composed of twenty-two members, over which the reigning doge shall preside, and which shall be installed upon the 14th present month of June, 26 Prairial, the 5th year of the French republic.

VII. The citizens who shall be called upon to compose the provisional government of the Genoese republic, are not at liberty to refuse the office without being regarded as indifferent to the welfare of the country, and condemned to a fine of two thousand crowns.

VIII. When the provisional government shall be formed, it shall determine the necessary regulations for the forms of its deliberations; it shall appoint, within a week after its installation, the committee of legislation, empowered to frame the constitution.

IX. The provisional government shall fix the just indemnification due to the French who were pillaged upon 3d and 4th Prairial.

X. The French republic, desirous of giving a proof of the interest which it takes in the happiness of the Genoese people, desirous of seeing them united, and free from factions, grants an amnesty to all the Genoese, against whom it has grounds of complaint, either on account of the transactions of the 3d and 4th Prairial, or on account of the different events which took place in the Imperial fiefs. The provisional government shall employ its utmost endeavours to extinguish all factions, to unite all the citizens, and to convince them of the necessity of rallying round public liberty, and shall therefore grant a general amnesty.

XI. The French republic shall grant its protection to the Genoese republic, and even the assistance of its armies, to facilitate, if necessary, the execution of the above articles, and to maintain the integrity of the territory of the Genoese republic.

Treaty of Peace and Friendship between the French Republic and her Most Faithful Majesty the Queen of Portugal.

THE French republic and her most faithful Majesty the Queen of Portugal, desirous of re-establishing the bonds of commerce and friendship which existed between the two powers before the present war, have given full powers to enter into negotiations for that purpose, viz. the Executive Directory, in the name of the French republic, to citizen Charles Delacroix; and her very faithful Majesty, to M. le Chevalier d'Aranjo

Dazevedo, of her ſaid Majeſty's council, gentleman of her houſehold, knight of the order of Chriſt, and her envoy extraordinary and miniſter plenipotentiary to the Batavian republic; who after having exchanged their reſpective powers, have concluded the preſent treaty of peace.

Article I. There ſhall be peace, friendſhip, and good underſtanding between the French republic and her moſt Faithful Majeſty the Queen of Portugal.

II. All hoſtilities ſhall ceaſe, as well by land as by ſea, reckoning from the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty, viz. in fifteen days for Europe, and the ſeas on her coaſts, and thoſe of Africa on this ſide the equator: forty days after the ſaid exchange for the countries and ſeas of America and Africa beyond the equator, and three months after for the countries and ſeas ſituated to the eaſtward of the Cape of Good Hope.

III. The ports, towns, places, or any other territorial poſſeſſions of either of the two powers, in whatever part of the world, which are occupied or conquered by the troops of the other, ſhall be reciprocally reſtored within the periods above mentioned, without either compenſation or indemnity being required.

IV. Her moſt Faithful Majeſty engages to obſerve the moſt exact neutrality between the republic and the other belligerent powers. A ſimilar neutrality ſhall be obſerved by the French republic, in caſe of a rupture between Portugal and any other European power. In conſequence, neither of the two contracting parties, during the courſe of the preſent war, ſhall furniſh to the enemies of the other, in virtue of any treaty or ſtipulation whatever (public or ſecret), any ſuccours in troops, ſhips, arms, warlike ammunition, proviſions or money, under whatever title or denomination.

V. Her moſt Faithful Majeſty ſhall not admit into her great ports more than ſix armed ſhips of war belonging to any one of the belligerent powers, nor more than three into her ſmaller ports. The prizes made by their ſhips of war or reſpective cruiſers ſhall no more be received into her Majeſty's ports than the cruiſers themſelves, unleſs it be in caſes of tempeſt or imminent peril, and then they ſhall depart as ſoon as the peril is paſt. All ſale of merchandiſe or captured veſſels ſhall be ſeverely prohibited. The French republic ſhall obſerve the ſame regulations with reſpect to ſhips of war, cruiſers, or prizes belonging to the European powers with which her moſt Faithful Majeſty may enter into war.

VI. Her moſt Faithful Majeſty acknowledges, by the preſent treaty, that all the territories ſituated to the north of the limits herein after mentioned, between the poſſeſſions of the two contracting powers, belong in full property and ſovereignty to the French republic: renouncing, as far as need be, as well for herſelf as her ſucceſſors, all the rights to which ſhe might pretend

upon the ſaid territories, under whatever title, and particularly in virtue of the eighth article of the treaty concluded at Utrecht, the 11th of April, 1713. The French republic reciprocally acknowledges that all the territories ſituated to the ſouth of the ſaid line, belong to her moſt Faithful Majeſty, in conformity to the treaty of Utrecht.

VII. The limits between the two French and Portugueſe Guyanas ſhall be determined by the river called by the Portugueſe Calmeme, and by the French Vincent Pinſon, which flows into the ocean above the North Cape, about two degrees and a half ſouthern latitude. They ſhall follow the ſaid river to its ſource, and afterwards a right line drawn from the ſaid ſource towards the weſt, as far as Rio Blanco.

VIII. The mouth, as well as the whole courſe of the ſaid river Calmeme or Vincent Pinſon, belong in full and entire ſovereignty to the French republic, without, however, the ſubjects of her moſt Faithful Majeſty, eſtabliſhed in the environs to the ſouth of the ſaid river, being prevented from uſing it freely, and without being ſubject to the duties of entrance, courſe, and water duty.

IX. The ſubjects of her moſt Faithful Majeſty who are ſettled to the north of the frontier line above marked, ſhall be free to remain there, obeying the laws of the republic, or to withdraw with their effects, or to ſell the lands belonging to them. The faculty of retiring and ſelling their moveable or immoveable effects is reciprocally reſerved to the French who may be ſettled to the ſouth of the ſaid frontier line. The exerciſe of the ſaid faculty is limited to one, and the other to two years, reckoning from the exchange of the ratifications of the French treaty.

X. There ſhall be negotiated and concluded as ſoon as poſſible between the two powers, a treaty of commerce founded upon equitable baſes, and reciprocally advantageous. Until it is concluded, it is agreed,

1. That the commercial relations ſhall be re-eſtabliſhed immediately after the exchange of the ratification, and that the citizens or ſubjects of each of the two powers ſhall enjoy in the territories of the other all the rights, immunities, and prerogatives enjoyed by the moſt favoured nations.

2. That the proviſions and merchandiſes, the produce of their ſoil or their manufactures, ſhall be reſpectively admitted, if the proviſions and merchandiſe of the ſame kind of other nations are or ſhall afterwards be admitted; and that the ſaid proviſions and merchandiſes ſhall not be ſubject to any prohibition, which ſhall not equally fall on other proviſions and merchandiſes of the ſame kind imported by other nations.

3. That nevertheleſs the French republic not being able to offer to Portugal but a price extremely low for its wines, and

being unable to compenſate by the introduction of French cloths into that kingdom, things ſhall reciprocally remain, with reſpect to thoſe two articles, in their preſent ſtate.

4. That the duties of cuſtom, and others upon proviſions and merchandiſe of the ſoil and manufactures of the two powers, ſhall be reciprocally regulated upon the ſame footing as with regard to other moſt favoured nations.

5. That out of the duties thus regulated there ſhall be allowed a drawback in favour of merchandiſes the produce of the ſoil or manufactures of the ſtates of each of the two powers, provided they are imported in national veſſels on account of the merchants to whom they belong, and ſent in right of the ports of Europe on the one hand, to the ports of Europe on the other. The amount of theſe drawbacks, as well as the kinds of merchandiſes to which they ſhall apply, to be regulated by the treaty of commerce to be concluded between the two powers.

6. That further, all the ſtipulations relative to commerce inſerted in preceding treaties concluded between the two powers ſhall be proviſionally executed, wherein they are not contrary to the preſent treaty.

XI. Her moſt Faithful Majeſty ſhall admit into her ports the French ſhips of war and merchantmen, under the ſame conditions as the ſhips of the moſt favoured nations are admitted The Portugueſe veſſels ſhall enjoy in France the moſt exact reciprocity.

XII. The French conſuls and vice-conſuls ſhall enjoy privileges, immunities, prerogatives, and juriſdictions, as they enjoyed them before the war, and as they are enjoyed by the moſt favoured nations.

XIII. The ambaſſador or miniſter of the French republic at the court of Portugal, ſhall enjoy the ſame immunities, prerogatives, and privileges, as French ambaſſadors enjoyed previous to the war.

XIV. All the French citizens, as well as the individuals compoſing the eſtabliſhment of the ambaſſador or miniſter of the councils, and other agents accredited and acknowledged by the French republic, ſhall enjoy in the ſtates of her moſt Faithful Majeſty, the ſame liberty of worſhip as is enjoyed by the moſt favoured nations in this reſpect.

The preſent, and two preceding articles, ſhall be reciprocally obſerved by the French republic, with regard to the ambaſſadors, miniſters, conſuls, and other agents of her moſt Faithful Majeſty.

XV. All the priſoners made on both ſides, including marines and ſailors, ſhall be given up in a month, reckoning from the exchange of the ratification of the preſent treaty, on payment of the debts they ſhall have contracted during their captivity. The ſick and wounded ſhall continue to be taken care of in the

respective hospitals: they shall be given up immediately after they are cured.

XVI. The peace and good friendship re-established by the present treaty, between the French republic and her most Faithful Majesty, are declared to extend in common to the Batavian republic.

XVII. The present treaty shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged in two months, reckoning from this day.

Done, performed, concluded, signed, and confirmed, to wit, by me Charles Delacroix, by the seal for foreign affairs, and by me the Chevalier D'Aranjo, by the seal of my arms, at Paris, the 23d Thermidor, fifth year of the French republic, answering to the 10th August, old style.

(Signed) CHARLES DELACROIX.
ANT. D'ARANJO DAZEVEDO.

The Executive Directory agrees to sign this present treaty between her most Faithful Majesty the Queen of Portugal, negotiated in the name of the republic by citizen Charles Delacroix, minister plenipotentiary, invested with powers to that effect by a decree of the 30th last Messidor, and charged by his instructions.

Done at the national palace of the Executive Directory, the 24 Thermidor, 5th year of the republic, one and indivisible.

For the sake of expedition,
(Signed) REVELLIERE LEPAUX, President.
By the Executive Directory,
LAGARDE, Sec. Gen.*

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* The Executive Directory, however, by a decree of the 26th October, declared this treaty null and void.—The following is a copy of the decree:

"The Executive Directory, considering that the Queen of Portugal, instead of sending a pure and simple ratification of the treaty of peace concluded with the Executive Directory, in the name of the French republic, on the 23d Thermidor, 5th year, within the two months allowed by that treaty, has put her principal strong places into the hands of the English army, decrees as follows:

"The treaty between the French republic and the Queen of Portugal, concluded on the 23d Thermidor, 5th year, and not ratified on the part of her said Majesty, is declared to be of no effect.

"The minister for foreign affairs is charged to notify to M. Aranjo Dazevedo, minister plenipotentiary of the Queen of Portugal, to quit the territory of the republic without delay.

(Signed) LAREVELLIERE LEPAUX, President."

Desi-

Definitive Treaty of Peace, concluded between the French Republic and the Emperor, King of Hungary and Bohemia.

HIS Majesty the Emperor of the Romans, King of Hungary and Bohemia, and the French republic, being desirous to consolidate a peace, the basis of which was laid in the preliminaries signed at the castle of Eckenwald, near Leoben, in Styria, on the 18th of April, 1797 (the 29th Germinal, 5th year of the French republic, one and indivisible), have named for their plenipotentiaries, viz. his Majesty the Emperor and King, the Sieur D. Martius Mastrily, and the noble Neapolitan Patrician, Marquis de Gallo, knight of the royal order of St. Januarius, gentleman of the bed-chamber to his Majesty the king of the Two Sicilies, and his ambassador extraordinary at the court of Vienna; the Sieur Louis, Count of the holy Roman empire de Cobenzel, and great cross of the royal order of St. Stephen, chamberlain, privy counsellor of his said Imperial and royal Apostolic Majesty, and his ambassador extraordinary to his Imperial Majesty of all the Russias; the Sieur Maximilian, Count de Meerveldt, knight of the Teutonic order, and of the military order of Maria Theresa, chamberlain and major-general of the cavalry in the armies of his said Majesty the Emperor and King; and the Sieur Ignatius, Baron de Degelmann, minister plenipotentiary of his said Majesty to the Swiss republic—And the French republic, Buonaparte, commander in chief of the French army in Italy.

The aforesaid plenipotentiaries, after an exchange of their respective powers, have agreed upon the following articles:

Article I. There shall be hereafter a solid, perpetual, and inviolable peace between his Majesty the Emperor of the Romans, King of Hungary and Bohemia, his heirs and successors, and the French republic.

The contracting parties shall give the greatest attention to the maintaining between themselves and their respective dominions the most perfect harmony, without hereafter permitting, on either side, any kind of hostilities to be committed, either by sea or land, for any cause or under any pretence whatsoever; and they shall carefully avoid for the future any thing which might prejudice the union happily established. There shall not be granted any succour or protection, either directly or indirectly, to those who shall attempt any thing injurious or prejudicial against either of the contracting parties.

II. Immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, the contracting parties shall take off all sequestrations imposed on the effects, rights, and properties of individuals residing in the respective territories and countries that are united to them, and also of the public establishments situated therein; they bind themselves to pay all the debts they may have contracted for pecuniary

pecuniary advances made to them by the ſaid individuals and public eſtabliſhments, and to diſcharge or reimburſe all the annuities ſettled to their advantage by each of the contracting parties. The preſent article is declared to extend to the Ciſalpine republic.

III. His Majeſty the Emperor, King of Hungary and Bohemia, renounces for himſelf and his ſucceſſors, in favour of the French republic, all his rights and titles to the ci-devant Auſtrian Netherlands.—The French republic ſhall enter on the perpetual poſſeſſion of theſe countries, in full right and ſovereignty, and on all the territorial poſſeſſions dependent thereon.

IV. All debts mortgaged before the war, on the land of the countries expreſſed in the preceding articles, and which mortgages ſhall have been drawn up with the uſual formalities, ſhall be diſcharged by the French republic.—The plenipotentiaries of his Majeſty the Emperor, King of Hungary and Bohemia, ſhall tranſmit a ſtatement of them as ſoon as poſſible to the plenipotentiary of the French republic, and previous to the exchange of the ratifications, to the end that at the time of this exchange, the plenipotentiaries of both powers may come to an agreement upon all the explanatory and additional articles of the preſent treaty, and ſign them.

V. His Majeſty the Emperor, King of Hungary and Bohemia, conſents that the French republic ſhall poſſeſs in full ſovereignty the ci-devant Venetian iſlands of the Levant, viz. Corfou, Zante, Cephalonia, St. Maure, Cerigo and other iſlands dependent thereon, together with Butrinto, Larta, Vouizza, and in general all the ci-devant Venetian eſtabliſhments in Albania, which are ſituate lower down than the Gulf of Lodrino.

VI. The French republic conſents that his Majeſty the Emperor and King ſhall poſſeſs in full ſovereignty the countries hereinafter mentioned, viz. Iſtria, Dalmatia, the ci devant Venetian iſlands in the Adriatic, the mouths of the Caſtaro, the city of Venice, the Venetian canals, and the countries that lie between the hereditary ſtates of his Majeſty the Emperor and King, the Adriatic ſea, and the line to be drawn from the Tyrol along the torrent before Gardola, ſtretching acroſs the Lake Garda, as far as Laciſa; from thence a military line ſhall be drawn to Sangiacomo, holding out an equal advantage to both parties, which line ſhall be traced out by engineer officers appointed on either ſide, previous to the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty. The line or limitation ſhall then paſs the Adige to Sangiacomo, running along the left bank of that river to the mouth of the Canalblanc, compriſing in it that part of Porto Legnago that lies on the right ſide of the Adige, together with a diſtrict of 3000 toiſes. The line ſhall be continued along the left bank of the Canalblanc, the left bank of the Tartaro, the left bank of the canal called the Poliſella,

Polisella, to where it empties itself into the Po, and along the left bank of the great Po as far as the sea.

VII. His Majesty the Emperor, King of Hungary and Bohemia, renounces for ever, in his own name, and in that of his successors, &c. in favour of the Cisalpine republic, all the rights and titles arising from these rights, which his said Majesty might pretend to have over these countries before the war, and which countries at present constitute a part of the Cisalpine republic, which republic shall possess them in their full right and sovereignty, together with all their territorial dependencies.

VIII. His Majesty the Emperor, King of Hungary and Bohemia, acknowledges the Cisalpine republic as an independent power. This republic comprises the ci-devant Austrian Lombardy, the Bergamesque, the Brescian, the Cremonesque, part of the ci-devant Venetian states to the east and south of the Legner, described in the 6th article as the frontier of the states of his Majesty the Emperor, in Italy; the Modenese, the principality of Massa, and of Carara, and the three legations of Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna.

IX. In all countries ceded, acquired, or exchanged, in virtue of the present treaty, all sequestration imposed on the effects, rights, and property of individuals belonging to these countries, shall be taken off, which individuals shall have been thus affected on account of the war that has subsisted between his Imperial and royal Majesty and the French republic, nor shall they on this account be molested in their persons and property. Such persons as may hereafter be desirous to withdraw from the said countries, shall be bound to make a declaration of such their intention three months before the publication of the treaty or definitive peace. There shall be granted them the term of three months to enable them to sell their effects either moveable or immoveable, and dispose of them in the manner they may judge most expedient.

X. The countries ceded, acquired, or exchanged, by virtue of the present treaty, shall leave the debts mortgaged on their territories, to be discharged by those under whose dominion they may fall.

XI. The navigation of such rivers and canals as mark the boundaries between the possessions of his Majesty the Emperor, King of Hungary and Bohemia, and those of the French republic, shall be free, without its being permitted to either of the powers to establish any toll or custom on them, or keep thereon any armed vessel: by which, however, is not precluded any precaution which may be thought necessary for the protection and safety of the fortress of Porto Legnano.

XII. All sales or alienations of property, all engagements entered into, either by the cities or by the government, or by the civil administrative authorities of the ci-devant Venetian territo-

ries,

ries, for the maintenance of the German and French armies, up to the date of the ſignature of the preſent treaty, ſhall be confirmed and acknowledged as valid.

XIII. The territorial titles and archives of the different countries ceded or exchanged by the preſent treaty, ſhall, within two months from the date of the exchange of the ratification, be put into the hands of the powers which ſhall have acquired the property of them. The plans and maps of the fortreſſes, towns and countries, which the contracting powers acquire by the preſent treaty, ſhall be faithfully given up to them. The military papers and regiſters taken in the preſent war from the etat major of the reſpective armies, ſhall be reſtored in the ſame manner.

XIV. The two contracting parties, equally animated with the deſire of removing every ground that might interrupt the good underſtanding happily eſtabliſhed between them, mutually bind themſelves in the moſt ſolemn manner to contribute to the utmoſt of their power to the maintenance of internal tranquillity in their reſpective ſtates.

XV. There ſhall immediately be concluded a treaty of commerce, founded upon an equitable baſis, and ſuch as ſhall ſecure to his Majeſty the Emperor, King of Hungary, and the French republic, advantages equal to thoſe which the moſt favoured nations enjoy in their reſpective ſtates. Meanwhile all communications and commercial relations ſhall be reſtored to the ſituation in which they ſtood before the war.

XVI. No inhabitant of all the countries occupied by the Auſtrian and French armies ſhall be proſecuted or queſtioned, either in his perſon or property, on account of his political opinions or his conduct, civil, military, or commercial, during the war that has taken place between the two powers.

XVII. His Majeſty the Emperor, King of Hungary and Bohemia, ſhall not, agreeably to the principles of neutrality, admit into any of his ports, during the courſe of the preſent war, any veſſels belonging to any of the belligerent powers.

XVIII. His Majeſty the Emperor, King of Hungary and Bohemia, binds himſelf to cede to the Duke of Modena, as an indemnification for the territory which that prince and his heirs poſſeſſed in Italy, the Briſgaw; which he ſhall poſſeſs upon the ſame conditions as thoſe in virtue of which they poſſeſſed the Modeneſe.

XIX. The landed and perſonal property not alienated, belonging to their royal highneſſes the Archduke Charles and the Archducheſs Chriſtiana, which are ſituated in the countries ceded to the French republic, ſhall be reſtored, under the deduction of the expenſes of ſale, within three years. The ſame ſhall be done relative to the landed and perſonal property of his royal highneſs the Archduke Ferdinand, in the territory of the Ciſalpine republic.

XX.

XX. There ſhall be held a congreſs, ſolely compoſed of the plenipotentiaries of the Germanic empire and the French republic, for a pacification between the two powers. This congreſs ſhall be opened a month after the ſigning of the preſent treaty, or as ſoon as poſſible.

XXI. All the priſoners of war made on either ſide, and the hoſtages given or carried away during the preſent war, who have not yet been reſtored, ſhall be given back in forty days, dated from the day of the ſigning of the preſent treaty.

XXII. The warlike contributions, deliveries, furniſhings, and devaſtations of every kind, which have taken place in the reſpective ſtates of the contracting powers, ſhall ceaſe from the day on which the ratifications of the preſent treaty ſhall be exchanged.

XXIII. His Majeſty the Emperor, King of Hungary and Bohemia, and the French republic, ſhall mutually preſerve to each other the ſame ceremonial with regard to rank and other etiquettes which was conſtantly obſerved before the war. His ſaid Majeſty and the Ciſalpine republic ſhall obſerve with regard to each other the ſame ceremonial of etiquette which was in uſe between his Majeſty and the republic of Venice.

XXIV. The preſent treaty ſhall be ratified by the Emperor, King of Hungary and Bohemia, and by the French republic, within thirty days from this day, or ſooner if poſſible, and the inſtruments of ratification in due form ſhall be exchanged at Raſtadt.

Done and ſigned at Campo Formio, near Udina, the 17th October, 1797 (26th Vendemiaire, ſixth year of the French republic, one and indiviſible).

(Signed) BUONAPARTE,
The Marquis de GALLO,
LOUIS Count COBENTZEL,
The Count de MEERVELDT,
The Baron de DEGELMAN.

The Executive Directory ratifies and ſigns the preſent treaty of peace with his Majeſty the Emperor, King of Hungary and Bohemia, negotiated in the name of the French republic by citizen Buonaparte, general in chief of the army of Italy, inveſted with powers by the Executive Directory, and charged with inſtructions to that effect.

Done in the national palace of the Executive Directory, 5th Brumaire, October 26th, ſixth year of the French republic, one and indiviſible.

This treaty was ratified by the council of Five Hundred on the 31ſt October, and by the council of Elders two days after.

Proclamations, Manifeſtos, Correſpondence, &c.

THE LEEWARD ISLANDS.

Addreſs of the Citizens of the Town and Country of Aux Cayes, to the Commiſſion of the French Government for the Leeward Iſlands, ſitting at the Cape.

Citizens Commiſſaries,

HOW much are our feelings hurt, on deſcribing to you the unhappy and terrible events that have taken place in the town of Aux Cayes, from the 10th to the 15th inſtant, which have ſucceſſively and rapidly agitated the whole ſouthern part, unto the extreme quarters of the weſt, thereunto annexed! We cannot conceal from you, that theſe diſaſters have their origin in the imprudent, arbitrary, and vexatious meaſures of your colleagues, particularly thoſe of General Desfourneaux, which had no other tendency than the ſubverſion of the union and fraternity enjoyed for more than three years by a people living like friends and brothers.

When your delegates arrived, this country was covered with the rich productions of nature; the plantations were full of labourers, the towns full of workmen, and commerce flouriſhed; the whole preſented the image of happineſs. This proſperity was the work of General Rigaud. It is to the wiſdom of that chief we owe the entire confidence that reigned between us; it is that brave and firm defender of liberty and equality, who has always ſupported us in perfect harmony, by putting the laws of the republic that were known to us in force; who, commendable for his civic and moral virtues, has protected us againſt our internal and external enemies.

The chiefs of the civil adminiſtration, and all the military and civil chiefs under their command, equally contributed to our felicity.

But all is deſtroyed; for the delegates, undoubtedly deceived by evil inclined people, had interrupted the union and tranquillity we enjoyed.

General Desfourneaux, ſince his arrival, has completed the total ſubverſion of this town, as he did that of Port-au-Prince, in the month of March 1794. After having kindled the torch of diſcord between us, he has eſcaped, taking with him his baſe accomplices and the delegate Rey, leaving us a prey to the horrors of a civil war, that had been only appeaſed by the arrival of General Rigaud, fighting at the time the enemies of the republic in the diſtrict of Irois. Without his prudence and ſolicitude, the town would have been ſacrificed to flames and pillage, and the citizens would have maſſacred one another.

Circumſtances do not permit us to enter into more ample details. We refer them to a time more calm, when we will acquaint you and all France with our misfortunes and their origin.

As to the preſent, we have but one requeſt to make of you, namely, that which has been already addreſſed to you in a decree of the popular council under date of the 14th; that of the delegation which has recalled, at the ſame time, General Rigaud to the head of the government; and, finally, the addreſs of the citizens to the ſaid General, praying that the powers may be replaced in his hands until the Legiſlative Body and the Executive Directory of France ſhall have been informed of the events, and taken meaſures to prevent their return.

This, citizens commiſſioners, is the wiſh of the citizens of the town of Aux Cayes, and of the planters in its neighbourhood, as well as the whole ſouthern department, and of the weſtern diſtricts. Do not deceive yourſelves in the ſame. If violent meaſures ſhould be adopted in the preſent convulſed ſtate of things, they would unavoidably occaſion the total overthrow of this precious part of the iſland. The ſtorm roars yet. Leave us in the port where we have juſt found our ſalvation.

We conſtantly proteſt to you, that, faithful to the French republic, we will never acknowledge any other laws; our profeſſion is too well known by the mother country, and by our zeal and firmneſs in oppoſing our enemies, by our means for defending our country, to admits of any doubt of our ſentiments being any other than truly republican.

Health and reſpect!

(Between 3 and 400 ſignatures.)

Aux Cayes, 18th Fructidor, 4th year of the French Republic, one and indiviſible.

PROCLA-

PROCLAMATION.

The Congress of Cispadana to the People of Bologna, Ferrara, Modena, and Reggio.

THE first stone of the foundation of your infant liberty was laid in the congress held at Modena last October, thanks to the invincible French nation, which not only was so generous as to restore to you your natural rights, but also to enable you to exercise them, in order to secure your future existence ; it was in this view you formed the bonds of a friendly confederation, which nothing could untie : you also wished for the means of drawing those bonds still closer, in order that the structure, once begun, might rise great and majestic. In fine, you called us to the congress of Reggio, and we, strong in your commands, were proud of being able and authorised to give our concurrence to an enterprise worthy of the honour of Italy, and which will be the admiration of future ages.

Citizens, the congress is eager to inform you that your wishes are fulfilled, and that you are henceforth but one people, or rather one family. The following is the tenor of the resolution .—

" A motion having been made in the congress to form the four nations into a republic, one and indivisible in every respect, so constructed, that the four nations may only form one people, one single family :"

" The congress having put this motion to the vote with each nation, they have all accepted it."

The people of Reggio were witnesses of the publication of this decree, in the same manner as we were witnesses of their joy. Our brave brethren, who came from the Transpadanian regions to fraternize with us, took part in the universal joy. May they imitate us, since we ardently wish it, and may they form so close an alliance with our republic, that tyranny may henceforth lose all hopes of again enslaving Italy !

It seems as if something would have been deficient in the general enthusiasm, had not our invincible deliverers been present at so solemn an act.

Citizen Marmont, sent expressly by the commander in chief to watch over the safety and liberty of our union, assisted at the congress, and saw in us, and the whole people assembled, brothers not unworthy of the love of his generous nation. He took it upon him to give an account of this glorious event to the commander in chief. We could have wished you all to have been present in that happy moment, certain that your joy would have joined in unison with that of your brothers ; but if distance of place deprived us of this double joy, we make you amends for it, by imparting to you that glorious event, before your delegates

return again to their country. People of the republic of Cispadana, the great epoch is already marked. Reject far from you all ancient quarrels, and that rivalship which was fomented by ambition and despotism. Liberty, equality, virtue, let these be your mottos. The powerful republic which has invited to the great work of liberty, will protect you, doubt it not, with all her forces; slavery is flying from these countries. The tyrants to whom you were an object of derision, shudder and turn pale. The eyes of the whole world are fixed upon you, and Italy anxiously expects that you will restore to her that pristine splendour which made her once respected by all nations.

(Signed) C. Facci, President.
Pistorini,
Macchi,
Lamberti,
Leonelli, } Secretaries.

Reggio, 10 *Nivose, first year of the Republic of Cispadana, one and indivisible, December* 30, 1796 *(old style.)*

PROCLAMATION

To the Second Division of the Army of Brest, destined against Ireland.

Republicans,

THE Executive Directory in the hope that General Hoche will have effected a descent, directs the army to hold itself in readiness to go and join him. The national honour, the interests of liberty, and the destiny of the republic, command the accomplishment of a great enterprise against Ireland. It ought to be dear to it, it ought to be seconded with enthusiasm by all good Frenchmen.

The Executive Directory have spoken in the most energetic manner upon the subject; they have directed me to testify their satisfaction to such of the corps of the army (among which the *legion des François* is particularly distinguished), as, forgetting some moments of suffering and privation, have given by their wisdom a new proof of their devotion, and by their generous impatience to be landed on foreign shores where glory calls them, the certainty of that success which they well know how to obtain there. Excited, without doubt, by the manoeuvres of the enemies of the republic, which (government know) have sought, and still seek, to mislead the army destined for the expedition, the troops of the 94th demi-brigade, embarked on board the ship la Constitution, and those of the 24th demi-brigade, embarked on board the frigate la Coquille, have behaved in a manner

manner unworthy of republicans and Frenchmen. I announce to the army, that they will be ſent to the depots of their corps, and that they ſhall neither participate in the dangers nor the honours of the ſecond expedition.

EMANUEL GROUCHY, General of Diviſion.

Head Quarters, Breſt, 12 Nivoſe (Jan. 1.)

The Marquis Del Campo to the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs.

Citizen Miniſter,

THE amicable reception at Toulon of the Spaniſh ſquadron, as well as the public marks of eſteem and intereſt which the inhabitants of Toulon evinced upon the occaſion, were extremely well calculated to excite the ſenſibility of his Catholic Majeſty.

As ſoon as he was informed of them, he directed me to tranſmit, without delay, to the French government the ſincere expreſſions of his gratitude; and I haſten to acquit myſelf of this order with ſo much the more pleaſure, inaſmuch as the generous ſentiments of his Catholic Majeſty, which I entreat you to convey to the Executive Directory, are new and ſure pledges of the union which happily ſubſiſts between the two powers.

Permit me, citizen miniſter, to profit of this occaſion, and renew my aſſurances of the moſt perfect conſideration.

MARQUIS DEL CAMPO.

Paris, Jan. 3.

From the Eccleſiaſtical Eſtates, December 24. In conſequence of the Letter written by General Buonaparte to Cardinal Maffei, requeſting him to perſuade his Holineſs to recommence pacific Negotiations to prevent the March of the French Armies againſt his Territories, the Court of Rome publiſhed the following Anſwer by the above-mentioned Prelate:

General,

I HAVE taken the trouble to lay your letter at the feet of his Holineſs. The Sovereign Pontiff entruſted with that authority upon earth, which is evident by the example which Jeſus Chriſt and his faithful ſubjects have afforded to the whole world, has continually had the preſervation of the peace and unity of Chriſtendom neareſt at heart, and has made ſuch ſacrifices as an unbounded toleration only could have ſuggeſted.

When France was firſt agitated by the unhappy events which have oppreſſed her during ſeven years, he was grieved to the ſoul; but ſtill did not forget that, according to his vocation, he was the Father of Chriſtendom.

When

When he observed his children falling into the greatest errors, he was persuaded that he ought to make use of mild measures only to reclaim them, in hopes that it would please the Disposer of all Things, to remedy their blindness, and bring them back to just and equitable principles.

His Holiness accordingly rejected every worldly consideration, making the most important sacrifices to obtain a peace between France and the ecclesiastical estates.

Your government has been blinded by the successful progress of its armies in Italy, and in consequence of an intolerable abuse of of its good fortune; it has not contented itself with shearing the sheep while living, but afterwards wished wholly to devour them.

The French government demands that the Pope should sacrifice his own soul, and those of the people entrusted to his care; it demands the total destruction of the principles which constitute the gospel, the substance of Christianity, morality, and church-discipline.

His Holiness, deeply mortified at these intolerable demands, withdrew to seek Divine assistance, and to invoke the good pleasure of the Almighty to elighten him with directions how to demean himself under such unpleasant circumstances. Undoubtedly the Holy Spirit was then given to the Pope, to remind him of the conduct of the martyrs; but, since all his efforts to bring the Directory to a more reasonable way of thinking were fruitless, it was necessary that the court of Rome should prepare for war. Europe is now to decide upon its motives.

The death, General, with which you endeavour to terrify us, is the commencement of eternal life to the righteous, as well as the final period to the transitory and apparent prosperity of the ungodly, and the beginning of their torments, unless they are already produced by remorse of conscience.

It is granted that your army is formidable, but you yourself know it is not invincible. Against it we shall oppose our strength, our firmness, and, above all, that confidence, inspired by a just cause, with the divine assistance which we hope for.

We are well persuaded that infidels and modern philosophers ridicule every kind of spiritual assistance; but if Providence should now bless the use of these means, your armies, no doubt, will have a woeful experience of their efficacy.

I perfectly agree with you, that your war with the Pope will not be attended with much honour to yourself; but relative to the little danger you expect to meet with, our confidence in God does not permit us to suppose that any danger will attach to us, but to you and your army exclusively.

I now return to the principal object of your letter.—You desire peace—it is what we wish for with still greater energy. Grant

us

us ſuch equitable terms as may be convenient for us and our faithful allies, and you will find both parties ready to ſubſcribe to them: the Pope, on his part, will make any conceſſions which do not militate againſt his duties to obtain that tend. We believe, General, that perſonally you are inclined to thoſe principles of juſtice and humanity which actuate perſons of eſteem; and it will always be the greateſt pleaſure to me to unite my efforts in co-operating in the wholeſome work of pacification.

(Signed) MAFFEI.

General Bouonaparte to General Ruſca, upon the Inſurrection of Carfagnana and Ferrara.

THE town of Carrara, a part of Carfagnana, and particularly the town of Caſtelnuovo, are in a ſtate of rebellion. The miſerable inſurgents have ſuffered themſelves to be ſeduced by perfidious agents, who are over-running Italy, to excite the people to revolt, and to involve them in all the horrors of war. You will proceed to Caſtelnuovo, with a moveable column; you will direct the chiefs of the rebels to be ſhot; you will ſend twenty hoſtages to Milan; you will order the houſe of the Duke of Modena's confeſſor, who is the author of the rebellion, to be deſtroyed; you will erect upon the ſite of it a pyramid, with this inſcription: "The puniſhment of a prieſt, who, abuſing his ſacred miniſtry, preached revolt and aſſaſſination." You will aſſemble the magiſtrates, the chiefs of the different convents, and all the rectors; you will tell them from me, that as long as the miniſters of religion ſhall be influenced by true principles, as the Cardinal Maltei, the Archbiſhop of Bologna, and the Biſhops of Pavia and Modena, who, by their wiſdom, and the purity of their morals, recall to mind the firſt ages of the church, I ſhall reſpect them, their property, and their cuſtoms, as long as they contribute to public tranquillity, and to the general good; but when the ſacred nature of their miniſtry ſhall become in the hands of diſaffected perſons an inſtrument of diſcord and of civil war, I will treat them without any reſpect; I will deſtroy their convents, confiſcate their property, and puniſh perſonally the rectors and curates of villages, who ſhall have demeaned themſelves ill.

You will afterwards proceed to Carrara, and from thence to Leghorn, where you are to join the garriſon of that place, and the moveable column, which you will find at Bologna, under the command of General Lanus, to defend the coaſts of Tuſcany from all invaſion on the part of the Engliſh.

(Signed) BUONAPARTE.

Milan, Jan. 7.

The

The Commiſſion of the National Aſſembly for Foreign Affairs, repreſenting the People of Batavia, to Citizen Noel, Miniſter Plenipotentiary to the French Republic.

Citizen Miniſter,

WE perform a very pleaſant taſk, Citizen Miniſter, in communicating to you the intereſt which your note of the 14th Nivoſe, fifth year of the French republic, has excited in the National Convention, repreſenting the people of Batavia, by which you communicate to them officially the rupture of the negotiations opened between the French government and the Britiſh cabinet.

The National Aſſembly has recogniſed, in the faithful conduct which the Executive Directory has obſerved in that negotiation, the dignity of a great nation, which knows how to vanquiſh her enemies, but which deſires to put a ſtop to the diſaſters of war in a manner conſiſtent with her glory and her real intereſts ; and its negotiations, by affording the firſt example of a publicity ſo proper to inſpire confidence towards the government, which feels that its meaſures need not be covered with the veil of myſtery, ſet alſo to Europe a ſtriking example of greatneſs, and love of peace.

The National Aſſembly has ſeen with a lively ſatisfaction, but without aſtoniſhment, the fidelity of the French government in the obſervance of a treaty which ſo happily ſubſiſts between the two republics. It was never alarmed with regard to the deſigns of the Engliſh negotiator, perſuaded that all the propoſitions which might be contrary to the engagements of France, would be rejected by the Executive Directory.

The National Aſſembly has likewiſe ſeen, with ſatisfaction, the happy concurrence in opinion between the two governments, teſtified to it by the pleaſure the French government felt in hearing of the decree by which the unity of the republic is declared to be the baſis of the conſtitution, which will be ſubmitted for acceptance to the people of Batavia. This teſtimony will ſerve to make it redouble in zeal to haſten its important labours, and to contribute thereby, as much as depends on it, to render the Batavian nation happy in herſelf, uſeful to her allies, and formidable to her enemies.

We have already given orders to our miniſter with the French republic to expreſs our gratitude to the French government, but we are too well aware of your zeal in contributing to cement more and more the union between the two republics not to deem it a pleaſure to entreat you to become, in a like manner, the organ of our ſentiments with the Executive Directory, and to aſſure it, that the Batavian republic, deeply moved at the conduct which her ally never ceaſes to obſerve towards her, ought to acknowledge

knowledge them ſuperior in power and means, but cannot yield to it in zeal and deſire of contributing, as much as its preſent enfeebled ſtate will permit, to their mutual welfare.

Greeting and fraternity!

(Signed) J. H. Stoffenberg, Jun.
Hugo Gerers,
J. B. Bechler,
A. J. Desitter,
W. A. De Bevers.

Hague, Jan. 6, 1797, third year of Batavian liberty.

Letter from the Extraordinary Deputies of the French commercial Towns to the Miniſter of the Finances.

YOU have deſired, Citizen Miniſter, that we ſhould give you our opinion on the utility of banks in general, and on the poſſibility of eſtabliſhing one at this time in France.

All private banks, like any other copartnerſhip of a few individuals, depend ſolely upon the perſonal credit of thoſe who form them, and are neceſſarily circumſcribed both in their object and in their operations. We have therefore conſidered theſe queſtions only as they relate to an eſtabliſhment in ſome degree national, which, by its extent, might render important ſervices to commerce, give facility to the application of the reſources of government, and afford all the advantages which ought to be expected from it.

The circumſtances under which ſuch eſtabliſhments are formed, muſt always have an influence upon the mode of their organization, and that ſyſtem which might appear proper to be followed in our preſent ſituation, would not perhaps offer the ſame advantages at a more diſtant period, even though the propoſed meaſure of creating a bank ſhould now be thought proper to be adopted.—This conſideration has determined us to direct our attention ſolely to the probability of the ſucceſs to be expected in eſtabliſhing a very extenſive national bank.

It ought firſt to be obſerved, that there are two kinds of banks; banks which are merely depots, and banks of circulation.

The former are merely the caſhiers of the merchants, who place their money in them, and who draw upon them for their payments. Theſe banks facilitate mercantile tranſactions, by accelerating the payments of creditors; but far from augmenting the maſs of the circulating medium, they tend to concentrate it in a few hands; and, under this view of the ſubject, it cannot be wiſhed that a bank of this kind ſhould be eſtabliſhed.

Circulating banks, on the contrary, act upon their own credit. They supply the want of specie by issuing a paper which serves as its representative, and which public confidence allows to be taken in payments. Their capitals are known, their transactions are public, each individual may appreciate the extent of their resources, the nature of their engagements, and found his confidence upon the knowledge of the real guarantee which they offer him.

Great establishments of this kind have often assisted governments in their pressing wants; they have favoured the operations of commerce, and they have facilitated great enterprises. It is therefore to the consideration of the utility and the possibility of such an establishment, that we wish to direct your attention.

The general question of the utility of banks to commerce has often been warmly agitated, but has not always received the same solution.

Circulating banks being the means of extending that credit by which trade is vivified, it cannot be denied that they are so far useful. But when it is considered that all governments have abused the facility they possess of drawing upon the banks, the independence of which they have guarantied; that they have frequently by the abuse of power received private fortunes, and given deep wounds to public credit; it must be confessed that banks have also their inconveniences, and that they have not always proved advantageous.

A circulating bank cannot be established independent of public confidence. Its profits consisting in the advantage of a growing capital procured by issues of bills or notes, credit is the only basis of its prosperity.

Confidence arises from a variety of circumstances which must all concur to establish it, and the absence of only one of them weakens the favourable impression which the union of all the others might be able to make.

The property of the debtor, the notoriety of his ability to pay, his prudence in his enterprises, the state of legislation with regard to the protection and security of property, may be considered as among the principal bases of public confidence. Any bank which might be formed under the direction of the most virtuous, the most enlightened, and the most wealthy men, would certainly fail, if it did not possess a security capable of operating full conviction in every mind, that no power could in future seize upon its funds, nor break the contract subsisting between it, the proprietors of its stock, and the public.

There is in France a general repugnance to the idea of any great association, which, concentrating the property of many citizens in the hands of a few individuals, accountable in some manner to the public for their management, would leave to the government the

the power of taking poſſeſſion of the common ſtock. Recollecting, that under the pretence of a ſimilar eſtabliſhment, ſo many fortunes were deſtroyed at the commencement of this century, the very name of a bank inſpires terror in the greater part of the nation; and it cannot be diſſembled, that in all the circumſtances in which the ſyſtem has been produced under different forms, the government has conſtantly miſunderſtood the duty which the reſpect due to property ought to have impoſed upon it.

The holders of ſhares of the ſtock of the Caiſſe d'Eſcompte, of the India Company, and of the Aſſurance Company, have been deprived of their property, and would not now receive five per cent. for the capital, originally inveſted in theſe funds, under the authority of the exiſting laws.

The aſſignats performed the function of a national bank, mortgaged on the domains of the ſtate; but the aſſignats were ſoon deprived of their ſecurity, and thoſe whom a blind confidence, founded upon a ſolemn guarantee, which, indeed, they could not but believe inviolable, had engaged to preſerve this paper money, have ſeen it deſtroy itſelf, and operate their own ruin.

The reſcriptions were ſoon iſſued from a new bank; they were an anticipation of the revenues of the republic, but the ſecurity on which they reſted was not more reſpected.

The freſh wound which the mandats have given to the rights of property is ſo obvious, that it need not be mentioned. They have been a weapon in the hands of ſome diſhoneſt men, which has enabled them to rob their creditors under the ſacred name of the laws. The public opinion has juſtly condemned this pernicious inſtitution, and they are about to experience the ſame fate as the aſſignats.

How then is it poſſible to ſecure public confidence in the mortgage given to the eſtabliſhment of any bank whatſoever?

The nation abhors every plan which ſeems to have a tendency to re-introduce the ruinous ſyſtem of paper money. The people would conſider the bills or notes of the propoſed bank merely as a new kind of aſſignats, reſcriptions, or mandats, preſented to them under a new form, but always under that of a paper, which, though free to-day, might be circulated by force to-morrow, and thus occaſion once more the deſtruction of all property.

Long misfortunes make men ſuſpicious, ſometimes they render them unjuſt, and it would certainly be wrong to judge of future events by thoſe that are paſt; but the experience of good can alone deſtroy the impreſſion of evil.

The preſent form of our government is doubtleſs ſuch as will prevent the return of a tyrannic legiſlation, which has annihilated commerce and the arts, becauſe it is the intereſt of a popular government to be juſt, that it may conciliate the public opinion, which is its principal ſtrength. We are, therefore, all bound to

await the reſult of its beneficent views; but the hope of the future will neither efface the remembrance of the paſt, nor the feeling of the preſent. The effects of anarchy bear ſtill heavy upon commerce, which is now only riſing from its ruins. The capitaliſts are diſſipated or fled, our manufactories are ſhut up, and every mercantile relation has ceaſed. Continual changes in the meaſures of the legiſlature prevented any commercial undertaking.

The beſt-founded ſpeculations become abortive, becauſe the laws which authoriſe them are altered before they can be realiſed. Much muſt be done before trade can be reſtored to its ancient energy. Time, and the operations of wiſe laws, can alone repair the evils it has ſuffered.

When all the traces of the revolutionary ſyſtem ſhall be effaced, when commerce ſhall be emancipated from the fetters with which it is ſtill loaded, when the ſtability of the laws ſhall permit it to reſume its wonted efforts, confidence will ſoon ſpring from its proſperity.

We cannot diſſemble, Citizen Miniſter, that the eſtabliſhment of a bank does not to us appear poſſible in the preſent circumſtances; that the want of public confidence is one of the principal cauſes which would be oppoſed to its ſucceſs; and that there appears to us reaſon to apprehend that any precipitate meaſure which might be now adopted would deſtroy at once all the good effects which may be expected from ſuch an eſtabliſhment hereafter.

We have already ſtated to you, in our letter of the 4th Nivoſe, two meaſures which we are of opinion muſt have a ſenſible influence upon the return of public confidence; and though we are ſtill ignorant of the ſentiments of the legiſlature with regard to the propoſitions we have made, we ſhall haſten, notwithſtanding, to tranſmit to you our ideas of the meaſures which appear to us neceſſary for the reſtoration of credit.

THE EXTRAORDINARY DEPUTIES OF COMMERCE.

Paris, 18 Nivoſe, (Jan. 7).

Meſſage of the Executive Directory to the Council of Five Hundred, of 30th Nivoſe (Jan. 19), on the Pay of the Soldiers.

Citizens Repreſentatives,

THE object which the Executive Directory is at preſent to communicate is one to which it calls your utmoſt ſolicitude, and which certainly will engage it. It regards the pay of a number of brave defenders of their country, who, after having generouſly ſhed their blood in its defence, ought at laſt to be allowed to repoſe under the ſhade of the laurels which they have gained, or wait till ſome new dangers occur to reſume their arms.

 The

The multiplied proofs of attachment to the cause of liberty, which these brave warriors have given, and the just interest which you have ever testified for their welfare, forbid the Directory anew to paint in detail the sacrifices they have made to their country since the commencement of this war. They are all present to your memory, and will ever remain engraved upon your hearts.—The sacred cause of liberty could alone command them; and while we laboured to diminish the number, they collected new strength to make additional sacrifices, if they had been found necessary. Happily, however, circumstances, far from requiring more considerable ones during the course of this campaign, the splendid victories atchieved by the armies of the republic, and your paternal solicitude, have rendered them less numerous and less sensible. The Executive Directory is of opinion, that the moment, in short, is arrived, when it is proper to fix definitively in metallic value the pay of the troops, and to re-establish in the administration of a part of this pay, that order and economy which this mode of payment can alone produce, and which it is of so much importance to lay down, as well for the welfare of our brave brothers in arms, as to lay open that labyrinth of dilapidation and abuse which can only be radically overthrown by a total change of system. The Directory, therefore, proposes to re-establish the plan of masses nearly upon the same footing as they existed before the war. In this view there is annexed a copy of a detailed memorial transmitted by the minister at war, as well as another, to the same effect, with the rate of pay distinctly stated.

With regard to the defenders of their country, of every rank, who, in consequence of several partial treaties of peace, or even of a general peace, should no longer find themselves, for the moment, necessary in the armies in action, and who should be desirous to remain upon their lists to be recalled upon the first occasion for their services, the Executive Directory is of opinion that it cannot fail to be of advantage to the interests of the country to allow them, when at home, half pay, or quarter pay, according to their rank, in such a manner, however, that the *maximum* of this allowance is not to exceed, even for the highest rank, 4000 livres a year. These soldiers, then, instead of a retired pension, will enjoy the valuable advantage which they desire so ardently, of continuing to constitute a part of the effective army, and shall be paid the whole of the pay corresponding to their rank from the moment, and for all the time, they shall be called to serve the exigencies of the state in active employment.

The Directory likewise proposes, citizens representatives, to place upon the same footing the brave soldiers who, either from age or infirmities incurred in the service, shall find themselves precluded from the hope of being able to combat the enemies of the republic, and who cannot be placed either in the national

house

houſe which is particularly deſtined for their reception, nor in the veteran corps. In this manner the penſions of all military perſons will be reviſed into half or quarter pay, diſcharged like it, exactly and monthly. This is the only method which the Directory can diſcover to reconcile in a proper manner the intereſt of the republic with what is due to its brave defenders, whoſe means of ſubſiſtence ought at no period to remain precarious. It will be the duty of the legiſlative body to judge of the changes proper to be introduced into this ſyſtem which the Executive Directory takes the liberty to propoſe, when upon a general peace circumſtances call on them to make a diſtribution of the milliard of national property ſolemnly promiſed, and which it reſerves to thoſe brave defenders of their country, who with ſo much glory and ſucceſs have founded and defended the republic againſt a hoſt of foes, and that hydra of enemies, ſtill ſpringing up afreſh for its deſtruction. The Executive Directory, citizens repreſentatives, cannot too ardently invite you to take this meſſage into your moſt ſerious conſideration.

(Signed) P. BARRAS, Preſident.
LAGARDE, Secretary.

Meſſage of the Executive Directory to the Council of Ancients and of Five Hundred, on the 6th Pluvioſe (Jan. 25), on the Victories in Italy.

Citizens Repreſentatives,

THE Executive Directory haſtens to inform you of the prodigious ſucceſſes which have been juſt gained by the brave army of Italy. The following is the reſult of the ſeries of actions which have taken place between the 23d Nivoſe to the 26th, both incluſive, occaſioned by the new attempts which the enemy have made to relieve Mantua.

Twenty-three thouſand Auſtrians taken priſoners, among whom are three generals, and all the battalions of the Vienna volunteers, ſix thouſand of the enemy killed or wounded, ſixty pieces of cannon, and twenty-four ſtands of colours taken.

All the enemy's baggage ſeized, with a regiment of huſſars, and all the convoy of grain and oxen, which the enemy wanted to throw into Mantua.

After this happy news, we have reaſon to think that the capture of this important fortreſs will conclude the labours of the invincible army of Italy and its intrepid general.

(Signed) P. BARRAS, Preſident.
LAGARDE, Secretary.

A Letter from General Buonaparte, Commander in Chief of the Army of Italy, to the Executive Directory.

Citizens Directors,

YOU will find enclosed, intercepted letters, which are extremely interesting, as you will see by them the obstinate bad faith of the court of Rome.

(Signed) Buonaparte.

The following is an Extract of a Letter from Cardinal Busca to Monseigneur Albini, at Vienna, certified to be authentic by General Buonaparte.

THE news which you send me are more and more consoling. I learn by the two last couriers, that Baron Thugut has changed his language in spite of my mysterious air. We can no longer doubt of the assistance, since both the Empress and he have promised it; it appears also that Baron Thugut counts upon us, at least, if we may judge from the speedy departure of General Colli, by the obligation imposed upon him to visit our troops, and by the manner in which we have been called upon to recover our territory; every thing announces that we may already consider them as allies.

They no longer talk to us of sacrifices. Have they abandoned the idea? I certainly may be too sanguine, and therefore shall not be confident till the treaty is signed upon the conditions sketched out in my last letter. Now that you are vested with full powers, M. Thugut can no longer practise tergiversation, and, of course, must come to a decision.

As for myself, as long as I am permitted to hope for the assistance of the Emperor, I shall temporize respecting the propositions for peace which the French have made to me. You cannot conceive the arts they have employed to oblige me to give Cacault an answer; some endeavoured to persuade me by holding out the hope of better terms, others by fears and threats; but, steady to my opinion, and jealous of my honour, which I should think were compromised by treating with the French while a negotiation is pending with the court of Vienna, I can neither suffer myself to be seduced nor intimidated, and, till I am compelled, I shall not change the part that I have taken. You cannot doubt of the sincerity of these sentiments.

It is true, however, that the French have a great desire to conclude a peace with you. I have a recent proof of it in the subjoined letter of the nuncio at Florence; and by the answer, of which I send you a copy, you will see how I have conducted myself.

felf. I fend you two copies, that you may have it in your power to quote the conftancy and the good faith with which I treat * * * *. I give the general great credit for bringing with him two officers, particularly one of genius, in which we are miferably deficient. He ought alfo to bring feveral fubalterns to inftruct the troops. The eulogium paffed upon Colli by Marfhal Lafcy is extremely gratifying to me.

Since you are perfuaded that Baron Thugut will be jealous if you fpeak to any other perfon but himfelf in favour of our caufe, abandon the meafures which I propofed to you at the time that the Baron did not entertain the fame good intentions which he at prefent manifefts. Perfevere, however, in paying court to all thofe who may be ufeful to you, however matters turn out.

You may have feen, from my difpatches by a former courier, that I have thought of an expedition of fome Auftrian troops to Romania, to unite with ours; I have thought alfo that they might embark at Triefte and land at St. Antoine. Cherifh this plan, which may be of great advantage both to the Emperor and to us; and, if it is realized, we fhall be prepared to make the fame contract which was made by the King of Sardinia.

You will do well, to comply with the requifitions which the civil power has made upon you by means of your brother.

Monfeigneur Stay has not yet finifhed the briefs which you afk; of courfe I cannot fend you them. His Holinefs does not think proper to give the other briefs you propofe; becaufe, before they are addreffed to all the Catholic Sovereigns of Europe, it would be to declare a war for religion before the time, as it is not in his power to conceal the proceedings from the French; befides, for the reafons that I have mentioned, we fhould be expofed to their indignation, without being fure of the alliance of his Imperial Majefty.

According to the inftructions you give me upon the point of a *war for religion*, St. Peter will fend you fome *briefs*, and *make out others*.

If the treaty of alliance is concluded, it will be neceffary to have it figned by the nuncio, provided that M. Thugut, with whom he is not on a very good underftanding, does not oppofe it.

I fend to Monfeigneur, the nuncio, the pontifical briefs for the Emperor of Ruffia, &c.

CON-

CONSPIRACY AGAINST THE REPUBLIC.

Council of Five Hundred, 12 *Pluviose (Jan.* 31*).*

THE following meſſage from the Directory was read:

Citizen Repreſentatives,

THE Executive Directory, which, for a long time, held and purſued with equal care and activity the ſecret and principal threads of a dreadful conſpiracy begun by certain emiſſaries of the pretended King of France, Louis XVIII. has juſt cauſed to be arreſted four chiefs of this new attempt againſt liberty and the republic. You will find annexed a copy of a report which the Miniſter of Police has made to us upon the new crimes which were meditated by the conſpirators.

The Directory will tranſmit to you the documents it has already collected, and the additional information which it can procure after the farther inveſtigation of the affair, and when the meaſures of police ſhall no longer require them to be kept ſecret.

(Signed) REWBELL, Preſident.
LAGARDE, Secretary.

The report of the Miniſter of the Police was then read.

For a conſiderable time paſt (ſaid he), I have been appriſed, both, by the reports of the officers of police, and by my correſpondence in the departments, that there were at Paris commiſſioners of the pretended Louis XVIII. employed in correſponding with his partizans in all the departments, and in organizing a ſecret plan, in order to overturn the republic, and eſtabliſh royalty on the ruins of France, and by the extermination of republicans. But this was not ſufficient. It was requiſite to aſcertain who were thoſe commiſſioners, to inveſtigate the particulars of their plot, and the proofs of their guilt. Whilſt they did nothing but conſpire the means of executing their plot, it was very difficult to ſurpriſe them; I could only exerciſe the greateſt vigilance.

But when, after having prepared all the means for carrying their plot into effect, they began to ſeduce individuals in particular ſituations, we watched them more cloſely. The royal commiſſioners began by making levies in the name of Louis XVIII. but with ſuch caution that, though we found out the names of individuals enliſted, we could not diſcover the names of the chiefs.— The chain of conſpiracy was broken, and it was difficult to trace and combine the links. There were ſubaltern agents, who did not even know the cauſe for which they were engaged, and who were ignorant of the perſons by whom they were employed. The commiſſioners, however, were perfectly aware that partial levies afforded but an inefficient force for the execution of their purpoſe.

They thought that they might secure troops by seducing the officers. Infatuated men! How could they suppose the brave defenders of their country would conspire to overthrow a government which they had confirmed and consolidated by so many victories? I have already given you an account of the propositions which those commissioners made to Citizen Malo, commandant of the 21st regiment of dragoons. They hoped that this brave soldier, who so strenuously opposed anarchy in Floreal and Fructidor, had a heart vitiated by the calumnies which had so long been uttered against him.

A person of the name of Poly made attempts upon Citizen Ramel, commander of the guard of the legislative body, with whom he had become acquainted at the army of the Pyrennees. It required all the patriotism which those citizens possess, to enable them to listen with any degree of calmness to the propositions which were made to them. I agreed to be present at the house where they had appointed to meet the royal commissioners, in order to overhear the discourse that should pass on the occasion. I might have arrested them sooner, but it was of importance to know their plan and their powers. Malo, on the 9th of the month, had a conference with them, in which he represented that, before proceeding further, it was necessary to know their plans, and from whom they held their powers. They admitted the propriety of his suggestion, and it was agreed that on the 11th, from nine o'clock till noon, there should be a conference between them and Citizen Malo at the military school, in which they should communicate to him their powers and the plan of operations which they had concerted. I was apprised of the business, and we then considered the measures proper to be taken. Trusty soldiers were stationed at the place of meeting in a concealed situation, and ordered to come forward on a signal agreed upon.

Every thing was executed with the greatest exactness and dexterity. The royal commissioners having come, and having given up their powers and the plan of the conspiracy, the soldiers came forward, and seized the three culprits. A commissioner of police that was at hand drew up the *proces verbal*. One of the commissioners is named Brothier, and the other Bethelot-de-la-Fille-Ornoy. I have also arrested the secondary agent Poly, residing in the street *des Petites Ecuries*: at his house was found a large package of letters, of the contents of which I am ignorant. You will find subjoined a copy of the principal papers in possession of the chiefs of the conspirators, and of two letters, one of Citizen Malo, and the other of Citizen Ramel. You will shudder at the recital of those atrocities which were meditated. You will perceive that those conspirators were no strangers to those symptoms of commotion which for some time past have appeared in France; and that they were busied in bringing over to their side the partisans of

anarchy.

anarchy. They wished, from the hatred of Frenchmen for those excesses committed under the reign of terror, to derive an advantage for the execution of their plot to destroy the republic and republicans.

You will find that the pretended Louis XVIII. at his accession to the throne, was to publish a general amnesty; but that this was only a snare laid for republicans, for that the parliament was afterwards to declare that the king had no power to grant such a pardon. They judged me worthy of preserving my place till the accession of Louis XVIII. if I had not voted for the death of Capet. I do not know from what circumstances I have merited the confidence of those friends of royalty: I have not in vain voted for the republic, and the death of tyrants; and, faithful to my oath, I will not cease till my last breath to endeavour to detect and bring to punishment the factious, whatever mask they may assume.

PRECAUTIONS AGAINST INVASION.

The following is the Substance of the Instructions relative to the Baggage and Marches of the Army, in case the Enemy should land in England, sent to all Generals, and all Officers commanding Regiments, the latter End of January.

THE service on which the troops may be called will be of such a nature while it lasts, that the usual convenience of the field cannot be allowed. All unnecessary baggage must be removed. No more than five waggons and three carts will be allowed to each regiment for every purpose. All other carriages whatever will be ordered to a great distance in the rear, and if at any time found near the army, will be ordered to be destroyed. Officers must prepare for moving in the lightest manner. The baggage of each officer must be contained in a small portmanteau. One tent will be allowed for sixteen men. During the march every officer will remain with his division, and never quit it on any account. No soldier to be permitted to leave his rank. The march must be so regulated, that the troops may advance three English miles in an hour and a quarter. The troops should always consider themselves as if in the presence of an enemy. The line of march must never be lengthened, if it can be avoided. The proper closeness of the march, on all occasions, is a point of the highest consequence. The troops must march on the greatest front the roads or overtures will allow. The line of carriages must at no time stop, whatever accidents may happen to any individual one; but such carriage must instantly be drawn on one side, and repaired, if possible. The officers commanding the several divisions of carriages will be answerable for the strict observance of this article, a failure of which might stop and endanger a whole army.

From the unremitting zeal and ardour of the troops every ſucceſs may be hoped for. In many ſituations our object will be, in ſtopping the progreſs of an enemy, if ſuperior in number, and endeavouring to penetrate into the country, inſtead of keeping all our forces collected, to oppoſe him in front, to allot a part only for that purpoſe, and, by throwing the reſt in different bodies on his flank, and even in his rear, as he advances, to circumſcribe his movements, and, by unremitting attacks, to make his progreſs ſlow and uneaſy. This will not be difficult to attain, ſhould his march be confined to the great roads of the country, from the extenſion of his columns, and as an attack any where would neceſſarily make a ſtop every where. Should he endeavour to open parallel routes, and to march in ſeveral connected columns, this operation could be much retarded, would occaſion great delay in point of time, and give us great advantage in aſſembling and increaſing our numbers.

In oppoſing the enemy in this manner, every thing will depend on the alertneſs of the troops, the lightneſs of their equipment, and their being freed from every incumbrance of baggage, carriages, or even a numerous artillery. It will depend on the nature of the ground, how far the cavalry can give ſupport on ſuch occaſions to the infantry; but in general they will be deſtined to annoy and circumſcribe the flanks of the enemy's march. In carrying on this kind of war, the troops would hardly ever be able to encamp, but when it was apparent that the enemy, from neceſſity, would be obliged to remain in ſome particular ſituation, or that we took up a ſituation that was to be maintained. For this ſtate of action we muſt always be prepared, and though, while it laſts, exceedingly ſevere for the troops, muſt be more than equally diſtreſſing for the enemy, as his difficulty muſt increaſe the further he advances into the country; and whenever he becomes obliged to eſtabliſh a chain of poſts to keep up his communication with the point from which he originally departed, ſuch poſts will certainly be forced and cut off, and he thereby reduced to the greateſt extremity, while the country open to our rear will afford us every help and aſſiſtance, and enable us, when he arrives at a certain point, and when it is judged proper with united and increaſed force, to attack and utterly defeat him.

RESCRIPT,

Addreſſed to his Excellency M. de Fahenberg, Directorial Miniſter of Auſtria at Ratiſbon, on the Part of his Majeſty the Emperor and King, dated Feb. 7, 1797.

HIS Majeſty the Emperor and King, in beholding the prodigious efforts of an enemy, who, according to his irreligious and artful ſyſtem, permits himſelf all poſſible means to enſure ſucceſs, and conſidering the hazards attending the fate of arms, has always endeavoured to make the ſtates underſtand how impoſſible it would be for him, without the moſt efficacious aſſiſtance of the whole empire, to reſiſt alone the danger which threatens the conſtitution of the Germanic body with its ruin, and the individual members of the empire with the entire loſs of their poſſeſſions.

The exiſtence of this impending danger had plainly enough manifeſted itſelf, when one of the moſt powerful ſtates of the empire abandoned the common cauſe, to conclude with the enemy a peace, which, as it is conjectured, contains *ſecret conventions* that cannot but be far from favourable to the integrity of the Germanic empire.

Theſe apprehenſions and alarms gained an additional weight, when ſeveral *Proteſtant* princes and ſtates of the empire, following the aforeſaid example, and, in the midſt of a *war deliberated by one common accord*, did not heſitate to ceaſe co-operating in the defence of the Germanic empire, their country, by acknowledging and admitting the line of demarcation and neutrality. The danger becoming greater every day, his Majeſty ſeveral times appriſed of it the ſtates of the empire, and, above all, the eccleſiaſtical ſtates: he ſtrove to perſuade them, that their farther exiſtence was threatened; that there were forging ſecretly plans of *ſecularization*, and that, according to appearances, it was intended to aſſign any ſort of indemnity to the eccleſiaſtical ſtates, and to force the Germanic empire, divided and incapable of defending itſelf, to accept this ſacrifice as the principal baſis of the conditions of peace, with the concurrence of the *French forces*, united with the *Proteſtant power* dependant on Pruſſia.

Notwithſtanding the accuracy of theſe repreſentations on the part of his Majeſty, they did not however will to own and be convinced of them till now; and by a miſtaken œconomy, they would not recur to the only means of ſalvation propoſed by his Majeſty, which were to oppoſe the enemy with all the poſſible forces of the ſtate. At preſent ſince the projects, which the enemies themſelves have manifeſted, have tranſpired by the negotiations of peace entered upon at Paris and rendered public, no perſon

person will doubt the apprehensions of his Majesty having been perfectly well founded, that the *secularization* of the different ecclesiastical states of the empire still continues to make part of the enemy's destructive plan; and that, in consequence, the admonitions of his Majesty, and his proclamation, particularly to the ecclesiastical states, to unite themselves as closely as possible with him, were well worthy of their taking the trouble to reflect upon them in time.

The ecclesiastical states cannot have failed to observe, after an attentive examination of the negotiations for peace opened at Paris, that his Majesty would not acquiesce in the plans prejudicial to the empire; that he has each time constantly rejected them, and that he has manifested that he would not accept of indemnities at the expense of the faithful and patriotic states of the empire; that, on the contrary, he was resolved rather to *hazard all*, and to make his last efforts *than be forced to it.*

His Majesty expects, that in the face of the imminent and pressing danger which menaces the ecclesiastical states, the electorates, the principalities, and the other states of the empire, they will have nothing more at heart than to deliberate among themselves upon the means of forming a close union with the august House of Austria, and of giving succour to his Majesty in every possible manner, by using all the forces, all the means, which are in their power, and to strengthen his Majesty in the generous resolution of defending with vigour, both during the war and at the conclusion of peace, the rights and the cause of the ecclesiastical states and the country.

In this confident expectation, the Directorial Archducal embassy of Austria shall positively demand, that the contingents of all the states of the empire which expect any farther assistance from the imperial and royal court, be furnished as speedily as possible, complete, according to the quintuple proportion, and provided with all the military stores, as likewise the discharge of the arrears still due in Roman months, &c. in order that at the opening of the ensuing campaign, where it will be required to act with all possible vigour, we may ascertain in due season the effective amount of the troops that will be employed, as well as the other auxiliary means for the vigorous prosecution of the war.

Speech of Dumas in the Council of Ancients, on the 23d Pluvoise, (Feb. 11,) upon the Surrender of Mantua.

THE surrender of Mantua terminates the most memorable campaign, the most distinguished by the glorious and terrible events of war, of any which has occurred in history. What Frenchman,

Frenchman, detained at home by public duty or by domeſtic cares which he could not forego, has not, at the recital of thoſe victories, felt the moſt lively regret that he could not ſhare in the harveſt of our laurels? So much genius, valour, and fortune, have ſignalized the progreſs of our arms during the courſe of this ſeſſion, that the legiſlative power, and the executive power, have acquired the greateſt credit, as well as powerful means to eſtabliſh the proſperity of the republic by the concluſion of general peace. After this grand deciſion of the fate of empires by the fortune of war, what are thoſe obſcure conſpiracies, thoſe inſulated efforts ſeparated from the common intereſt and the common cauſe, and which only acquire importance, becauſe they furniſh food to intrigue, to factions almoſt annihilated, to paſſions that had nearly ſubſided? It appears to me, that as often as a grand victory is announced to us, as we are pleaſed with following in detail our general and our ſoldiers, and as we admire in idea the proceedings on the field of battle, in the ſame manner they look to our conduct, and attend to our ſpeeches at this peaceable meeting. Let them receive, in return for thoſe laurels which they have purchaſed for the republic, a ſure pledge of our civic virtues; that the unity of ſentiment which takes place in their breaſts upon the ſignal for battle, exiſts equally here, and animates us to purſue their example: as our brothers in arms, let us lend them a mutual ſupport; let our ranks not be more diſunited than their battalions; let the generous confidence which ariſes from a conſciouſneſs of ſuperior ſtrength; let the honourable pride which we may be allowed to conceive, and which our brave volunteers diſplay, inſpire us with ſentiments truly republican. Let us baniſh all diſtruſt! It belongs only to weakneſs and fear; ſuch a ſentiment does not become the conquerors. Thus, then, let every public ſentiment which we here bring forward as the tribute which we owe to the ſovereign people, freely expreſſed, be tranſmitted to them pure as the heart which dictated it.

In the boſom of victory it is glorious to talk of peace; and I think I fulfil the firſt of my duties in preſuming to ſay, that a general peace was in Mantua with as much reaſon as it was formerly aſſerted that it was in Maeſtricht. Without pretending to accelerate thoſe wiſe meaſures which the government ought to take, without forming any preſumption on the value and uſe of our conqueſts—without vaunting on the territories we poſſeſs beyond the two pillars of the French Hercules, let us bear the expreſſions of the public voice, and the national congratulations to the conquerors of Italy.

Speech of Jean Debry, in the Council of Five Hundred, on the Victories of the Armies of the Republic.

IT is not to us, it is not to any reprefentative of the people, it is not to any true republican, that this feries of prodigies will appear incredible; and when I rife to fpeak, it is as much on account of the new propofition I have to make to you, as to pay to our brave defenders that tribute of gratitude which every Frenchman owes them.

Every Frenchman, I fay, for I do not count in the number of Frenchmen thofe who have difgraced the name, thofe who tremble at the word republic, and who think themfelves lowered by the good title of citizen; infamous calumniators of all that is great and good, more infenfible than the enemy itfelf, even on this morning they throw out the moft atrocious afperfions upon the brave army of Italy, and upon its intrepid general.

It is thefe whom you may obferve daily profecuting a fyftem of defamation and outrage againft every thing that is dear to the republic—its liberty; confounding with its religious worfhip and the refpect for the law, as well as its adminiftrators, which now exift, thofe times of calamity, of faults, of errors, and of crimes, which have fullied the beft revolutions, and of which they endeavour to avail themfelves, in order to effect a counter revolution; it is thefe, who, impatient of the exterior figns of joy, and of touching confufion, which would obtain in this fitting when your defires were likely even to outrun the news, now prefs around you, and at this moment are endeavouring to poifon in your mind my intentions and expreffions. They are eternally talking of the misfortunes of the ftate, and inceffantly invoke diftruft and contempt upon thofe who are vefted with the higheft authority, in order to prevent them from healing the wounds which are the inevitable confequences of a great and radical change, and from alleviating the hardfhips of the annuitants, the fate of the indigent, and the fituation of the foldier upon the frontiers.

They talk of peace, the conftant object of our wifhes; but they fay not a word upon the conduct of our enemies, one of whom prefented to us the moft abfurd and degrading propofitions, while the other, up to the laft battle, pretended to be ignorant of the exiftence of the republic, and defired to treat with the King of France.

Yes, we fhall have peace, but we fhall have fuch a peace as to infure us againft the future defolations of war; we fhall have a peace founded upon victory. Bleffings! ten thoufand bleffings, on the foldiers of liberty! they alone are the true pacificators of Europe; they feal the republic with their blood, they will defend it; and, forfooth, all thofe glorious exploits which adorn the hiftory

of

of our campaigns, have been achieved for the purpose of procuring us a master.

Montelesimo, Pizziggithone, Lodi, Arcola, all these victories are the sisters of the brilliant triumph of this day; you have seen the fate of the republic dependant upon each of them individually. Well, this is the time for renewing the proposition I made in a former sitting, and upon which the want of an official communication then prevented me from insisting; I recall to your recollection the heroic devotion of Buonaparte and of Angereau, who decided the doubtful victory at Arcola, by seizing a French standard and planting it in the midst of the enemy.

Open the treasure of public recompences; do not neglect this powerful spring of action in a generous nation. Let the present testimonies of the national gratitude be a sure pledge to our defenders of the joys which await them at their firesides, when we shall clasp in our arms (I repeat the expression) the pacificators of Europe.

[This speech was ordered to be printed.]

STATE OF ST. DOMINGO.

Message from the Executive Directory to the Council of Five Hundred, 5 Ventose (Feb. 23).

THE news brought from St. Domingo by the Rhinoceros and Aimable Lucile, and transmitted to the Council by two different messages, announced, that tranquillity had succeeded the storms that had taken place since the 30th Ventose. This state of tranquillity remained; and dispatches from the colony, dated the 18th of last Nivose, arrived at L'Orient, by the frigate Semillante, after a passage of thirty-seven days, contain very satisfactory details.

A new guarantee of liberty was necessary for those men whom the decree of the 16th Pluviose, 2d year, had called to the rights of citizenship. Intrigue and malevolence had abused their natural credulity; attempts had been made to carry them to excesses which were to be turned against themselves. In some quarters these attempts had succeeded: and whilst we were told here that they were unworthy of the blessing that had been granted them, beyond the tropic, your intentions were even calumniated. It was said to the blacks that you would repeal the law that had rendered them free; they were told that you would not suffer them to enjoy the benefits of the constitution; they were told that it was only made for the Frenchmen of Europe.

The agents of the Directory proclaimed the constitutional act. The new citizen read the 15th article of the declaration of the

 rights

rights and duties of men. He was ſummoned to the Primary Aſſemblies, and he left them bleſſing the French republic.

Since that time the cultivator returned to his labour—labour is in activity—troubles have diſappeared, the north and weſt are now tranquil, and every thing announces that this tranquillity will be permanent.

The cities, and particularly the Cape, begin to fill with inhabitants. Twenty-eight houſes, let on the 26, 27, 28, and 29th Frimaire, produce an increaſe of 55,000 livres beyond the price which they fetched laſt year. The magazines and houſes in that city are now rebuilding.

A wiſe and vigorous proclamation was promulgated, to bring back thoſe who had been miſled in the ſouth. Other meaſures were adopted, and they have produced a beneficial effect.

The habitations that have been abandoned have been let by leaſe, and this new mode has been perfectly ſucceſsful. Seven habitations, that were unproductive for three years, were let laſt Frimaire for 112,000 livres.

A ſincere love for the country, a fixed hatred to the ferocious Engliſh, have re-animated the zeal, the courage, and the induſtry of all the French of St. Domingo; and whilſt thoſe in the interior apply their time to the cultivation of the land, thoſe who occupy the ſea-coaſt are inventing daily new means of deſolating the commerce of Great Britain: the coaſts of St. Domingo ſwarm with ſhips manned with republicans united by the ſame ſentiments, the ſame affections, the ſame wants:—that of having a country is felt above all.

The victories of our armies in Europe have been celebrated in the colony by a public fête on the 10th Nivoſe. The official diſpatches which contained the details of theſe victories, arrived at St. Domingo time enough to prevent the effect which ſome journals, to which calumny ſeems to be a neceſſary nouriſhment, and which have announced that our armies were deſtroyed, might have produced. Conſternation was extreme. Happily, however, it was not of long duration. Mirth and joy ſoon ſucceeded to grief and affliction.

The Directory would fain be able to pauſe at this ſatisfactory picture of the preſent ſtate of St. Domingo; they would fain not have to ſpeak of a crime unknown till this day, and which belongs excluſively and entirely to the furious Engliſh. Theſe ferocious enemies have contrived armour, furniſhed with long iron points extremely ſharp, with which they arm large dogs, which they ſend into our ranks, when they fight with our battalions.—You will more eaſily conceive the purport of this new effort of Britiſh genius, when you ſhall know that almoſt all the republican troops in the colonies are accuſtomed to go with their legs naked. However, this atrocity has not repreſſed the French

energy,

energy, and ſince it has been put in practice, its authors have often experienced that nothing can ſtop men who fight for liberty.

(Signed) REWBELL, Preſident.
LAGARDE, Sec. Gen.

DESCENT UPON WALES.

Letter from the Duke of Portland to the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor.

My Lord, *Whitehall, Feb.* 25, 1797.

I HAVE the honour to acquaint your Lordſhip, that intelligence has been received that two French frigates, a corvette, and a lugger, appeared off the coaſt of Pembrokeſhire, on the 22d inſt. and on the evening of that day diſembarked ſome troops (reported by deſerters to be about 1200 men, but without field-pieces). Every exertion had been made by the Lord Lieutenant and gentlemen of that county and its neighbourhood, for taking the proper ſteps on this occaſion; and the greateſt zeal and loyalty had been ſhewn by all ranks of people. Immediately on an account having been received at Plymouth of this force having appeared in the Briſtol channel, frigates were diſpatched from Plymouth in queſt of them.

I have the honour to be,
My Lord, &c.
(Signed) PORTLAND.

To the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor.

Order of the Council to the Bank of England, to ſtop Payments in Specie.

At the Council Chamber, Whitehall, Feb. 26, 1797.

BY the Lords of his Majeſty's moſt Honourable Privy Council. Preſent,

The Lord Chancellor,	Earl Spencer,
Lord Preſident,	Earl of Liverpool,
Duke of Portland,	Lord Grenville,
Marquis Cornwallis,	Mr. Chan. of the Exchequer.

Upon the repreſentation of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, ſtating that from the reſult of the information which he has received, and of the inquiries which it has been his duty to make reſpecting the effect of the unuſual demands for ſpecie, that have been made upon the metropolis, in conſequence of ill-founded or exaggerated alarms in different parts of the country, it appears

 that

that unlefs fome meafure is immediately taken, there may be reafon to apprehend a want of a fufficient fupply of cafh to anfwer the exigencies of the public fervice; it is the unanimous opinion of the board, that it is indifpenfibly neceffary for the public fervice, that the Directors of the Bank of England fhould forbear iffuing any cafh in payment until the fenfe of Parliament can be taken on that fubject, and the proper meafures adopted thereupon, for maintaining the means of circulation, and fupporting the public and commercial credit of the kingdom at this important conjuncture; and it is ordered, that a copy of this minute be tranfmitted to the Directors of the Bank of England, and they are hereby required, on the grounds of the exigency of the cafe, to conform thereto until the fenfe of Parliament can be taken as aforefaid.

(Signed) W. FAWKENER.

Declaration to General Clarke, on the 24th December, 1796.

THE court of Vienna caufed to be fignified to the French agent, General Clarke, that it did not approve of his arrival and reception at Vienna, to accelerate a general peace, as the great diftance between Vienna and Paris would occafion great delay in the negotiations, and Lord Malmefbury had already been charged to exert himfelf at Paris for Auftria, with regard to a general peace. That fhould General Clarke have been fent to induce Auftria to make a feparate peace, or to conclude an armiftice, his endeavours in the former cafe would be fruitlefs, and in the latter unneceffary, as no feparate propofitions for peace would be liftened to, and the Archduke Charles had full powers himfelf to conclude an armiftice.

Correfpondence between Pruffia and the Court of Vienna.

THE Pruffian ambaffador, Marquis Lucchefini, prefented a note to the Imperial minifters in the courfe of laft July, fetting forth the intention of the court of Berlin, to obtain the Emperor's approbation of the meafures taken for the fecurity of the north of Germany, by means of an armed neutrality, and in which the fecurity of thofe diftricts is avowed to be his chief end.

The Imperial minifters returned an anfwer about the end of the fame month. His Majefty the Emperor declared in that anfwer, that it appeared that thofe meafures, however much the times required a more general and conftitutional union to fecond the juft defence of the country in general, were a combination to ward off an invafion ftill remote; yet that, confidered in a proper light,

light, they were not contrary to the fundamental basis and spirit of the constitution, in as far as those private measures of defence and security of the North of Germany, were not founded upon unlawful suppositions, or applied to legalize an unconstitutional pretext for evading the obligations which the binding laws of the Empire generally prescribed to attain the object of the security of all Germany. However, his Imperial Majesty, were he to grant his unlimited approbation to the principles manifested on the subject, would act in contradiction to the system of ratification of the 20th of July, 1795, and use too arbitrarily his power as chief of the Empire, since the laws renewed in the present war prohibit every separation from the general association by the name of an armed neutrality, and his Majesty is called upon to preserve the constitation. His Majesty would, however, be inclined to sanction that measure by his approbation, if it were wholly confined to a lawful defence of that country, and did recede in nothing from the principles, the form, and the duties prescribed by the form and the laws of the constitution.

PROCLAMATION.

SEVERAL public prints and private letters have improperly inferred, from the movements which have recently taken place in the Imperial and French armies on the Lower Rhine, that a suspension of arms had been concluded between the Austrian and Republican advanced posts; this is, therefore, by order, formally to contradict these false inferences and reports, publicly circulated (they being entirely opposite to the sentiments and intentions of his Majesty the Emperor); and it is here added, by way of elucidation, that the taking up of the quarters of cantonment by the Imperial army of the Lower Rhine has in reality no other motive than that which the nature of the war has dictated for the winter season in this territory.

By the Imperial and royal commandant of the city of Frankfort.

21st Dec.

Rescript, published by Order of the King of Prussia, respecting the Prussian Territories on the Left Bank of the Rhine.

FREDERIC WILLIAM II. &c.

WE having been informed, that an opinion has been propagated through a part of our state of Westphalia, situated on the left bank of the Rhine, to wit, the provinces of Cleves, Meurs,

Meurs, and Gueldres, in the actual poſſeſſion of the French troops, that ſufficient remonſtrances and proteſtations had not been made on our part againſt the various innovations and oppreſſions which the French commiſſaries and agents exerciſe over our faithful ſubjects; we have therefore thought it good to make this public declaration, by means of our regency, jointly with our chamber of war and of territory; and we do publicly declare, that we have never ceaſed, nor ſhall we ever ceaſe, to intereſt ourſelves in behalf of our ſaid ſubjects, by the intervention of our envoy to the French Republic, and that it is far from our intention to depart from the baſis of the treaty of Baſle reſpecting the civil or financial adminiſtration of thoſe countries.

In concluding the treaty by which the war between our ſtate and the French Republic was put an end to, it was never our intention to grant them more than a mere military poſſeſſion of our provinces on the left ſide of the Rhine, till peace ſhould be concluded with the Emperor; and this intention, which has been taken as a baſis in the negotiations, is ſufficiently manifeſt by the tenor of the fifth article, which expreſſly declares, "that the troops of the Republic ſhall occupy theſe countries belonging to us."

The difference between provinces conquered from an enemy, and thoſe which belong to a power in alliance, and which have been merely conceded for a temporary military occupation, is ſufficiently evident, and it is obvious that they ought not to be treated in the ſame manner.

It is therefore impoſſible for us to believe that the French government, conſidering the amicable ties ſubſiſting between us and it, will ſtill oppoſe ſuch evident reaſoning. It cannot fail to conceive, that neither ſequeſtration nor confiſcation of the goods of the clergy, nor the projected ſale of woods, nor the enormous contribution of three millions impoſed on the country between the Meuſe and the Rhine, which would entirely ruin that country, can take place with any regard to appearance of juſtice.

It has already in effect given our envoy at Paris the moſt poſitive aſſurance, that the meaſures taken with reſpect to the clergy ſhould be put an end to, and that the eccleſiaſtics ſhould remain in quiet enjoyment of their goods and revenues: we therefore conſtantly expect the revocation of the order for the ſale of woods, and, in general, a renunciation of all thoſe deſtructive innovations relative to our dominions.

We ſhall not by any means recognize as valid the ſales of woods, which have already taken place, to our great aſtoniſhment; and we are poſitively determined to have recourſe to the purchaſers for reſtitution in kind, or for the value at which the property ſold ſhall be eſtimated by our agents, and for the damages which ſhall reſult from the waſte committed on theſe woods.

In

In those cases where the purchasers cannot be found, we shall exercise our severity on all those who are employed by these last for cutting and carrying wood. We, in consequence, exhort our faithful subjects of the said provinces to remain assured of our lasting and efficacious protection, and to wait with confidence for the return of that ancient order of things so highly to be desired.

At Wesel, in our chamber of war and territory, 29th December, 1796, in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty.

BARON DE STEIN, First President.

Given at Emmerick, in our regency, the 29th December, 1796, in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty.

ELBERS.

Paris, 10 Nivose (Dec. 30).

The Minister Plenipotentiary of the Batavian Republic to the Minister for Foreign Affairs. (Second Year of the Batavian Liberty.)

Citizen Minister,

I HASTEN to transmit to my government the letter of the 7th Nivose, with which you have honoured me, and also the pieces which accompany it. The manner in which the negotiations with England have been begun, carried on, and interrupted, is worthy of a great and generous nation, friendly to peace, and sincerely wishing for its restoration; but at the same time wishing it in consistency with its true interests, and, above all, with a due regard to its triumphs. What will not escape the gratitude of the citizens is the faithful solicitude of the Executive Directory about every thing which respects their liberty, their property, and their independence.

It has already given the Batavian Republic a very honourable place in all the treaties which it has concluded; and what must be its satisfaction in receiving an official assurance that France will be guided by the same system when she negotiates anew with an enemy, jealous of our prosperity, and ambitious of seeing us return under its laws, an object which it cannot attain without spoiling us of our colonies, or putting us again under the yoke of a man who constantly acted in subservience to England at the expense of his own country! If in calamitous times we were the victims of the crafty policy of the cabinets by which we were surrounded, the support of the French Republic now secures us a very opposite influence and a very different fate. Think, citizen minister, on the energy which the Batavians at all times exerted when that liberty was attacked; think, above all, on their long and deplorable lessons of experience. We will never agree to the restoration of the stadtholderate; our patriotism is far from being weakened by sacrifices, or fatigued by contradiction.

We

We will ſupport with intrepidity the cauſe of our political independence. A conſtitution truly republican will ſoon complete our views. Our deſtinies are united for ever with your's. We will gladly ſhare your dangers as well as your ſucceſſes; and if any thing can ſtrengthen the ſentiments by which we are united to you, it is certainly the recollection that, when England wiſhed to dictate to you our ruin, you rejected the propoſition with all the dignity of a powerful, faithful, and generous ally! Health and fraternity!

(Signed) MEYER.

PROCLAMATION.

Head-quarters at Breſt, 4 Nivoſe (Jan. 3), fifth year.

Brave Comrades,

GENERAL Hoche, under whoſe orders you were habituated to conquer, was going to lead you to new triumphs. You were going to bring liberty to Ireland, to avenge the long-continued injuries committed by the Engliſh government upon the French Republic, and to dictate to that proud power the laws of an honourable peace, which all Europe expects.

The winds have betrayed our hopes, the army has been diſperſed by ſtorm, and ſeparated from its chief.

Soldiers, returning to France for a moment, you ſhall not linger uncertain about your deſtination; the ſucceſſes which were promiſed you are only adjourned. Government is, no doubt, as much attached to the execution of the glorious project, which it conceived for the welfare of the Republic, and ſets too great a value upon your ſervices not to offer you ſoon the means of exerciſing your energy and your ſteadineſs. No; you will not be diſmayed, becauſe an adverſe element has this once chained your hands; you will not be diſcouraged; the road to victory is now known to you; we have proved to the libellers of this naval expedition that, notwithſtanding the rigours of the ſeaſon, nothing was impoſſible to Frenchmen: and, if your appearance alone was ſufficient to make England tremble, judge what you will have to expect when we ſhall go with more numerous forces to attack it in its boſom.

Your chiefs applaud the heroic firmneſs which you diſplayed in the midſt of the dangers which encompaſſed you; the Executive Directory is appriſed of it; you will ſoon receive, with the teſtimony of its ſatisfaction, the order, which we all deſire, to return, and combat the moſt infuriated enemies of our peace and liberty.

The commander in chief of the ſtaff of the army.

(Signed) CHERIN.

PRO-

PROCLAMATION.

Cleves, 14 Nivose (Jan. 3).

The Administrators of the Cantons of Cleves and Xanten to the Inhabitants of the said Cantons.

Citizens,

THE director-general of the conquered countries between the Meuse and the Rhine, having the entire administration of those countries, could not see without the greatest surprise the order of the royal chamber of war and domains of Wesel, and of the regency of Emmerick, dated the 29th of December (O. S.), which forbids the cutting down of wood sold, under the penalty of restitution and reprisal.

We should be essentially wanting in the discharge of our duties and obedience, if we suffered other authorities to interfere in the administrative affairs of our cantons, without having previously received a formal order from our superiors.

You have seen several times ordinances emanating from those authorities; you have seen also that the French government has not, on that account, discontinued the direction of Prussian as well as of other countries. Do not doubt that they will still continue it; you will, perhaps, be convinced of it when you shall pay attention to the manner in which the ordinances have been communicated. We appeal to the members of those chambers; if a foreign authority were to intimate orders to them, would not they say, with reason, "We have a sovereign; it is only to him that we owe obedience;" and would not they continue their functions without paying any attention to the order? We are therefore determined, citizens, to maintain with firmness all the operations undertaken, or to be undertaken, in the name of the government which we represent, and to punish exemplarily all those who shall shew any disobedience in any manner whatever. But you have already given us sufficient marks of your obedience to make us believe that we shall not be forced to have recourse to such extremities.

(Signed) WASSEINEL.
SEIDA.

Declaration of the Prussian Government at Wesel.

THE royal chamber of war and domains has learned, with surprise, from several quarters on the other side of the Rhine, that the French agents insist not only upon the payment of the first instalment of the contribution of 3,000,000, but that a fixed number of men are also to be put in requisition to cut down the

wood destined to be sold. And whereas an edict, published by the king's supreme command, in that part of the country, declares such a proceeding unlawful, and contrary to the treaty of peace concluded at Basle; the magistrates of Xanten can by no means be farther authorised to make payments of a similar description, and to do actions directly in opposition to his majesty's royal intention. There is no doubt but the French agents, upon a maturer investigation of the matter, will be of the same opinion; and the magistrates of Xanten need to be the less afraid of compulsion by military execution, which would render the French agent responsible, since we are informed that the orders of the directory at Paris, purporting that the royal Prussian provinces shall be exempted from all farther requisitions and contributions, are already arrived at Aix-la-Chapelle.

(Signed) SEIMBURGER,
VON BERNOTH,
WULFING.

Done at Wesel, in the royal chamber of war and domains, Jan. 6, 1797.

Answer of General Wurmser to the Summons sent him by General Kilmaine.

I DOUBTED not, citizen, the sentiments of humanity which you testified, and which are dear to me, but I forfeit all my rights by yielding to them, were I to surrender a place, the defence of which is entrusted to me by my prince.

Note delivered by M. de Weckasovich, Chargé d'Affaires of Russia to the Electoral Circle, and that of the Upper Rhine.

ALTHOUGH, in the actual circumstances, the emperor, my august master, thinks it not necessary to put the resolution of the late empress, his august mother, into execution; his Imperial Majesty will nevertheless not remain less faithful and inviolably attached to the alliances and obligations entered into in respect to the present war; and his Majesty is firmly resolved to support them in all their integrity.

The considerations, the interest, and solicitude which the emperor will not cease to take for the well-being of the German empire, can but determine his Majesty to exhort the states and members composing that body, to act in common concert with his Majesty the Roman emperor, and to fulfil, towards their

ſupreme head, thoſe duties which the conſtitution has preſcribed, and on which the ſalvation and tranquillity of the empire depends.

Jan. 11.

PROCLAMATION.

Louis XVIII. to all the French.

PROVIDENCE has permitted, for the inſtruction of the kings, and in order to puniſh the nations, that the kingdom of France ſhould be ſubverted by a handful of factious men, who have polluted themſelves with all crimes.

The clergy, the nobility, the moſt diſtinguiſhed and moſt upright perſons, have been perſecuted, baniſhed, or maſſacred. Our auguſt brother and part of his family have become the victims of that horrible tyranny.

Frenchmen, your hearts are open; they are moved; they have returned to the ſentiments of love towards their king; to thoſe ſentiments which always diſtinguiſhed them among other nations: they have acknowledged our ſacred rights to govern them; they have recognized us, perſuaded that we would not ſuffer the crown to be tarniſhed on our head.

Yes, we call the Moſt High to witneſs that we will forget the faults of our ſubjects, miſled by the ſeditious. Far from ſignalizing our acceſſion to the throne by the terrible apparatus of vengeance, I will ſhow myſelf like a tender father who forgives his deluded children, &c. &c.

Speech of Citizen Barras, Preſident of the Executive Directory, at the Ceremony of taking the Oath of Hatred to Royalty and Anarchy.

Citizens,

THE day which we celebrate, the 21ſt of January, that day for ever memorable in the annals of the Republic, cannot aſſemble the French people without recalling to their remembrance the weightieſt and moſt majeſtic epoch of their hiſtory; but it is not alone to the fall of the throne, and to the juſt puniſhment of a perjured tyrant, that the ſolemn return of this fête will direct the attention of poſterity; it will retrace to them thoſe cauſes ſo legitimate, thoſe motives ſo pure, that will ſo manifeſted, and that want ſo unanimouſly felt, for our glorious revolution. On this auguſt day, impartial poſterity will recapitulate all the ills which kings have done to the world; and, penetrated with the

 horrors

horrors of despotism, and tasting the charms and sweets of liberty, they will bless those courageous mortals who have dared to conceive and execute an enterprise so perilous and so salutary to the French people.

Yes, citizens, the edifice of your liberty, surviving all the passions, will offer to the view of your offspring only the beauty of its form. Men shall be in their graves, but the Republic shall still live; the constitution and the government shall be the monuments which you will leave to future ages; and it is round them that future ages shall assemble to chant your glory, and to celebrate your blessings. What men then shall recollect the tempests which have accompanied the ever-stormy passage from monarchy to republicanism? Should perfidious voices, should unnatural hearts, dare to profane the sacred names of Liberty and Equality, shall Liberty and Equality be less the children of nature? Are the rights of man become less sacred, because some ambitious men placed vice in the number of their rights? Finally, has the revolution degenerated from its original necessity, because worthless Frenchmen have attempted to make subservient to their private interest what was undertaken only for the good of all? No, republicans; the light moss which hangs upon the columns of the temple does not change the majesty of the god that is worshipped in it. Look back, for a moment, on the disastrous ages that preceded the sublime hour in which you broke your chains: a thousand years had elapsed under the frightful despotism with which monarchy overwhelmed you; a rivalship of famous crimes had been established among the reigning dynasties; one while, to glut the fanatical madness of a monarch, your grandfathers ran in crowds to fight, suffer, and die in the deserts of Africa; at another time, the day of St. Bartholomew terrified the universe; the order of a proud potentate drove from your fields millions of precious men, and Europe was enriched by the virtues which the impolitic crown banished from your dwellings.

These, citizens, are but the grand masses of tyranny; but tyranny in detail, that tyranny, which, multiplying as population multiplies, discerns, seizes, and strikes every individual, is not less execrable. Such was the tyranny which the feudal system exercised in France! What feeling heart can, without shuddering with horror, think of the seignorial rights, the insolence and ferocity of the receivers, the gabelles, the corvées, the tithes, the field-rents, and the code of laws relative to the chase, which one would think to have been dictated by a cannibal, and which was dictated by a king? Finally, who can think upon those days of desolation, in which the cultivator was forced to abandon to voracious animals the fruits of his toils, and his sole resource for bringing up his family? Yet what became of the treasures which tyranny incessantly wrested from you? They served to raise the

walls

walls of thoſe baſtiles, where writers and ſages of all times, where the defenders of humanity, and the apoſtles of the impreſcriptible rights of nature, expired forgotten, or ſunk under the moſt frightful puniſhments: they ſerved to gorge with wealth the pontiff ſlumbering in voluptuouſneſs; to bribe the fanatic prieſt, whoſe voice preached ſlavery, ſuperſtition, and impoſture; they ſerved to pay the iniquity of magiſtrates, the inſolenee and rapacity of intendants; to pay for contempt of the laws in the governors, idleneſs in all employments and honours, to which a privileged caſt were alone admitted. In one day the tribute of a province was diſſipated; the blood and ſweat of the people paid the expenſes of a royal banquet, and the moſt diſguſting orgies. The public impoſts were ſpent to ſatisfy the extravagance and caprice of the court and its vile ſupporters, to pay the ſhameful complaiſance of ſome royal courteſans; benefices, the patrimony of the poor, were the prey of meanneſs, often of crimes, and almoſt always of vice. But it was not enough that the fruit of your painful toils nouriſhed your privileged oppreſſors; how many times have you not ſeen in the coffers of foreign powers the treaſures of France, and feeble kings, perfidious queens, and wicked miniſters, make the riches of the ſtate ſerve as a ſubſidy to the moſt cruel enemy of France!

If ſo many ſcourges, if ſuch multiplied oppreſſions, if ſuch cruel outrages, live ſtill in your remembrance, ſay, if philoſophy, which diſſipated your too long blindneſs, ſay if the voice of the country, which reſounded in your ears, if the generous impulſe to which you abandoned yourſelves, if the immortal moment in which you broke the infamous chains with which you were loaded, have loſt any part of their auguſt ſplendour, or if you could have believed that a day would come, in which your intentions and your courage would be calumniated.

Then, citizens, you rendered to the revolution the homage of enthuſiaſm; render to it now the homage of reaſon. Far be from you a culpable indifference. Creators of public liberty, preſerve the indelible purity of your work. It would be little to have afforded to the univerſe a proof of the triumphs of liberty over deſpotiſm, if you ſuffered royalty to gain ſome advantage in the darkneſs in which ſhe poſſeſſes the art of enveloping her plots: all maſks are fit for her that can ſerve to ſurpriſe your confidence. The moſt perfidious undoubtedly is that in which, talking the language of republicaniſm, affecting the ſimplicity and candour of the people, it denies with addreſs the abſolute neceſſity of laws, characteriſes them as an inſupportable yoke to free men, and deſcribes the organs of them as new tyrants who muſt be overthrown. Dread the indefatigable obſtinacy of this new Proteus.

Royalty bribes all those cowardly hypocrites who poison daily the air which you breathe with their insolent clamours; put up to sale in the public places the cowardice of their councils, their own opprobrium, and your death: the popular mask which they put on, the imposing title of friend to the country, which they usurp, their perfidious suggestions, of which you have so often been the victims, ought no longer to deceive you: they wish for anarchy, because anarchy leads to royalty: not being able to overthrow the republic, they wish to make it hated; not being able to re-erect the throne, they wish to raise scaffolds. Let your hatred for such monsters be equal to their crimes; let it be immortal as the horror which they inspire; let the oath of hatred to anarchy be united to your oath of hatred to royalty; combine them in your contempt as they are connected in plots and designs; but distinguish between the crime of some brigands and the virtues of a whole people.

Thus, citizens, to the crimes of royalty you were indebted for being awakened to liberty; to the crimes of anarchy you owe the sentiment and the necessity of order—a republican constitution assures you hereafter the maintenance of it. Compare the immense benefits which have resulted even from the short period that has elapsed since the establishment of the constitution—reviving abundance, repressed faction, La Vendée pacified, the brilliancy of the arms of the republic astonishing Germany and Italy. But woe to your glory, if you have only to boast of your battles! Scarcely had the constitutional regime been established, when it overcame the uneasiness of your enemies: ten nations sought your friendship, and peace was the first incense offered to the wisdom of your laws——.

[The President Barras concluded with recommending harmony, unanimity, and firmness, in defence of the republic.

After the speech of Barras, the constitutional guard of the Directory took the oath, in the following words:]

"I swear eternal hatred to royalty and anarchy, and inviolable attachment to the republic and the constitution of the third year."

STATE PAPER.

Letter of Convocation addressed to the Plenipotentiary Envoys of the associated States of Northern Germany, by Von Dohm, the Prussian Minister.

THE undersigned is charged, by the express command of the King of Prussia, his most gracious sovereign, to make the following overtures to all their excellencies, the plenipotentiaries of the associated states of Northern Germany, delegated to assemble in convention at Hildesheim. The general concerns of

Germany,

Germany, with regard to the continuance of the war, ſtill remain in a moſt undecided condition; and the conſolatory hope of a general peace, ſo devoutly to be wiſhed, remains as yet uncertain and remote, to the laſt degree, ſince the negotiations entered upon for that purpoſe may, alas! produce a farther and more obſtinate war, rather than bring about its final concluſion. In this perplexing ſituation, it certainly is a happineſs which Northern Germany cannot ſufficiently praiſe, to ſee itſelf entirely freed, not only from the miſeries of this ravaging war, but alſo from all the inconveniences connected with it, ſuch as the requiſitions of the belligerent powers, the paſſage and marches of troops, and many other ſimilar burdens. It needs but a ſlight comparative glance at the moſt piteous ſtate of the countries of Southern Germany, formerly flouriſhing, and now ruined for a long time to come, in order to feel, in its whole extent, the happineſs of the northern parts, which have, for the two laſt campaigns, enjoyed the moſt perfect tranquillity.

The King is fully convinced, that it can be unknown to none of his co-eſtates, who participate in this bleſſing, that it is the mere reſult of the indefatigable exertions of his Majeſty, by which he has laid a ſafe foundation for the neutrality of Northern Germany, and muſt effectually protect it by a corps of his own troops, and of thoſe of the two allied courts. His Majeſty has further conſolidated this neutrality by the formal acceſſion of his Serene Highneſs the Elector of Saxony, and the whole circle of Upper Saxony, in virtue of a ſupplementary article added to the convention of the 5th of Auguſt, 1796, by which a line of demarcation, extending from the utmoſt coaſts of the North Sea to the Lower Rhine, and from hence to Sileſia, encompaſſed the whole North of Germany. The two aſſociations in this vaſt extent of territory muſt remain ſeparate, with reſpect to the maintenance of the troops drawn out to cover their neutrality, which is done in Upper Saxony by a corps belonging to the elector himſelf; but, with regard to their common deſign, they join hands, and by this enlargement, effected by his Majeſty, the neutrality of Northern Germany receives a new and manifeſt importance.

The King is likewiſe firmly reſolved to ſecure farther, and until the concluſion of the war, the full enjoyment of the neutrality to all the aſſociated ſtates, to protect them and their territories againſt every power, and to defend them in particular, at all times, and in the moſt effectual and powerful manner, againſt the incurſions of the troops of the belligerent powers, againſt each and every demand of military requiſitions, of whatever ſort, and the levying of thoſe requiſitions which might be attempted by execution, and againſt all ſimilar burdens of war; likewiſe to ſcreen them by his moſt forcible interpoſition, during

the period of this neutrality, from all the ſubſequent demands of ſupplies for the war of the empire.

The underſigned is expreſsly inſtructed to give once more theſe definite and moſt explicit aſſurances. It affords infinite pleaſure to his Majeſty, to have thus ſecured the invaluable benefits of the neutrality to all his co-ſtates, connected with his dominions by their topographical locality, in the ſame manner as it has been done to his own territories, and to have thus given them ſo ſtrong a proof of his friendly ſentiments. Beſides the gratifying conſciouſneſs of having hitherto accompliſhed this happy end, his Majeſty requires no other proof of gratitude on the part of his co-ſtates, than that they ſhould continue as heretofore to co-operate in the maintenance of the troops. The King flatters himſelf the more to find the moſt perfect readineſs on their part, ſince the burden which will ariſe from this meaſure to the countries thus protected, does not bear the moſt diſtant compariſon with the manifold evils, and the probable and entire ruin averted from them, eſpecially ſince the two courts allied with his Majeſty, and furniſhing troops in like manner, make the major part of the ſacrifices required for that end. This latter circumſtance muſt ſtrike all the aſſociated ſtates with the moſt perfect conviction, that the continuance of thoſe meaſures will not be prolonged a ſingle moment beyond the period of their indiſpenſable neceſſity. But the underſigned has his Majeſty's direct commands, to declare in the moſt poſitive manner, that his Majeſty deems the continuance of thoſe meaſures abſolutely neceſſary for the preſent, as he will only find himſelf enabled by the corps of troops which is drawn out, covering the line of demarcation, maintaining farther, in the moſt efficacious manner, the neutrality of the countries ſituate within their precincts, to fulfil the promiſes previouſly given. Yet in this, he will not compromiſe himſelf reſpecting thoſe very poſſible events which accompany the viciſſitudes of the fortune of war. But whereas the King is under the neceſſity of ſetting boundaries to the great ſacrifices he has already made; and whereas the concurrence farther demanded of the protected countries for the maintenance of the troops who defend them, is ſo extremely juſt and equitable; the underſigned has alſo expreſs orders, herewith to declare, that in the unexpected caſe of the majority of the ſtates not diſplaying the neceſſary zeal and alacrity, his Majeſty will forthwith withdraw his troops, renounce entirely all the obligations which he has voluntarily taken upon him from motives of patriotiſm; ſuppreſs totally the convention made for that purpoſe with the French Republic, and confine himſelf ſolely to the defence of his own dominions, abandoning all the reſt of their own means and reſources, and making known his intention to the belligerent powers. Should ſuch a reſolution once be taken, and the corps be withdrawn, no circum-

ſtances,

ſtances, of what complexion ſoever, ſhall induce his Majeſty to recur again to the adoption of ſimilar meaſures; and the underſigned is obliged to announce beforehand, that his Majeſty will at no rate intereſt himſelf again in the fate of thoſe of his co-ſtates, who ſhall not now accept of the friendly proffer of protection, made with ſo much friendſhip, and ſo many perſonal ſacrifices.

The coldneſs which has for ſome time paſt been manifeſted rom various quarters reſpecting the maintenance of the troops, as induced his Majeſty to authoriſe the underſigned to make this rank and explicit declaration, and to give the well-meant warnng, not to ſuffer themſelves to be deceived by the hope of a ſpeedy eace, but rather to rely upon the ſufficiently public-ſpirited and atriotic ſentiments of the King, and his Majeſty's knowledge of he general ſituation of public affairs, and to entertain the firm onfidence that his Majeſty would certainly, and with great leaſure to his co-ſtates, ſave the burdens required by the main-nance of the troops, if there were the leaſt poſſibility of ſecuring their territories the benefits of the neutrality, and all the advanges which have hitherto accrued from it, without ſuch a meaſure.

That, however (the ſaving of the burdens occaſioned by the aintenance of the troops), according to the general ſituation of fairs, being impoſſible, and his Majeſty deeming it abſolutely ceſſary to preſerve the corps of obſervation till the concluſion peace; if the tranquillity and neutrality of Northern Gerany are to be maintained, his Majeſty doubts not but all his ociated co-ſtates will ſhew their readineſs for that purpoſe, in e maintenance of the troops, diſplay proper zeal in a meaſure cloſely connected with ſelf-preſervation, and render practicable farther execution of the beneficent deſigns of his Majeſty.

With this confidence, the underſigned, by ſupreme command, the honour to make known to you, &c. &c.

As thoſe deliberations (in convention at Hildeſheim) will clude all ſubjects not eſſentially and directly relating to the intenance of the troops, the underſigned will loſe no time to minate them with the utmoſt ſpeed, and not to detain the nipotentiaries a moment longer than ſhall be neceſſary from lowing their other affairs. The flattering confidence with ich the underſigned has hitherto been honoured in the late gotiations, makes him equally confident that his zeal and ivity will be entirely depended upon in that buſineſs. He has y moſt urgently to requeſt, that, for the ſake of diſpatch, the s may furniſh their plenipotentiaries with full inſtructions for purpoſe, which has been thus plainly notified, in order not aſte time in ſending for new ones, but that the neceſſary reſoms may be taken, not only for the farther ſubſtantial regula- of the maintenance, but for the obligatory aſſent to the ſame he end of the war.

The underſigned has it likewiſe in command to requeſt, that their excellencies the plenipotentiaries may arrange matters in ſuch a manner, as not to quit the convention, till the ſtate of affairs ſhall permit its ſuſpenſion or concluſion, ſince the gradual departure of many plenipotentiaries has formerly occaſioned a precipitate ſuſpenſion of the firſt convention, which has been highly prejudicial to the diſpatching of buſineſs. His Majeſty will alſo conſider the fulfilment of this wiſh, and the infallible meeting of the convention, according as it is expected to meet, as a gratifying proof that his ſerene co-ſtates wiſh to do juſtice to his efforts and ſacrifices. And the underſigned alſo looks forward for the deſired anſwer, reſpecting the fourth ſending of ſupplies, before the expiration of the preſent month, and hopes to have the honour and pleaſure to ſee again their excellencies the plenipotentiaries at the ſecond opening of the convention, on the 20th of February.

(Signed) DOHM.

Halberſtadt, Jan. 4th, 1797.

Madrid, March 1ſt.

STATE PAPER.

The following Inſtrument has been publiſhed by Royal Authority.

THE glory of my crown and the honour of my people, with the government of whom I have been entruſted by Divine Providence, and the intereſt I take in defending their rights, and in obtaining a juſt ſatisfaction for the inſults they have ſuſtained by the Engliſh, by a notable infraction of the moſt ſolemn treaties, founded upon the reciprocal utility of both ſtates, obliged me, contrary to my pacific intentions, to enter into a new war, when hardly diſengaged from that which I had maintained againſt the French republic, which terminated in an honourable peace that ſecured the tranquillity and happineſs of my faithful ſubjects.—But to conſolidate this important benefit, and to contribute to the repoſe of which Europe ſtood ſo much in need, I find myſelf under the indiſpenſable neceſſity of entering into new engagements, which require an enormous expenſe and immenſe proviſion.—As it has ever been my principal object to unite the high dignity of my crown with the good of my ſubjects, already ſo much oppreſſed by the weight of the public revenue as ſcarcely to admit of any new impoſts, I have not availed myſelf of the power with which I am inveſted, nor adopted any of the means pointed out to me as capable of producing the deſired effect; being perſuaded that, on the contrary, it would be more convenient to adopt other meaſures, which may greatly facilitate the

the neceſſary ſuccours, ſuch as the re-eſtabliſhment of the loan upon the revenue of tobacco, created by my auguſt predeceſſor according to a royal decree of Dec. 17, 1782, and conformable to my edict of Dec. 10, 1794, which will effectually unite the neceſſities of the ſtate with the good of individuals, of which it is compoſed.—The return of the capital having the moſt advantageous ſecurity, will tend to inſure the future ſubſiſtence of families, without the riſque to which money might be expoſed when at the arbitrary diſpoſal of inexperience and diſſipated youth —I have therefore reſolved to open the above loan for the term of one year, reckoning from the 1ſt of January, 1797, with the liberty of continuing the ſame as I may find it convenient.

(Signed) I THE KING.

Letter from General Buonaparte to the Chevalier Azzara, Miniſter of Spain reſiding at Florence.

Sir,

THE interpoſition of the King of Spain's good offices, which you informed me of by extraordinary couriers expedited from Florence, and which I received at Ancona, have had their effect. You will find encloſed the articles of peace concluded two hours ſince between the French republic and the Pope.

I lament that circumſtances did not permit you to be preſent in perſon, to have aſſiſted at the ſigning of this treaty.

You ſaved Rome by the armiſtice you concluded eight months ſince at Bologna. If your counſels had been attended to, Rome would not have been again expoſed to the dangers and calamities of war, which ſhe made an ineffectual effort to ſupport. At preſent I hope experience will teach the people of Rome to comprehend the wiſdom of your counſels; and I have no doubt but that his Holineſs is ſenſible how much he is indebted to you for his preſent ſecurity and tranquillity, and that he deſires your ſpeedy return to Rome. As for myſelf, your preſence there is my moſt ardent wiſh, being perſuaded that it will powerfully contribute to the propagation of thoſe pacific ſentiments that ought henceforth to animate the Holy See.

I hope you will credit the expreſſions of eſteem and high conſideration with which I am, Sir, your moſt affectionate,

BUONAPARTE.

Memorial of the Pope's Nuncio, addreſſed to the Prince of Peace.

FROM the terms propoſed at the Congreſs of Florence, by the French commiſſioner to the Pontifical plenipotentiary, of which your excellency is already informed, it will be plainly perceived at what price we are to purchaſe a reconciliation with the French republic.

At firſt his Holineſs was ſtruck with aſtoniſhment, on ſeeing that attempts were made to deceive his own conſcience, to give the moſt fatal blow to religion, which, in his capacity of viſible chief of the church, and as the centre of the unity of all the Catholics, he will never betray.

His Holineſs could not but be farther concerned at the ſeizure of his provinces, at the diminution of his domains, and the privation of the church of Rome of her ſecular rights, which ſhe cannot reſign, owing to the repeated oaths taken by his Holineſs, at the moment of his being raiſed to the pontifical dignity.

Unable to admit thoſe terms, and even deſpairing of the French commiſſioners finally deſiſting from or diminiſhing their pretenſions, both in a ſpiritual and temporal light, theſe conſiderations reduce his Holineſs to the cruel neceſſity of ſuſpending the general armiſtice, and of occupying himſelf, on the other hand, with the means of defence, the moment the plan of the threatened invaſion ſhall be put in execution againſt us.

At the ſame time, the Archbiſhop de Pigri entreats the Prince of Peace to lay the preſent memorial before his Catholic Majeſty; he continues to implore with a lively confidence the continuance of his royal protection in favour of the Catholic religion and the church of Rome.

—*Madrid, Sept.* 30, 1796.

Anſwer of the Prince of Peace to the Note of the Archbiſhop de Pigri.

THE King of Spain, in conformity to the title of Catholic, by which he is diſtinguiſhed, and in conſequence of the particular eſteem which he has entertained, and does ſtill entertain, for the perſon of the Holy Father, has rendered all the ſervices ſuggeſted by his religious zeal and his ſincere attachment, in order that the revolutions which may agitate Europe might not diſturb in any manner the peace of the church, nor the temporal tranquillity of his Holineſs. His Majeſty has diſcovered, nor will he conceal it from his Holineſs, that the equivocations and the erroneous principles with which the court of Rome has entered upon its negotiations, the circumſtances by which the government has given

given reaſon to ſuſpect its ſincerity, and the indolence of the perſons charged with the adminiſtration of his Holineſs's dominions, have brought things to the point of involving his ſacred perſon, and of rendering the forfeiture of his ſecular poſſeſſions almoſt unavoidable.

In a ſimilar poſition, where all the means are inſufficient to avert the threatened misfortunes, in ſo critical a juncture it ſeems to be the moſt prudent way for his Holineſs to give up his worldly domains, to take every care to preſerve his perſon, in order to be able to continue to give proofs of his fervent zeal, and to endeavour to preſerve untouched the ſacred rights of the church, to conſole the Chriſtian people, and to encourage the faithful by his example and his words. This is all the Prince of Peace has to communicate to his lordſhip the archbiſhop.

Imperial Ukaſa, or Edict, iſſued at Peterſburgh, reſpecting the Importation of French and Dutch Merchandize.

PAUL I. by the Grace of God, Emperor and ſole Governor of all the Ruſſias, &c.

We do moſt graciouſly ordain,

1. THE importatton of all French wines, without exception, alſo ſalad oils of Provence, olives, capers, anchovies, to be freely permitted in all our harbours in neutral bottoms.

2. French and Spaniſh brandy is only permitted to be imported by neutral ſhips in thoſe harbours which are ſpecified in the ukaſa of the 11th of December, 1784, and to which we add the ports of Liebau and Windau.

3. The duties on wine, oils, &c. ſhall be taken from the tariff of September 27, 1782, till a new one ſhall appear, and the duty on French brandy ſhall be regulated agreeably to the ukaſa of November 25, 1793.

4. The ukaſa of the 8th of April, 1793, ſhall be ſtrictly obſerved, as far as it forbids the importation of various French goods, and of others which are mere objects of luxury; as likewiſe all communication with the French, until a lawful government and order of things ſhall have been introduced in that country; the certificates of conſul or government ordained by the ſaid ukaſa ſhall alſo no longer be demanded in the future importation of French goods, except for ſuch articles for which ſome duties are to be remitted.

Done at St. Peterſburgh,
Jan. 22, 1797.

SECOND UKASA.

PAUL I, &c.

WE do hereby most graciously permit the free importation, in all our harbours, of such Dutch goods as are not prohibited in the tariff or the ukasa, provided such importation takes places in ships belonging to neutral powers. Those goods are to pay the duties prescribed by the tariff of September 27, 1782, till a new tariff shall be published.

Done at St. Petersburgh,
Jan. 22, 1797.

Imperial Rescript to the Diet of Ratisbon, respecting the furnishing of the Quintuple Contingents.

HIS Majesty, the Emperor and King, has not ceased to endeavour to convince the states of the empire during the present war, that the vigorous support of the united empire is required to avert the danger which threatens the Germanic constitution with total subversion. This danger became the more manifest, since several princes of the empire entered into separate negotiations with the French republic, and by so doing exempted themselves from all further active co-operation for the defence of Germany. The apprehensions which his Imperial Majesty has so frequently expressed, that, to all appearances, there would be proposed plans for secularizing several ecclesiastical states of the empire as fundamental terms of peace, have been confirmed by the negotiations lately entered into at Paris; and the ecclesiastical states of the empire cannot but have remarked his Majesty's total aversion to consent to a plan so destructive to the empire, and to an indemnity at the expense of his patriotic co-estates; and that his Imperial Majesty would rather venture every extreme, than suffer such conditions to be forced upon him.

His Majesty, therefore, expects on the other hand, that as the danger becomes hourly more imminent, the states of the empire will most speedily unite, and by exerting their utmost efforts, procure all possible aid and support, in order to second his Imperial Majesty in the generous resolution of defending, in the most efficient manner, the cause of the ecclesiastical states of the empire, both in war and at the conclusion of peace. To attain, however, this salutary end, the furnishing of the quintuple contingent is an object of immediate necessity.

(Signed) BARON VON THUGUT.

Vienna, Feb. 6, 1797.

Declaration of the Prince Biſhop of Wurtzburg, in anſwer to the Imperial Reſcript.

HIS ſerene highneſs the prince biſhop of Wurtzburg entered into the preſent war on the principle of exerting all his powers to ſatisfy in the moſt ſcrupulous manner the concluſa of the empire reſpecting the furniſhing of the contingents and of the Roman months. His ſerene highneſs has long been convinced, that, had the French government ſucceeded, agreeable to the tenor and the views of the treaty of Baſil, to force the Imperial court on the banks of the Danube, to make peace, the conſequence would have been the overthrow of the Germanic conſtitution, which muſt have been ſubſcribed to in that caſe; the eccleſiaſtical elective ſtates would alſo have fallen, and by their fall that of other ſtates would have been prepared.

His ſerene highneſs has never ſanctioned any unconſtitutional meaſure with his conſent; he has ſupported at all times the common cauſe with all his power, and will alſo ſtrive in future to prove his unchangeable attachment to the Houſe of Auſtria. No arrears for Roman months are therefore due from his highneſs. And in order to complete his quintuple contingent, a conſiderable levy of recruits has already been ordered, and will take the field, provided with all neceſſaries, at the beginning of this campaign. His highneſs has ſupplied the Imperial army with fruits, to the amount of 648,205 florins; with wood, worth 31,131 florins; waggons, at the rate of 20,753; which, including ſome other articles of expenditure, will occaſion a loſs of 300,000 florins for the dioceſe of Wurtzburg alone.

In other reſpects, his highneſs the prince biſhop is convinced, that there actually exiſts in Germany a powerful confederation of the proteſtant princes, who have reſolved beforehand, to do nothing more to ſerve the common cauſe; but his highneſs has no doubt that, on the other hand, all the Catholic, eſpecially the eccleſiaſtical elective princes, unanimouſly agree in the main point of doing every thing for the common cauſe, and are already united with the Imperial court; his highneſs, at leaſt, owns ſuch a connexion for his own part, and is prepared to ſuffer all the viciſſitudes which this convenant may hereafter produce, and which cannot but turn out to be conſolatory and remunerating to the fortitude and the pure policy of the Imperial court. His highneſs, with the reſt of his eccleſiaſtical co-ſtates, is ready to enter into a more explicit and confidential engagement with his Imperial Majeſty upon that ſubject, which he expects with gratitude.

Wurtzburg, Feb. 15, 1797.

Convention concluded between General Buonaparte and the Marquis of Menfredini, on behalf of the Grand Duke of Tuſcany.

1. THE Grand Duke ſhall pay 800,000 livres, as an indemnity for the expenſes of the French garriſon at Leghorn.

2. General Buonaparte promiſes to withdraw that garriſon, conſiſting of 1600 men, on whoſe departure the Grand Duke will pay 1,200,000 livres more to the French republic.

Buonaparte, General in Chief of the Army of Italy, to Cardinal Mattei.

Head-quarters, Ancona, 25 *Pluvioſe,* 13 *February.*

I RECOGNIZE in the letter which you took the trouble to write to me, M. Cardinal, that ſimplicity of manner which characteriſes you; you will ſee by the annexed papers the reaſons which have induced me to break the armiſtice concluded between the French republic and his Holineſs. No one is more convinced of the deſire which the French republic has to make peace, than Cardinal Buſca, as he acknowledges in his letter to M. Albini, which has been printed, and the original of which is in my hands. The Pope rallied the enemies of the republic, when the firſt powers of Europe were eager to acknowledge the republic, and deſired peace with her—he fed himſelf with vain chimeras, and nothing was forgotten to commence the deſtruction of this fine country. Neverthelefs, there remains ſtill to his Holineſs the hope of ſaving his ſtates by placing more confidence in the generoſity of the French republic, and by giving himſelf up wholly and ſpeedily to pacific negotiation.

I know that his Holineſs has been miſled; I will ſtill prove to all Europe the moderation of the Executive Directory of the French republic, by allowing him five days to ſend a negotiator, furniſhed with full powers, who ſhall proceed to Foligno, where I ſhall be, and where I deſire to be able to contribute, as far as in me lies, to give a ſignal proof of the conſideration which I have for the holy ſeat. Whatever happens, M. Cardinal, I beg you to be aſſured of the diſtinguiſhed eſteem with which I am, &c.

(Signed) BUONAPARTE.

Buonaparte,

Buonaparte, Commander in Chief, to the Executive Directory.

Head-quarters at Tolentino, 10 *Ventose,*
February 19.

I SHALL send you immediately the ten standards which we have taken from the Pope in the different actions we have had with his troops. You will find annexed the copy of a letter which the Holy Father has written to me, and of my answer.

(Signed) BUONAPARTE.

PIUS POPE VI.

Dear Son, Health and Apostolic Benediction.

DESIRING to terminate amicably our differences with the French republic, by the retreat of the troops which you command, we send and depute to you, as our plenipotentiaries, two ecclesiastics, the Cardinal Matty, who is perfectly known to you, and M. Caleppi; and two seculars, the Duke Don Lewis Braschi, our nephew, and the Marquis Camillus Massimi, who are invested with our full powers, to concert with you, promise and subscribe such conditions as we hope will be just and reasonable, obliging ourselves, under our faith and word, to approve and ratify them in special form, in order that they may be valid and inviolable in all future time. Assured of the sentiments of good will which you have manifested, we have abstained from removing any thing from Rome, by which you will be persuaded of the entire confidence which we repose in you. We conclude by assuring you of our most perfect esteem, and in giving you the paternal apostolic benediction.

PIUS, P. P. XVI.

Given at St. Peter's, in Rome, the 12*th February,*
1797, *the* 22*d year of our pontificate.*

Buonaparte, General in Chief of the Army of Italy, to his Holiness the Pope.

Head quarters at Tolentino,
Most Holy Father, 1 *Ventose, 5th Year.*

I OUGHT to thank your Holiness for the obliging things contained in the letter which you have taken the trouble to write to me.

The peace between the French republic and your Holiness is just signed: I felicitate myself in having been able to contribute to your personal safety.

I entreat your Holiness to guard against the persons now at Rome, who are sold to the courts, the enemies of peace, or who suffer themselves to be guided exclusively by the passions of hatred, which the loss of territory naturally engenders.

Europe knows the pacific inclinations, and the virtue of your Holineſs. The French republic will be one of the trueſt friends of Rome.

I ſend my aid-de-camp, chief of brigade, to expreſs to your Holineſs the perfect eſteem and veneration which I have for your perſon, and to entreat you to confide in the deſire which I have to give you, on every occaſion, proofs of the reſpect and veneration with which I have the honour to be,

Your moſt obedient ſervant,

BUONAPARTE.

STATE PAPER.

Declaration of the General Adminiſtration of Lombardy.

WHEREAS, notwithſtanding the declaration of neutrality of the Helvetic republic, the inhabitants of the bailiwicks of Lugano and Belinzona have openly favoured the deſertion of the Auſtrian priſoners; whereas money, boats, and clothes are procured, and roads pointed out to them to join their armies; whereas the magiſtrates permit Auſtrian and Engliſh emiſſaries to reſide in thoſe bailiwicks, from whence they endeavour to diſturb the internal tranquillity of Lombardy; whereas the principal magiſtrate at Lugano has dared to compel by force ſome Lombards who reſided in that town, to lay aſide the cockade of the firſt power in Europe, which is the French republic: In fine, whereas theſe infringements of the neutrality diſplay a tendency hoſtile to the French republic, and contrary to the good underſtanding which ought to ſubſiſt with Lombardy, the General Adminiſtration reſolves as follows:

1. All the inhabitants of the bailiwicks of Belinzona and Lugano, who ſhall appear on the territory of Lombardy, unprovided with paſſports of the Lombard conſtituted authorities, ſhall immediately be arreſted as ſuſpected perſons, conducted beyond the frontiers, and, ſhould they return again, be treated as ſpies of the hoſtile powers, and judged by martial law.

2. All the Swiſs barges, on board of which Auſtrian deſerters ſhall be found, are to be confiſcated, and their maſters judged by military law as perſons recruiting for the enemy.

3. As long as the agents of Auſtria, eſpecially one Andreazzi, calling himſelf an Imperial commiſſioner, ſhall not be baniſhed from thoſe countries, the importation of corn from Lombardy ſhall be prohibited.

Ratisbon, February 19.

THE impending new campaign has been officially announced to the diet of the empire. The declaration made on the 14th instant, on the part of the Emperor, to the three colleges of the empire, contains amongst others, the following passage:

The states must have acquired the most perfect conviction from many events, especially from the hostile sentiments expressed by the enemy against the integrity of the empire, that it is become unavoidably necessary to make greater efforts, and to lose no time, in straining every nerve to support his Imperial Majesty, in the generous patriotic resolution of employing all his forces for the welfare of the Germanic empire, and the preservation of its constitution, with all possible vigour, and with farther sacrifices of his resources.

The Emperor then demands of all those states, who wish for the farther protection of the Imperial arms, the speedy furnishing of their quintuple contingent of troops, who are to join the army of the empire without delay; to furnish also the contingents in money, and the arrears of the Roman months, in order that the effective force may be seasonably known before the opening of the impending campaign, which is to be carried on with the greatest energy.

The Emperor concludes his declaration by stating:

His Majesty the Emperor and King, considering the immense efforts of the enemy, and the vicissitudes of the war which have hitherto taken place, will find it impossible to avert the hostile dangers which threaten the Germanic constitution, and the prosperity of certain districts of Germany, unless his co-states will grant him the most active support.

Louis XVIII. to the French.

A PROFOUND grief penetrates our breast every time we see Frenchmen groaning in captivity through their attachment to the safety of France. But will it satisfy your tyrants to have procured new victims? In this conspiracy which they impute to them, in the papers they publish so fastidiously, will they not seek pretexts to calumniate our intentions? Is it not to be dreaded, finally, that, either by forging papers, or by throwing out subtle insinuations, they will attempt to paint us to you in false colours?

It is our duty to admonish you against a perfidy which the experience of what is past authorizes us to foresee: it is our duty to manifest to you the sentiments with which our heart is filled. The tyrants envelope themselves in the shades of mystery; a father

 dreads

dreads not to be feen by his children. Thofe of our faithful fubjects whom we have appointed to inftruct you as to your true interefts, will retrace in this paper the inftructions they have received. Thofe whom the purity of their zeal, and the wifdom of their principles, will entitle to our confidence in future, will here read aforehand the inftructions which will be given to them.

Finally, all the French, who, fharing our love for the country, wifh to concur towards faving it, will inftruct themfelves in the rules they ought to follow; and all France, acquainted with the end to which every one fhould concur in concert, and the means which ought to be employed, will form a judgment for itfelf of the good which it ought to expect from them.

We have faid to our agents (note, by the Directory: Dunan, Brottier, and Lavilluernois), and we repeat to them inceffantly: Bring back our people to the holy religion of their forefathers, and to the paternal government, which fo long conftituted the glory and happinefs of France. Explain to them, the conftitution of the ftate has been calumniated becaufe it has been mifunderftood. Inftruct them to diftinguifh it from the regime which has been too long introduced. Shew them, that it is alike oppofite to anarchy and defpotifm, the two fcourges which are as odious to us as they are to them, but which alternately have afflicted France fince fhe has no longer had a king. Confult wife and enlightened men as to the new degrees of perfection of which that conftitution may be fufceptible, and make known to them the forms it has prefcribed to effect its own amelioration. Affirm, that we are adopting the moft efficacious meafures to preferve it from the injuries of time, and from the attacks of authority itfelf. Guarantee once more oblivion of errors, of injuries, and even of crimes. Quench in every breaft every the fmalleft wifh of private revenges, which we are refolved to reprefs with feverity. Tranfmit to us the public will as to the regulations which are calculated to correct abufes, the reform of which will be the conftant object of our folicitude. Apply all your attention to prevent the return of that regime of blood which has coft us fo many tears, and with which our wretched fubjects are ftill menaced. Direct the choice they are about to make towards men of worth, friends of order and peace, who are at the fame time incapable of betraying the dignity of the French name, and whofe virtues, intelligence, and courage may help us to reftore happinefs to our people. Promife rewards proportioned to their fervices, to the military of every rank, and to the members of the adminiftrations who fhall cooperate towards the re-eftablifhment of religion, laws, and legitimate authority. But, in the re-eftablifhment of them, avoid the employment of the atrocious means which were practifed to overthrow them. Expect from the public opinion a

ſucceſs, which it alone can render ſolid and durable; or, if it ſhould be neceſſary to have recourſe to force of arms, do not at leaſt employ this cruel force until the laſt extremity, and to give it a juſt and neceſſary ſupport.

Frenchmen! All the documents you may meet with in conformity to theſe ſentiments, we ſhall glory in avowing. If any ſhould be preſented to you in which you ſhould not recognize theſe characters, reject them as the productions of liars; they are not in conformity with our heart.

(Signed) LOUIS.

Given on the 10th of March, of the year of Grace 1797, and our reign the ſecond.

PROCLAMATION.

Buonaparte, General in Chief of the Army of Italy, to the Soldiers of the Army of Italy.

Head-quarters at Baſſano, 20 Ventoſe, 5th Year (10 March).

THE capture of Mantua has almoſt given the finiſhing ſtroke to a campaign which has entitled you to the eternal gratitude of your country.

You have carried victory in fourteen pitched battles, and in ſeventy engagements. You have taken more than an hundred thouſand priſoners. You have taken from the enemy 500 field pieces and 2000 large cannon.

The contributions levied on the countries you have conquered, have ſupported, maintained, and paid the army during the whole campaign. You have, moreover, ſent 30 millions to the miniſter of finance, for the increaſe of the public treaſure.

You have enriched the Muſeum of Paris with above 300 ſubjects, maſter-pieces of ancient and modern Italy, the production of which has been the labour of thirty ages. You have conquered for the republic the fineſt countries of Europe. The republics of Lombardy and Ciſpadana are indebted to you for their liberty. The colours of France, for the firſt time, wave on the Adriatic ſhores, oppoſite, and within twenty-four hours ſail of ancient Macedonia. The kings of Sardinia and Naples, the Pope, and the Duke of Parma, are detached from the coalition of our enemies, and are leagued in friendſhip with us. You have chaſed the Engliſh from Leghorn, Genoa, and Corſica; but you have not yet finiſhed. A more ſplendid achievement is in reſerve for you: in you the country places its deareſt hopes; continue to deſerve its confidence.

Among

Among all the enemies who coalesced to stifle the republic in its birth, the Emperor alone is opposed to us. This prince, degrading himself from the rank of a great potentate, is in the pay of the merchants of London. He is actuated by no other policy, has no other will than that of the perfidious islanders, who, themselves strangers to the horrors of war, smile with pleasure at the miseries of the continent.

The Executive Directory has spared no endeavours to give peace to Europe; the moderation of its proposals was not dictated by the strength of its armies! it did not consult your courage, but followed the impulse of humanity, and a desire to behold you in the bosoms of your families: its voice has not been heard at Vienna, and there is no other hope for peace, but by seeking her in the heart of the hereditary states of the House of Austria. You will there find a brave race oppressed by the wars against the Turks, and by the present war. The inhabitants of Vienna and the states of Austria groan under a superstitious and arbitrary government. There is no one who doubts that the ministers of the Emperor have been corrupted by the gold of the English. You will respect their religion, their customs, their property—remember it is *liberty* you are carrying to the brave Hungarians.

The House of Austria, which for three ages has been diminishing its power by wars, has excited the discontents of the people, by depriving them of their privileges; it will find itself reduced, at the end of the sixth campaign (since it forces us to commence it), to accept such a peace as we shall grant it; and she will descend in reality to that rank of a secondary power, in which she has already placed herself, by submitting to be in the pay and at the disposal of England.

(Signed) BUONAPARTE.

Message of the Executive Directory to the Council of Five Hundred, on the 15th March, 1797.

ANARCHY and royalism are still plotting and threatening us. Government is too weak to oppose to them a bulwark sufficiently strong, because it is not supported by the public functionaries. A considerable number of them have declined rallying about the standard of the friends of the constitution of the third year, by refusing to take the civic oath which you enjoined them to take. The constituted authorities are in this dilemma: they allege, in their justification, that they declared their abhorrence of royalty on entering upon their respective offices, and that the oath prescribed by the law of the 19th Nivose was applicable

plicable only to the functionaries appointed subsequent to that period. From their refusal to comply with the oath of hatred to royalty and anarchy, it is obvious that their inclinations have a bias to one or other of these factions. The law of the 17th Ventose inflicts the punishment of transportation on any public functionary who does not resign his situation after a positive refusal to take the civic oath. Is this law applicable to the old public functionaries? or, is it obligatory only on those who have been recently appointed? The Directory wish the Council to communicate their sentiments on this subject. If this law was not intended to apply to the old functionaries, the Executive Directory suggest the propriety of administering to them an oath of hatred to two factions equally mischievous and dangerous. On the approaching elections, the royalists and anarchists ground their hopes of carrying their criminal designs into execution, and they will make every effort to promote their accomplices to public offices. The disturbances in Vendome favour this notion, and the inadvertent disclosure of facts by the persons under trial at that place is a complete confirmation of it. The licentious writers are continually aspersing and vilifying the government, with a view of bringing it into contempt: a justification of the emigrants is circulated with the greatest industry; the republic is represented as unstable and fluctuating, and the audacity of its enemies is so great, that they go the length of questioning the probability of its continuance.

[The message concluded with a recommendation to introduce a law, obliging the electors to take the oath of hatred to royalty and anarchy, previous to entering upon their functions. Such a law was passed.]

EMBARGO IN THE FRENCH PORTS.

Ministry of the General Police of the Republic.

LIBERTY—EQUALITY.

Extract from the Register and Deliberations of the Executive Directory.

Paris, 27 Ventose (17 March), 5th Year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.

THE Executive Directory resolves, that all communication between France and England, particularly by the ports of Dieppe and Calais, shall be provisionally suspended to the 1st Prairial next (20th May). The ministers of general police and

and the marine are charged with the execution of the present arret.

(Signed) Rewbel, Prefident of the Executive Directory.
La Garde, Sec. Gen.
Cochon, Minifter of General Police.
Dubourg, Sec. of Marine.

STATE PAPER.

Provifory Regulations for the Pruffian Provinces fituate on the left Bank of the Rhine.

Art. I. ON the 1ft Germinal, of the fifth year of the republic (March 21, 1797), all the French adminiftrations, under what denomination foever they may have been organized, fhall entirely ceafe their functions. In order to replace them, and examine their operations, there fhall be created an intermediate commiffion of five members, one of whom fhall be perpetual prefident; the commiffion fhall refide at Bonn.

II. The ancient conftitutions, ufages, cuftoms, laws, and contributions, fhall be re-eftablifhed at the above-mentioned period, for the Pruffian provinces on the left bank of the Rhine. Their magiftracies, chambers of juftice and finances, fhall refume, with full right, their functions. The clergy of all orders fhall remain in the entire poffeffion of their property, and no wood fhall, under any pretence, be felled, without a fpecial and explanatory order from the commander in chief of the French army, called of the Sambre and Meufe; be it however obferved, that, until farther orders, the authority of the republic is the only one that ought to be acknowledged in the conquered countries.

III. The intermediate commiffion fhall appoint a commiffioner with the Pruffian adminiftrations, whofe functions fhall be to watch over the execution of the orders given, either by the commander in chief or by the commiffion; to receive and tranfmit to the commiffion the requefts, either of the adminiftrations or private individuals; as likewife all the inftructions he may happen to obtain, and to give information to the government refpecting the conduct adopted by fome of its former agents in the conquered countries.

IV. Immediately after the inftallation of the magiftracies, which fhall be certified by an authentic act *(proces verbal)*, the chamber of finances of the Pruffian provinces fhall order the agents of the former adminiftrations to give a detailed account of their operations, which it fhall examine and forward to the intermediate

termediate commiſſion, with ſuch remarks as it ſhall think proper to add thereto.

V. The new magiſtrates ſhall correſpond with the intermediate commiſſion, on ſuch matters as relate to their adminiſtration; they ſhall addreſs to the commiſſion all the juſt requeſts which they may deem proper to form, and give every month a minute account of their conduct.

VI. The produce of the taxes of the ſaid Pruſſian ſtates, of which the mode of collection ſhall without delay be fixed, as well as the arrears due on the forced loan, ſhall be thrown, without any deduction, into the cheſt of the paymaſter-general of the army, who will give proper receipts.

VII. By virtue of the execution of the preceding article, no requiſition in money or proviſions ſhall be made in the Pruſſian provinces; ſhould, however, the events of the war, or other circumſtances, render neceſſary a ſupply of proviſions or cattle, or ſhould the want of ſpecie oblige the perſons paying contributions to acquit themſelves in articles of daily conſumption, the proviſions ſhall be received at the prices hereafter mentioned, and in defalcation of the taxes, namely, a quintal of wheat, nine livres; a quintal of rye, barley, or ſpelt, ſix livres; a ſack of oats, of ſix Pariſian buſhels, ſix livres; a quintal of hay, two livres five ſous; a quintal of ſtraw, one livre; a pound of meat, four ſous ſix deniers.

VIII. The members of the magiſterial corporations, and the bailiffs, who, for any cauſe whatever, may have transferred their reſidence to, or preſerved the ſame on the right bank of the Rhine, are authoriſed and invited to reſume their charges. In caſe of the demiſe of any member of the chambers, tribunals, or bailliwicks, the intermediate commiſſion is authoriſed to appoint to the vacant places, perſons recommended as proper objects by the magiſtrates, who are to be immediately reinſtalled.

Theſe preſents, corroborated with the ſeal of command, and delivered to the deputies of the Pruſſian provinces, have been reſolved at Cologne, 22d Ventoſe, 5th year of the French republic, March 12, 1797.

The general, commanding in chief the army of the Sambre and Meuſe, charged by the Executive Directory with the general adminiſtration of the conquered countries.

(Signed) LAZARUS HOCHE.

Promulgated at Weſel,
March 18, 1797.

The General in Chief of the Army of Italy, to his Royal Highneſs M. Prince Charles.

11th Germinal, 5th Year of the Relic (March 31).

M. General in Chief,

BRAVE ſoldiers make war, and deſire peace. Has not the war laſted for ſix years? Have we not killed men, and committed evils enough againſt ſuffering humanity? Such are the exclamations uſed on all ſides. Europe, who had taken up arms againſt the French republic, has laid them down. Your nation alone remains; and yet blood is about to flow more than ever. The ſixth campaign is announced under the moſt portentous auſpices. Whatever may be the reſult, many thouſands of gallant ſoldiers muſt ſtill fall a ſacrifice in the proſecution of hoſtilities. At ſome period we muſt come to an underſtanding, ſince time will bring all things to a concluſion, and extinguiſh the moſt inveterate reſentments.

The Executive Directory of the French republic communicated to his Imperial Majeſty their inclination to terminate a conflict which deſolates the two countries. Their pacific overtures were defeated by the intervention of the Britiſh cabinet. Is there no hope, then, of accommodation? Is it eſſential to the intereſts, or gratifying to the paſſions of a nation far removed from the theatre of war, that we ſhould continue to murder each other? Are not you, who are ſo nearly allied to the throne, and who are above all the deſpicable paſſions which generally influence miniſters and governments, ambitious to merit the appellations of "the Benefactor of the Human Race," and "the Saviour of the German Empire?" Do not imagine, my dear general, that I wiſh to inſinuate that you cannot poſſibly ſave your country by force of arms; but on the ſuppoſition that the chances of war were even to become favourable, Germany will not ſuffer leſs on that account. With reſpect to myſelf, gallant general, if the overture which I have now the honour to make to you could be the means of ſparing the life of a ſingle man, I ſhould think myſelf prouder of the civic crown to which my interference would entitle me, than of the melancholy glory which would reſult from the moſt brilliant military exploits. I beg of you to believe me to be, general in chief, with ſentiments of the moſt profound reſpect and eſteem, &c. &c.

(Signed) BUONAPARTE.

Buona-

Buonaparte, General in Chief of the Army of Italy, to the People of Carinthia.

General Quarters at Clagenfurt, 12th Germinal (April 1).

THE French army does not come into your country to conquer it, nor to effect any change in your religion, manners, or customs. It is the friend of all nations, and particularly of the brave people of Germany.

The Executive Directory of the French republic have spared no pains to bring to a termination the calamities which desolate the continent. Resolved to be foremost in the accomplishment of this plan, they sent General Clarke to Vienna, as a plenipotentiary, to commence negotiations for peace; but the court of Vienna refused to hearken to them: it has even been declared at Vicenze, through the medium of M. St. Vincent, that it did not acknowledge the French republic. General Clarke demanded a passport, to go to speak to the Emperor himself; but the ministers of the court of Vienna dreaded, with reason, that the moderation of the propositions which he was charged to make, would influence the Emperor to conclude a peace. These ministers, corrupted by English gold, betrayed Germany and their prince, and are as reluctant to negotiation as the perfidious islanders who are the horror of all Europe.

Inhabitants of Carinthia! I know it, you detest, as much as we, both the English, who are the only gainers by the existing warfare, and your minister, who is sold to them. If we have been at war for six years, it is contrary to the wishes of the brave Hungarians, of the enlightened citizens of Vienna, and of the simple but honest citizens of Carinthia.

No matter! In spite of England and the ministers of the court of Vienna, we are friends. The French republic assures to you the rights of conquest; let them disappear before the contract by which we are reciprocally bound. You will not join in a contest which is contrary to your sentiments. You will furnish the provisions which we may want. On my part, I shall protect your religion, your manners, and your property. I shall not exact from you any contribution. Is not the war of itself horrible enough? Have you not already suffered too much, you who are the innocent victims of others' folly? The impositions which you have been accustomed to pay to the Emperor will indemnify you for the inevitable losses attending the march of an army, and the provisions with which you will furnish us.

Pro-Memoria of the Imperial Minister Plenipotentiary in Suabia, Count Fugger, tending to make the Inhabitants of the Circle of Suabia rise in a Mass.

THE underſigned miniſter plenipotentiary with the circle of Suabia having received orders, by eſtafette, to prepare the riſing in a maſs, in order to avert the danger which threatens the north of Suabia, and to make this maſs occupy the paſſes bordering on the Tyroleſe, has thought it expedient, partly to further the ſaid purpoſe, partly to carry into effect the appeal already made to the ſtates and inhabitants of Suabia in general having at heart the ſalvation of the country, to cauſe a general congreſs of thoſe ſtates and lords inhabiting the firſt and ſecond line of defence, to be holden in the imperial city of Kempten, on the 7th inſtant.

All the ſtates, lords, and proprietors of the above-mentioned diſtricts are, therefore, humbly requeſted, 1ſt, to appear perſonally, or by delegates, at the ſaid congreſs, ſo important for all Suabia and its preſervation, and to join in common deliberation.

2d, That the ſaid parties concerned do make the neceſſary preparation to aſſemble immediately all the regulars, hunters, and markſmen that can be brought together, properly provided with arms and ammunition, as likewiſe all the proviſions neceſſary for their ſupport, and ſend them to Kempten, the general rendezvous, by forced marches, where they are to remain for the preſent, under the command of Colonel Schnizer.

(Signed) FUGGER.

Dated Ulm, April 4, 1797.

REQUISITION,

Addreſſed by Count Fugger, Miniſter from the Emperor to the Circle of Suabia, to the Lords, Eſtates, and Inhabitants of that Country, to riſe in a Maſs.

THE country is in danger! Should the inhuman enemy, who is diſtinguiſhed only by the commiſſion of every ſpecies of exceſs and horror, ſucceed in penetrating through the northern part of Tyrol, who would be able to deſcribe or calculate the miſery, the extortions, the exceſſes, and the acts of violence they would occaſion? Let us take a retroſpect of what the Suabians ſuffered laſt year, when their property was plundered, their peaceful cottages burnt, and their perſons expoſed to an uſage at once cruel in the extreme, and ſhocking to humanity. Theſe events

events muſt certainly convince every body of what we have to dread from a ſecond irruption. There certainly are hopes left that the invincible courage of the Imperial royal troops, and the perſeverance of the Tyrolean peaſants, will, by their united forces, keep the enemy from our frontiers; but Suabia ought not, at the ſame time, to be an idle ſpectator, while the danger of the war threatens her frontiers, and at ſo ſmall a diſtance. The underſigned royal Imperial miniſter, in conjunction with ſome of the ſtates at preſent aſſembled in this city, or with their counſellors, envoys, and delegates, thinks he owes it to the preſent emergency, to the common cauſe, and the ſalvation of the whole, to make this public appeal to all the good and well-diſpoſed burghers, &c. inhabitants of the country, to avert the danger by patriotiſm and the exertion of their ſtrength, to keep the enemy, by a general riſing in a maſs, from penetrating to their frontiers, and to ſave themſelves and their country. With this well-meant deſign, they are invited to yield ſpeedy, accurate, and ſpirited obedience, with courage and fidelity, to the meaſures which their ſuperiors may think proper to adopt.

(Signed) FUGGER.

Dated Ulm, April 4, 1797.

Proclamation iſſued at Vienna.

THE preſent war, of which the unavoidable conſequence has been the deſtruction of ſo many lives, has given the greateſt uneaſineſs to his Imperial Majeſty from the time of his firſt acceſſion to the throne. Penetrated with a ſenſe of his duty and compaſſion for his ſubjects, and animated with the wiſh to reſtore plenty and proſperity to all his hereditary ſtates, his Majeſty has never ceaſed to deviſe ſuch means as might put an end to the calamities of war; and it was with the utmoſt regret that he ſaw all his endeavours fruitleſs, and himſelf in conſequence obliged to exert his utmoſt force to defend his ſtates and faithful ſubjects againſt the attacks of the enemy. Anxious to ſpare the blood of his ſubjects, his Imperial Majeſty ſtill wiſhed for peace, even in the moment when his arms were moſt ſignally victorious. His Majeſty has now likewiſe given in charge to the underſigned, the preſident of Lower Auſtria, to communicate to the public the moſt poſitive aſſurance, that "he is now employed, in the moſt earneſt manner, in haſtening the concluſion of a peace." But, though his Majeſty will neglect nothing which may procure the bleſſings of a ſpeedy peace to his hereditary ſtates, he truſts with confidence, that ſhould the enemy, dazzled by the changeable fortune of war, contrary to what we would hope, arrogantly reject all reconciliation, or inſiſt on extravagant

travagant conditions, and ſuch as are diſgraceful to the Auſtrian nation, every faithful ſubject, mindful of the duties to which he has ſworn, will exert his utmoſt efforts to obtain peace by a courageous defence of his country, and will contribute all in his power to preparations which the extreme emergency may render neceſſary for the ſafety of the capital; and that the brave inhabitants of Vienna will ſhew no leſs courage and loyalty than their glorious anceſtors, who, under Ferdinand and Leopold I. on the walls of their city, fought and conquered, for religion, their ſovereign, their country, and their honour.

FRANCIS COUNT SAURAU,
Preſident of Adminiſtration in Lower Auſtria.

Vienna, April 4, 1797.

From the Vienna Court Gazette, April 8.

HIS Imperial Majeſty, moved with the loyalty of the inhabitants of Vienna, who have courageouſly offered themſelves to defend the country, at this general call for their aſſiſtance, has been pleaſed to order, ſolemnly to ſignify to the people his utmoſt content and ſatisfaction, and to make known, at the ſame time, in order to give a particular mark of his gratitude to the loyal citizens of Vienna, that every widow of a citizen who may loſe his life in the preſent circumſtances, and who is left deſtitute of ſupport, ſhall receive a proportionable penſion.

Yeſterday appeared here, from the government of the Lower Auſtria, the following proclamation:

"The preſent conjuncture of the times requiring it, his Majeſty the Emperor has been pleaſed to order, that all ſtrangers, without diſtinction, ſhall leave this place within three days, and go to Bohemia, Moravia, and Gallicia, where they ſhall be permitted to ſtay in the provincial towns. All houſekeepers ſhall be made anſwerable, if, after the expiration of theſe three days, a foreigner is found in their houſes, without the knowledge of the police.

"*Vienna, April* 7, 1797."

The Gazette likewiſe contained the following proclamation relative to the Bank of Vienna:

"WHEREAS an unuſual demand has been made on the Bank for caſh, in exchange for its notes, either by ſelfiſh and avaricious perſons, or ſuch as harbour malicious deſigns againſt the ſtate, his Imperial Majeſty, from his fatherly care for his people, has been pleaſed to order that from the 5th of April inſtant,

inſtant, the following regulations ſhall be adopted, until, by the aſſiſtance of Divine Providence, a change of circumſtances, ſpeedily to be hoped, may take place, which ſhall reſtore the former order of things."

Theſe regulations conſiſt in ordering that, on the uſual days of payment, Bank notes ſhall be exchanged for ſmaller; and ſmall ſums of caſh, from five to twenty-five florins, be given, if required.

That theſe notes ſhall be paid by all public offices, in all payments of the public debts, penſions, or intereſt, with ſmall ſums in ready money, to a certain amount, if required.

Theſe notes ſhall be received, at their full value, in all payments of taxes or other dues to the public treaſury, throughout the whole of the hereditary ſtates of Hungary, Bohemia, Gallicia, and Auſtria.

Juſtice and the good of the ſtate likewiſe require that they ſhould be received at their full value, as ready caſh, in all private payments, and in all the tranſactions of commerce, under the guarantee of the government.

Declaration of the Emperor at Vienna, on the 15th April.

COUNT Saurau, preſident of the adminiſtration of Lower Auſtria, has publiſhed a proclamation, by order of his Imperial Majeſty, ſignifying, that though his Imperial Majeſty cannot, for obvious important reaſons, undertake the defence of his capital in his own perſon, he has taken all the neceſſary meaſures, and cauſed every proviſion to be made under his own inſpection, for its defence. His Imperial Majeſty likewiſe expreſſes his hope, *that the enemy will at length conſent to accept more equitable terms, and ſee in their proper light thoſe which his Majeſty has propoſed*; they are ſo framed, as they only can be, without derogating from the dignity of his Imperial Majeſty, and the honour of the nation he has the happineſs to govern. His Majeſty, however, confides in the aſſiſtance and ſupport of all his faithful ſubjects; and truſts, that, ſhould the enemy proceed to extremities, they alone, by the Divine aſſiſtance, will be the victim.

His Majeſty likewiſe gives notice, that whatever damage may be done to the city or ſuburbs by the preparations neceſſary for defence or the aſſaults of the enemy, ſhall be repaired, after the reſtoration of peace, from his Majeſty's *private property*.

The Archduke Charles's Reply to Buonaparte.

Mr. General, *From my Head-quarters, 2d April, 1797.*

THOUGH I make war, and obey the dictates of honour and duty, yet I desire, as well as yourself, peace, for the happiness of the people and of humanity.

As, nevertheless, in the post entrusted to me, it does not belong to me to scrutinize nor to terminate the quarrels of the belligerent powers, and as I am not furnished, on the part of his Imperial Majesty, with any full power to treat, you will see that it is natural, M. General, that I should not on that subject enter into any negotiation with you, and that I should wait for superior orders relative to an object of such high importance, and which is not fundamentally a part of my duty. Whatever, therefore, may be the future chance of the war, or the hopes of peace, I entreat you to be persuaded, M. General, of my distinguished esteem and consideration.

CHARLES, Field-Marshal.

Buonaparte, General in Chief, to the Executive Directory.

Head-quarters, Judenburg, 19 *Germinal (April* 8).

Citizens Directors,

I HAVE the honour to transmit you the letter which I wrote to Prince Charles, together with his reply. You will find annexed the note sent to me by Generals Bellegarde and Murveldt, the reply which I made to them—and finally, the conditions of the armistice which we have agreed upon. You will remark in it, by the line of demarcation, that we occupied Gratz, Bruck, and Rottermann, which we do not now occupy. Besides, it was my intention to give the army two or three days repose. This armistice, therefore, deranges very little the military operations.

BUONAPARTE.

Judenburg, April 7.

HIS Majesty the Emperor and King has nothing more at heart than to concur in restoring repose to Europe, and to put an end to a war which desolates the two nations; in consequence of the overture which you made to his Royal Highness, by your letter

letter from Clagenfurth, his Majesty the Emperor has sent us to you, to come to an understanding upon an object of such high importance.—Pursuant to the conversations which we have just had with you, and persuaded of the good will, as well as the intention of the two powers, to terminate, as soon as possible, this disastrous war, his royal highness desires an armistice for seven days, in order to attain the desired end with more speed, and in order that all delays and obstacles which the continuance of hostilities may occasion to the negotiations, may be removed, and every thing concur to the re-establishment of peace between the two great nations.

Count BELLEGARDE, Lieut. General.
MORVELDT, Major-general.

To Generals Bellegarde and Morveldt.

Gentlemen,

IN the military position of the two armies, an armistice is quite hostile to the French army; but if it is to smooth the road to peace, which is so much desired, and will be so useful to the two nations, I consent without difficulty to your desires.

The French republic has often manifested to his Majesty her desire to put an end to this cruel war; she remains in the same sentiments; and I do not doubt, after the conference which I have had the honour to have with you, that in a few days peace will be at length re-established between the French republic and the Emperor. I beg you to confide in those sentiments of esteem and consideration with which I am, gentlemen, &c.

BUONAPARTE.

THE ARMISTICE.

GENERAL BUONAPARTE, commander in chief of the French army in Italy, and his royal highness the Archduke Charles, commander in chief of the Imperial army, being desirous of facilitating the negotiations for peace which have been opened, agree—

Art. I. That there shall be a suspension of arms between the French and Imperial armies, to commence on this 7th day of April, and to expire on the 13th at night.

II. The French army shall keep the following line: the advanced posts of the right wing of this army shall remain in the position it is now in between Fiume and Trieste; the line shall extend to Treffen, Littai, Windischleistritz, Marburg, Chienhaussen, and the right line of the Muhr, Gratz, Bruch, Leoben, Trasayak, Mantem, along the road from Mantem to Rottenmann; from Rottenmann, Irdinng, along the valley of Lems, to Rastadt, Saint Michel, Spital, the valley of the Drave, and Lientz.

III. There ſhall alſo be a ſuſpenſion of arms in the Tyrol; the generals commanding the French and Imperial troops in that quarter ſhall confer together, and determine on the poſt that each ſhall occupy. Hoſtilities ſhall not recommence in the Tyrol till twenty-four hours after the generals ſhall have agreed upon it; and in all caſes, twenty-four hours ſhall elapſe after the generals commanding the French and Auſtrian troops in the Tyrol ſhall have been reciprocally informed of it.

MORVELDT, Major-general.
Count BELLEGARDE, Lieut. Gen. in the ſervice of the Emperor.

BUONAPARTE, General in chief of the army of the French republic.

Meſſage from the Directory to the Council of Five Hundred, on the 25th April, reſpecting the Victories in Italy and on the Rhine, and the ſigning of the Preliminaries of a ſeparate Peace with the Emperor.

Citizens Repreſentatives,

THE armies of the Rhine and Moſelle, after having favoured the brilliant operations of the army of Italy, by keeping before them the Imperial troops, were no longer to remain in a ſtate of inaction; they have juſt opened the campaign, and the firſt movements have been attended with ſignal ſucceſſes. The army of the Sambre and Meuſe, more formidable ſtill by the remembrance of ſome checks which they have already revenged, rendered the 29th Germinal illuſtrious by a pitched battle and three actions, which immediately eſtabliſhed their poſitions upon the right bank of the Rhine. Among the glorious trophies of this victory are, ſeven thouſand priſoners of war, twenty-ſeven pieces of artillery, ſeven ſtandards, ſixty war and ammunition waggons, &c.

The paſſage of the Upper Rhine, by the army of the Rhine and the Moſelle, was accompliſhed on the 1ſt of Floreal. It ſeems even to ſurpaſs the brilliant operation which took place at the commencement of the laſt campaign. This brave army, more proud perhaps of its retreat from Bavaria, than of the victories which conducted it into that country, which obliged the Archduke to conſume his forces before Kehl, while Mantua called in vain to him for ſuccour, has again taken poſſeſſion of that fort by a coup-de-main, which it had before defended for three months.

This paſſage was accompliſhed in broad day, and by main force, while the enemy were ranged in the order of battle on the oppoſite bank.—They have loſt ſeveral ſtandards, more than twenty

twenty pieces of cannon, their military cheſt, the bureau of the etat-major, and from three to four thouſand priſoners of war, one of whom is a general. The number of killed and wounded is moſt enormous.

Thus, the enemy, diſappointed in all their ſchemes, are every where vanquiſhed, and have no ſafety but in that peace which we have always offered them upon equitable terms.

The diſpatch, in which General Moreau informs us of the paſſage of the Rhine by the army of the Rhine and the Moſelle, is terminated by the following poſtſcript:—"A courier which I received this moment from General Buonaparte, announces to me the ſigning of the preliminaries of peace with the Emperor."

REWBELL, Preſident.
LA GARDE, Secretary-general.

Proclamation of the Senate of Venice relative to the Diſturbances in the Venetian Territory.

12 *April.*

THE conduct of the republic of Venice, during the commotions in Europe, has always been, and ſtill remains, ſo perfectly neutral and friendly towards all the belligerent powers, that the ſenate did not imagine it neceſſary to give the leaſt attention to the evil-diſpoſed who pretended to queſtion their ſincerity: but as theſe malignant enemies of the republic have diſſeminated the vileſt ſlanders againſt the ſincerity of the peaceable diſpoſition of the republic, in a fabricated proclamation, dated Verona, March 22, in which expreſſions injurious to the French republic are attributed to the Proveditori Battagia, the republic of Venice ſees itſelf under the neceſſity of declaring that proclamation forged, and of warning all its faithful ſubjects not to be deceived by ſuch ſlanders, or induced to ſuppoſe that its friendſhip towards the republic of France is in the leaſt changed. The ſenate entertains no doubt, that the French nation will treat ſuch calumnies with the contempt they deſerve, and repoſe that confidence in the republic of Venice which it has merited by its irreproachable conduct.

Ratiſbon, April 21.

The Electoral Envoy of Brandenburgh to the Germanic Diet, by virtue of a Royal Reſcript, has made the following Communication to ſeveral Envoys ſince the 16*th inſtant:*

THAT laſt month the French Executive Directory had by their ambaſſador, Caillard, at Berlin, addreſſed the requeſt to his Majeſty the King of Pruſſia to interpoſe his mediation in a peace

peace between France and Auſtria.' The King had readily accepted this propoſal, declaring however, at the ſame time, that he accepted it only in as far as it ſhould not compromiſe his relations as a ſtate of the empire, and on the general baſis that a *general peace* for the *Germanic empire*, and *even* for England, might be brought about, and that he immediately acquainted the courts of Vienna, Peterſburgh, and London with his intention. That the Imperial court did not decline in a direct manner the proffered mediation, but had profited of it ſoon after, the more eagerly, as the events of the war in Carinthia and Carniola had rendered the wiſh for an acceptable and juſt peace ſtill more urgent; and that at the preſent moment the negotiations of peace between Auſtria and France, under the mediation of Pruſſia, were carrying on with the utmoſt activity, &c. &c.

The Executive Directory of the French Republic to the Magiſtrates of the free Imperial City of Frankfort on the Mein.

THE Directory having been informed that the free Imperial city of Frankfort on the Mein has obſerved a loyal, hoſpitable, attentive, and regardful conduct towards the army of the Sambre and Meuſe, during the preſent campaign, as long as the latter occupied its territory, and remained true to that conduct amidſt the critical circumſtances which attended the retreat of the ſaid army; have reſolved to expreſs their ſatisfaction in this reſpect, and conſequently declares,

That ſhould, againſt the wiſh of the French people, and their government, the war be continued, and the armies of the republic again be forced to penetrate into the heart of Germany, the free Imperial city of Frankfort on the Mein ſhall be conſidered as neutral, and treated as ſuch; its hoſtages ſhall be ſet at liberty, and the preſent declaration be forwarded to its magiſtrates as a ſignal proof of the ſatisfaction of the Directory.

(Signed) BARRAS, Preſident,
LAGARDE, Secretary-general.

Proclamation publiſhed at Vienna, 28 *April.*

THE preliminary articles of peace are ſigned; in conſequence of which, hoſtilities have ceaſed, and the hope of a ſpeedy reſtoration of peace is brought nearer to its completion.

His Imperial Majeſty will feel the moſt heart-felt pleaſure, ſhould he ſucceed in his endeavours to put an end to the war, and ſpare the effuſion of human blood, and, by a laſting peace, to ſecure the honour and happineſs of his beloved ſubjects. His Majeſty

Majeſty has, therefore, given it in charge to the underſigned, to give public notice of the ſigning of the preliminary articles of peace, and the conſequent retiring of the French army; and ſince, by this event, the country of Lower Auſtria is freed from the immediate danger with which it was threatened, his Majeſty will no longer impoſe on his brave and loyal ſubjects the burden of bearing arms, and therefore commands that the general levy be ſuperſeded. His Imperial Majeſty has likewiſe given orders, that a medal ſhall be ſtruck ſuitable to the occaſion, which ſhall be worn on the breaſt by thoſe who voluntarily took up arms for the general levy, as an honourable teſtimony of the gratitude of their country for their fidelity and valour.

It is now, therefore, the will of his Majeſty, that the peaſants ſhould return to their ruſtic labours, the ſtudents to their ſchools, and the artiſans to their reſpective employments; and, by induſtry, economy, and morals, diſtinguiſh themſelves as much as by the ſpirit with which they armed in defence of their country. Should, however, contrary to every expectation, the pacific views of his Imperial Majeſty be fruſtrated by any adverſe circumſtances, he is confident that he can rely on the tried valour and unſhaken fidelity of all his ſubjects.

FRANCIS COUNT VON SAURAU.

Vienna, April 28, 1797.

Meſſage from the Directory to the Council of Five Hundred, on the 27 Floreal (May 16).

Citizens Repreſentatives,

THE Directory have juſt received the ſubjoined manifeſto, publiſhed by the general in chief Buonaparte, relative to our ſituation with the republic of Venice.—They immediately approved of the meaſures adopted in the manifeſto, for the ſafety of the army of Italy, and the ſupport of the republic. They haſten to inform you of their determination, in execution of the 328th article of the conſtitution.

Manifeſto of General Buonaparte againſt Venice.

Head-quarters, Palma Nova, 14 *Floreal (May* 13).

WHILST the French army was engaged in the defiles of Styria, and left far behind them Italy and the principal eſtabliſhments of the army, where only a ſmall number of battalions remained, this was the conduct of the government of Venice: 1. They profited of Paſſion week, to arm 40,000 peaſants, uniting them with ten regiments of Sclavonians, organized them into different corps, and ſent them to different points, to intercept all

kind

kind of communication between the army and the places in the rear.—2. Extraordinary commiſſaries, guns, ammunition of all kinds, and a great quantity of cannon, were ſent from Venice even to complete the organization of different corps of the army. —3. All perſons in the Terra Firma, who had received us favourably, were arreſted; benefits and the confidence of the government were heaped upon all thoſe who poſſeſſed a furious hatred to the French name, and eſpecially the fifteen conſpirators of Verona, whom the Proveditori Prioli had arreſted three months ago, as having premeditated the maſſacre of the French. —4. In the ſquares, coffee-houſes, and other public places of Venice, all Frenchmen were inſulted, treated badly, and called by the names of Jacobins, Regicides, Atheiſts. The French were to leave Venice, and a ſhort time afterwards it was prohibited to them even to enter it.—5. The people of Padua, Vicenza, and Verona, were ordered to take up arms, to ſecond the different corps of the army, and to begin at length thoſe new Sicilian veſpers. It belongs, ſaid the Venetian officers, to the lion of St. Marc to verify the proverb—that Italy is the tomb of the French.—6. The prieſts in the pulpit preached the cruſade: and the prieſts in the ſtate of Venice never ſpeak any thing but the will of the government. Pamphlets, perfidious proclamations, anonymous letters, were printed in the different towns, and began to agitate the minds of all: in a ſtate where the liberty of the preſs is not permitted, in a government as much feared as it is ſecretly deteſted, printers print, and authors write, nothing but what the ſenate pleaſe.—7. All ſmiled at firſt at the perfidious project of the government. The French blood flowed on all ſides. On all the roads, our convoys, our couriers, and every thing reſpecting the army, were intercepted.—8. At Padua a chief of battalion and two other Frenchmen were arreſted. At Caſtiglione de Mori our ſoldiers were diſarmed and aſſaſſinated. On all the great roads from Mantua to Legnano, from Caſſano to Verona, we had more than two hundred men aſſaſſinated.—9. Two French battalions, wiſhing to join the army, met at Chiari with a diviſion of the Venetian army, which attempted to oppoſe their paſſage: an obſtinate conflict took place, and our brave ſoldiers cut a paſſage for themſelves, by putting theſe perfidious enemies to the rout.—10. At Valeggio there was another battle, at Deſſengaro another. The French were every where the weakeſt in numbers; but they know well, that the number of the enemy's battalions is never counted when they are compoſed only of aſſaſſins.—11. The ſecond feaſt in Eaſter, at the ringing of the bell, all the French were aſſaſſinated in Verona. Neither the ſick in the hoſpitals were reſpected, nor thoſe who, in a ſtate of convaleſcence, were walking in the ſtreets, and were thrown into the Adige, where they died, pierced with a thouſand wounds

from

from ſtilettoes. More than four hundred French were aſſaſſinated. —12. For a week the Venetian army beſieged the three caſtles of Verona. The cannon which were placed on the battery were carried at the point of the bayonet. The town was ſet on fire, and the moveable column that arrived in the interim, put theſe cowards to complete rout, by taking three thouſand of the enemy priſoners, among whom where ſeveral Venetian generals.—13. The houſe of the French conſul to Zante was burnt in Dalmatia. —14. A Venetian ſhip of war took an Auſtrian convoy under its protection, and fired ſeveral ſhot at the corvette *la Brune*.—15. The *Liberateur d'Italie*, a veſſel of the republic, with only three or four ſmall pieces of cannon, and a crew of forty men, was ſunk in the very port of Venice, and by order of the ſenate. The young and intrepid Haugier, lieutenant and commander of the ſaid ſhip, as ſoon as he ſaw himſelf attacked by the fire of the fort and the admiral's galley, being from both not more than piſtol-ſhot, ordered his crew to go below. He alone got upon the deck, in the midſt of a ſtorm of grape-ſhot, and endeavoured, by his ſpeeches, to diſarm the fury of his aſſaſſins; but he fell dead. His crew threw themſelves into the ſea to ſwim, and were purſued by ſix challops, with troops on board, in the pay of Venice, who cut to pieces ſeveral that ſought for ſafety in the open ſea. One of the maſters, with ſeveral wounds, and bleeding in every part, had the good fortune to reach the ſhore, near the caſtle of the port; but the commandant himſelf cut off his hand with an axe.

On account of the above-mentioned grievances, and authoriſed by the 22d title, article 328, of the conſtitution of the republic, and on account of the urgency of affairs, the general in chief requires the French miniſter to the republic of Venice, to leave the ſaid city; directs the different agents of the republic of Venice in Lombardy, and the Venetian Terra Firma, to quit it in twenty-four hours; directs the different generals of diviſion to treat as enemies the troops of the republic of Venice, and to pull down, in the towns of the Terra Firma, the lion of St. Marc. Every one will receive, in the orders of the day to-morrow, a particular inſtruction reſpecting ulterior operations.

Buonaparte.

It was ordered to be printed; and a motion was made, that it ſhould be referred to a commiſſion.

Meſſage

Message of the Executive Directory to the Council of Five Hundred.

EQUALITY!—LIBERTY!

Extract from the Register of the Deliberations of the Executive Directory, 26 Floreal (May 15), 5th Year of the Republic.

THE Executive Directory, composed of the members required by the 142d article of the constitution, resolved, that there shall be sent to the Council of Five Hundred a message of the following tenor:

Citizens Representatives,

THE Executive Directory have received the act of the legislative body, respecting the drawing by lot of the members who compose it—your intention was not undoubtedly to adopt unconstitutional measures: the Directory cannot nevertheless refrain from observing to you, that the legislative act in question is positively opposite to the text of the constitution.

The first article, paragraph 2, is thus expressed:

The process verbal signed by the five members of the Directory is sent immediately to the two councils.

The article 141, paragraph 2, of the constitution, is as follows:

The president is to sign and keep the seal.

The article 375, which says, that none of the powers constituted by it have a right to change it, either in whole or in part, except in the case of revision; and the article 377, which remits the depot of this act fundamentally to the fidelity of the legislative body, the Directory, the administrators, and the judges; impose upon us the duty of refusing to concur in the execution of the legislative act, upon the mode of drawing by lot; and we hasten to inform you, that it can neither be sealed nor promulgated by the Directory.

Convinced, citizens representatives, that you do not attach less importance than we do to the religious observance of the constitutional forms, the division of powers, without which, in the terms of the 22d article of the declaration of rights, there cannot exist any social guarantee, we think that you will deem the decision of the Directory to be just. There is a second point to which we must call your attention: the law fixes the epoch at which the different public functionaries must cease to exercise them in order to be replaced by others, but it has not said any thing in particular upon what concerns the members of the Directory going out. Yet he whom lot, during the four first years, or afterwards the revolution of five years shall deprive of his functions, ought, to avoid the reproach of abandoning his post, to know the precise

epoch

epoch at which he ſhall have a right to return to the common claſs of citizens.

We invite you to take this object into your ſpeedy conſideration.

LETOURNEUR.

By the Lord Lieutenant and Council of Ireland.

A PROCLAMATION.

CAMDEN.

WHEREAS there exiſts within this kingdom a ſeditious and traitorous conſpiracy, by a number of perſons ſtyling themſelves United Iriſhmen, for the ſubverſion of the authority of his Majeſty and the Parliament, and the deſtruction of the eſtabliſhed conſtitution and government: And whereas, for the execution of ſuch their wicked deſign, they have planned means of open violence, and formed ſecret arrangements for raiſing, arming, and paying a diſciplined force; and, in furtherance of their purpoſes, have frequently aſſembled in great and unuſual numbers, under the colourable pretence of planting or digging potatoes, attending funerals, and the like, and have frequently aſſembled in large armed bodies, and plundered of arms the houſes of many of his Majeſty's loyal ſubjects in different parts of the kingdom, and cut down, and carried away great numbers of trees, wherewith to make handles for pikes, and other offenſive weapons, to arm their traitorous aſſociates, and have audaciouſly attempted to diſarm the diſtrict of yeomanry corps, enrolled under his Majeſty's commiſſion for the defence of the realm, and even fired upon ſeveral bodies of his Majeſty's forces when attempting to quell their inſurrection; and it is therefore now become neceſſary to uſe the utmoſt powers with which government is by law entruſted for the ſuppreſſion of ſuch traitorous attempts: And whereas the exertions of the civil power have proved ineffectual for the ſuppreſſion of the aforeſaid traitorous and wicked conſpiracy, and for the protection of the lives and properties of his Majeſty's faithful ſubjects:

Now we, the Lord Lieutenant, by and with the advice of the Privy Council, having determined, as far as in us lies, to ſuppreſs ſuch daring attempts, and at the ſame time, deſirous to prevent the well-diſpoſed or miſled from falling into the dangers to which ignorance or incaution may expoſe them, do by this our proclamation forewarn all ſuch to abſtain from entering into ſaid traitorous ſocieties of United Iriſhmen or any of them, and from reſorting to their meetings, and acting under their directions or influence, or taking or adhering to any of their declarations or

 engage-

engagements, and from suffering them to assemble in their houses, or in any manner harbouring them.

And we do strictly charge and command, on their allegiance, all persons having knowledge or information of the meetings of the said societies, or any of them, to give immediate information thereof to some of his Majesty'sejustices of the peace, or to some officer of his Majesty's forces in the neighbourhood of the place where such meeting is intended. And we do forewarn all persons from tumultuous or unlawful assemblies, or from meeting in any unusual numbers, under the plausible or colourable pretence aforesaid, or any other whatsoever.

And we caution his Majesty's loyal and loving subjects, whenever such assemblies shall happen, or that they receive notice from any magistrates, or from the officers commanding any body of his Majesty's forces, to keep quietly within their dwellings, to the end that the well-disposed may avoid the mischiefs which the guilty may bring upon themselves.

And it has become necessary, from the circumstances before mentioned, to employ the military force, with which we are by law entrusted, for the immediate suppression of such rebellious and traitorous attempts now making against the peace and dignity of the crown, and the safety of the lives and properties of his Majesty's loyal subjects. We have therefore issued the most direct and effectual orders to all officers commanding his Majesty's troops, by the exertions of their utmost force, to suppress the same, and to oppose with their full power all such as shall resist them in the execution of their duty.

And we do hereby strictly charge and command all our officers civil and military, and all other his Majesty's loving subjects, to use their utmost endeavours to discover all pikes, pike-heads, concealed guns and swords, offensive weapons, or ammunition of any kind whatsoever.

And we do hereby charge and command all persons having in their custody pikes, pike-heads, or concealed guns, swords, offensive weapons, or ammunition of any kind whatever, to deliver up the same to some magistrate or officer of his Majesty's troops, as they shall answer to the contrary at their peril. And we do hereby strictly charge and command all officers, civil and military, and all other his Majesty's faithful subjects, to be aiding and assisting in suppressing all traitorous, tumultuous, and unlawful assemblies, and in bringing to punishment all persons disturbing or attempting to disturb the public peace.

And whereas we have reason to hope that many of his Majesty's subjects, who have joined the said traitorous societies, have done so without being apprized of the extent of their crimes, and others from intimidation, and that such may be willing to return to their allegiance: Now we being desirous to extend his

Majesty's

Majeſty's pardon to all ſuch as are ſenſible of their errors, and willing to return to their allegiance, do hereby promiſe his Majeſty's gracious pardon to all ſuch perſons, ſo ſeduced or intimidated, as have taken an engagement to the ſaid ſocieties, or any of them, who ſhall, on or before the twenty-fourth day of June next, ſurrender themſelves to any of his Majeſty's juſtices of the peace, being of the quorum, of the counties in which they ſhall reſpectively reſide, and take the oath of allegiance, and enter into ſufficient recognizance with two ſufficient ſureties, if ſureties ſhall be required by the magiſtrate before whom ſuch recognizance ſhall be acknowledged (which recognizance every ſuch magiſtrate is hereby required to return to the next general ſeſſion of the peace, or aſſizes, to be holden in and for the county in which ſuch recognizance ſhall be taken reſpectively), to be of the peace and good behaviour for the ſpace of ſeven years, ſave and except all ſuch as have been guilty of murder, conſpiracy of murder, burglary, burning of houſes, corn or hay, ſtacks of ſtraw or turf, maliciouſly digging up, or injuring, or deſtroying any potatoes, flax or hemp, rape or corn of any kind, planted or ſowed, or deſtroying meadows or hay, maiming or houghing of cattle, adminiſtering, or cauſing to be adminiſtered any unlawful oath or engagement to any of his Majeſty's forces of any deſcription, or inciting or encouraging any perſon to commit any of the aforeſaid offences reſpectively, and ſave and except all perſons now in cuſtody.

Given at the Council Chamber in Dublin, the 17th day of May, 1797.

W. Armagh, Clare, C. Char. Caſhel, W. Tuam, Waterford, Drogheda, Weſtmeath, Shannon, Clanbraſſil, Altamont, Glandore, Portarlington, Farnham, Carhampton, Clonmell, Ely, Goſford, H. Meath, Carleton, Yelverton, J. Foſter, J. Beresford, Denis Browne, T. Pelham, Hen. Cavendiſh, J. Blaquiere, H. Langriſhe, Theo. Jones, Jos. Cooper, James Cuff, George Ogle, D. Latouche, J. Monck Maſon, Arthur Wolfe, James Fitzgerald, Robert Roſs, S. Hamilton, Lodge Morres.

God ſave the King.

Order publiſhed by General Buonaparte, on the 11th of June, at Bologna.

Citizens,

I DIRECT that, in conformity to its wiſhes, the Romagna ſhould be united to Ciſpadania; and the territories known under the names of Modena, Reggio, and Maſſa-Carrara, to the Ciſalpine republic.

 The

The deputies of Bologna, in the legiſlative body, ſhall name ſix deputies, who ſhall come to Milan to form part of the committees which conſtitute the Ciſalpine republic.

The departments of Bologna and Ferrara ſhall be organized by the committee, who ſhall give me advice of it by a courier, in order that I may order the ſuppreſſion of all the proviſional governments.

(Signed) BUONAPARTE.

Meſſage from the Directory to the Council of Five Hundred, on the 5th of June.

Citizens Repreſentatives,

THE laſt diſpatches from St. Domingo, tranſmitted to the Council of Five Hundred, announced that diſpoſitions were made for a general attack in the north of St. Domingo. That attack has taken place: the Engliſh and the emigrants were beat at all points. At Oualaminthe, Sans-ſouci, Valliere, Les Perches, Sainte-Suſanna, Les Montes Organizeis, La Grande Riviere, and many other places that they have been obliged to abandon, they have felt what republican valour can do; what thoſe men are capable of, who paſſionately adore liberty, who are armed only for liberty, and who are determined never to lay down their arms till liberty be out of danger.

General Desfourneaux commanded in chief the army of the north of St. Domingo. He was powerfully ſeconded by Touſſaint Louverture, general of diviſion; by Pierre Michali, general of brigade; and by Grandet, Chriſtophi, and Moiſe, alſo chiefs of brigade. In fact, if it were neceſſary to point out all thoſe to whom the country owes the greateſt obligations in the different actions, it would be neceſſary to name each of the 28,000 republicans who compoſed the French army.

The letter of General Desfourneaux to the miniſter of marine, of which the Directory here ſubjoins a copy, will inform you, citizens repreſentatives, that the moſt perfect tranquillity now reigns in the north of St. Domingo. This tranquillity is the fruit of the prudence, the moderation, and the generoſity of that victorious army, which, in every reſpect, has ſhewn itſelf worthy of the ſame praiſes as our republican armies of Europe, who have been their models.

The Directory ſubjoins alſo to this meſſage, a copy of the military operations of the republican army of the north at Saint Domingo, from the 9th to the 27th Ventoſe.

No official accounts have been received from the colonies of a later date; but the Engliſh and French newſpapers which have been ſent by Citizen Rozier, conſul at New York, ſo much agree

agree with respect to the different facts contained therein, that it appears certain, that on the 22d Floreal the brave Toussaint Louverture surrounded Port-au-Prince, after having captured Mirbalais, taken possession of the camps and forts of the Buisson and Rodrillon, and dispersed the English and emigrant troops commanded by M. Dessource and M. le Baron de Montalembert; more than a thousand of the enemy were killed and made prisoners in this affair.

The letter from the consul at New York, dated 3d Prairial, is couched in these words:

"Many private letters received here from Port-au-Prince confirm, beyond a doubt, our success at St. Domingo. Consternation and horror reign at Port-au-Prince, and they talk of an immediate evacuation."

(Signed) CARNOT, President.
LAGARDE, Sec. Gen.

Message from the Directory to the Council of Five Hundred, on the 5th of June.

Citizens Legislators,

THE Directory again find themselves obliged to speak to you of the sad situation of the town of Lyons. That commune, so imporrant on account of its commerce, its population, and its industry, is become a receptacle for bands of robbers, of emigrants, requisitionaries, and deserters, who are daily creating disturbances, and committing even thefts and assassinations.

We have received information that there exist bands of incendiaries, and of the company of Jesus, organized and commanded by leaders whose counter-revolutionary projects are by no means a secret. Their numbers increase daily: the emigrants, even now, however, take some pains to conceal themselves; but their accomplices direct their poignards against the purchasers of national property.

The excesses committed by this horde are not confined to the town of Lyons, but even extend to the neighbouring departments. An officer of the 9th regiment has been killed. The assassins acquitted in Corse-Istrea have committed fresh crimes. Three couriers from Paris have been stopped. A citizen of Feurs has been stabbed. Numerous events of this nature have been communicated to the Directory. Thieves and assassins are taken away from the scaffolds, and are put to death by the people, who suffer themselves to be so far led away as thus to take the execution of justice into their own hands.

The armed force gives proofs of its zeal and its courage; but the efforts of the police are wholly inefficient. The public func-

tionaries

tionaries are not paid; the gendarmerie is in the same situation, badly armed, badly equipped, and totally discouraged.

We request you, therefore, citizens, to take into consideration the oppression under which the town of Lyons groans, and of which its inhabitants complain. The Directory have exhausted the means of surety, and the military measures which they had in their power. It remains with you to put in action, and to second the zeal of the public officers, by assuring to them their pay, and by placing at the disposition of the Directory sufficient funds for the police, and the administration of the town of Lyons.

Extract from the Proces Verbal of the public Sitting of the Directory, on the 8th of June, 1797.

THE Directory, accompanied by the ministers and the diplomatic corps, repaired to the audience chamber.

The minister for foreign affairs presented to the Directory M. Drayer, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary from the King of Denmark to the French republic, who spoke the following address:

Citizen President,

The earnest wish and desire which the King, my master, has ever expressed for the prosperity of the French nation, must be admitted as a matter of great notoriety. Facts, repeated and uninterrupted facts, have proved the high respect and friendship which his Majesty has entertained for that nation, and his sincere wish and disposition to live with it in perfect amity and good understanding. Where facts speak, professions are useless. The desire of the King to cultivate and draw closer those bonds of union, whose duration and solidity are founded upon the reciprocal interests of the two nations, is unalterable: the completion and accomplishment of this desire is the great object of my mission. His Majesty has charged me to give to you, Citizens Directors, the most solemn assurance of those friendly sentiments with which he is animated towards the French republic; and I rejoice much in being appointed to announce them. My happiness will be completed, Citizens Directors, if, in fulfilling the intentions and wishes of the King, I can also obtain your confidence and esteem.

The president replied—

The Directory receives, with a lively satisfaction, the assurances of friendship that his Danish Majesty has manifested through the medium of you, his envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary. The government of the French republic will

neglect

neglect nothing to preserve that good understanding which has so long subsisted between the two nations. The loyal conduct of the King of Denmark towards the French republic, during the whole revolution, has served to strengthen and draw closer those bonds which united them. The ardent desire which the Executive Directory has to see a solid and lasting peace at length re-unite all the powers of Europe, may be considered as a new pledge made to you, of its disposition towards a power who has never ceased to be its friend.

The Directory doubts not but the personal qualities which have gained you the confidence of his Danish Majesty, will not fail to conciliate the esteem and affection of the government to which you are sent.

M. le Commandeur de Ruffo, minister plenipotentiary from the King of Naples, was afterwards presented to the Directory, and said,

Citizens Directors,

The King, my master, orders me to present to you, along with my credentials, a new guarantee of his friendship. Charged with cultivating carefully the good understanding and sincere harmony which he has contracted with the French republic—the interpreter of his candour, and of his unalterable fidelity—I come to confirm to you the satisfaction he experiences in seeing this fortunate union open for both nations the sources of happiness—an union which industry, and every reciprocal interest, conspires to extend and to cement with ardour, and which real amity is about to consolidate for ever.

With real pleasure, the King, my master, has observed, that the peace and good understanding which are re-established between the two powers, tend to efface the remembrance of the evils which they had reciprocally inflicted on themselves by the war, and to make those events be forgotten, which, at the epoch of its declaration, have perhaps been viewed as contrary to the regard which his Sicilian Majesty has always entertained for France.

The confidence with which the King has honoured me, and my earnestness to merit your's, shall be the sole and only object of my cares, my actions, and my wishes.

The president replied thus:

Monsieur Minister Plenipotentiary of the King of Naples,

The Executive Directory sees with satisfaction, in you, the statesman chosen by his Sicilian Majesty to represent him in his relations with the French republic. Far from us be the recollection of any circumstance which might tend to diminish the harmony and sincere friendship we are desirous of perpetuating between the two nations. His Sicilian Majesty shall be con-

vinced that the French republic is as faithful a friend as it is a redoubtable enemy.

As to you, minifter plenipotentiary, the fentiments which you have manifefted towards the republic fecure to you the efteem of its government, as they are to us a fure guarantee of the fidelity of your principles.

The minifter for foreign affairs next prefented Citizen Michelli, minifter from the republic of Geneva to the French republic, who expreffed himfelf in the following terms:

Citizens Directors,

The affembly of the fovereign people of Geneva having chofen me to be their ambaffador to the French republic, I experience a lively feeling of the honour which my fellow-citizens have conferred upon me by this mark of their confidence, and I am at the fame time penetrated by the fulleft fenfe of the importance of the new functions to which I am called. To procure to my country the friendfhip and the fupport of France, is to confolidate the bafis of its independence, its profperity, and its happinefs. The French people will not withdraw the generous protection with which they have for many years honoured the republic of Geneva, if the moft conftant attachment on the part of their ancient ally can fuffice to fecure its continuance.

The French people will recollect, that in the period of adverfity, when all Europe feemed to have vowed their deftruction, Geneva, the fmall, the feeble ftate of Geneva, never ceafed to remain faithful. They will recollect, that in giving proofs of its devotion, Geneva did not wait until the victorious armies of the republic had furmounted the Alps or the Pyrenees, or paffed the Po or the Rhine—Geneva teftified its attachment to France long before her armies had arrived, by new routes, to the gates of Rome or Vienna, and when the ftandards fufpended from thefe walls did not yet atteft the innumerable triumphs of the republic.

In admiring with all Europe the valour of your troops, and the talents of your generals, the vaft defigns and the aftonifhing refources of your government, Geneva feels with enthufiafm the joy which France experienced in feeing this terrible war fo glorioufly terminated.

There is ftill another kind of glory, Citizens Directors, which you have not difdained to obtain. The fentiments which your energy has excited againft powerful enemies, have infpired, by a contrary effect, difpofitions of good-will towards a friendly people, who look to you as their chief fupport. How happy fhall I be if I can tranfmit to my fellow-citizens new pledges of the affection and efteem upon which they fet fo great a value, and if you receive favourably the teftimonies of their gratitude, and

the ardent wiſhes they this day offer, through me, for the ſucceſs of your labours, and the proſperity of the French republic!

The preſident replied—

Citizen Miniſter of the Republic of Geneva,

The French republic, a ſtranger to calculations of every intereſt which is not that of all mankind, meaſures the friendſhip it vows to its allies only by the ſincerity of their affection. Geneva has connected her cauſe with that of the French republic: the Executive Directory will never ſeparate them.

The aſſembly of the ſovereign people of Geneva will learn, then, through you, Citizen Miniſter, the diſpoſition of the Directory to maintain carefully all the relations which ſhould unite the two republics. The pledge of this diſpoſition is to be found in the principles by which they are animated. Theſe ſtandards, which have attracted your obſervation, are placed here, leſs as trophies of victory, than to demonſtrate, at the moment of peace, the moderation by which the French republic is proud to be directed.

May the republic of Geneva, Citizen Miniſter, ſecure of its independence from without, conſolidate daily, by its attachment to the conſtitution it has formed, the baſis of its liberty and its happineſs! You, Citizen Micheli, in your character of a republican, ought to find in every Frenchman a brother.

The ſame miniſter alſo preſented M. Caborus, miniſter plenipotentiary from the King of Spain to the congreſs which is to be held in execution of the preliminary articles of peace agreed to between the French republic and the Emperor.

The miniſter for foreign affairs introduced to the Directory Citizen Verninac, envoy extraordinary to the Ottoman Porte, on which occaſion he ſpoke to the following effect:

Citizens Directors,

On my return from Conſtantinople, in conſequence of your arret of the 19th Pluvioſe, which, terminating my miſſion to the Ottoman Porte, coincided with my requeſt to viſit France, I deliver to you a diploma from Sultan Selim III. acknowledging the letters which informed him of my recall. I likewiſe preſent a diſpatch from Huſſein Pacha, admiral of the empire, accompanying an Ottoman flag, which I undertook to lay before you as a pledge of his ſincere affection and alliance. From the tranſmiſſion of theſe Turkiſh colours, the firſt preſent of the kind that ſhewed the diſpoſition of the Turks, and from the ſentiments contained in the letters which I bring, you will be convinced, Citizens Directors, that the people on the ſhores of the Boſphorus can appreciate the value of the friendſhip of the republic, and that her glory is not unknown to them. You are aware, perhaps, of

of their intention to form a ſtill cloſer connexion with you, and to pay homage to the ſplendour of the nation by the permanent embaſſy which the Sublime Porte has reſolved to eſtabliſh in France, and which is on the eve of beginning in the perſon of Aly Effendi, who has already reached the territories of the republic.

Sent as I was, Citizens Directors, under the moſt diſcouraging circumſtances, among a people ſeparated from us by a great extent of ſea, and ſtill more ſo by their manners, character, language, cuſtoms, and government—charged with political affairs of the greateſt importance, the protector of many and valuable eſtabliſhments, I have often felt in the courſe of my embaſſy, the difficulty of the duty I had to fulfil; and, conſidering the glory and power of the nation whoſe organ I was, I muſt acknowledge my inability to repreſent it fully and adequately. Your inſtructions, and thoſe of your predeceſſors in the government, ſupported me in that arduous duty. I aſcribe the ſucceſs that has attended my miſſion to the wiſdom of thoſe inſtructions, and to the citizens in official ſituations in the loyal Ottoman court, whoſe efforts in concert with mine, and whoſe wiſe and dignified conduct, contributed very eſſentially to render the French name and the republic reſpected by that nation.

If the love of my country (the ſentiment which occupies the firſt place among the paſſions that influence my conduct) become more fervent in my boſom at the view of places pregnant with prodigies, and particularly on the aſpect of the arid and contracted territory of Greece, which was elevated by this *amor patriæ* to a rank far ſuperior to all the nations of the earth—if, I ſay, this ſentiment were ſufficient to raiſe me to the height of your expectation, I ſhall not deem myſelf unworthy of your confidence.—But, however unproductive this principle may have been in me, I ſhall conſole myſelf with the reflection, that ſuch citizens as you have deigned to confide in me, and that my good intentions will ſecure to me your indulgence.

Edict publiſhed at Berlin.

Frederic William, by the Grace of God, King of Pruſſia, &c. &c. &c.

HAVING underſtood that the Aulic council of Vienna have adopted, without ever conſulting us, different meaſures, on the requeſt of one party, and wholly to the advantage of the complainants, by which they have attacked us and our rights, and diſſuaded our ſubjects from performing thoſe obligations which they have contracted on oath with us, and have even formally

ſummoned

ſummoned thoſe of the Equeſtrian order not to regard us as their ſovereign:

The meaſures which they have adopted, by printing and circulating them, to miſlead our ſubjects, are—

1. A mandate of the Aulic council, dated March 17, 1797, on the ſubject of the claims of the ſovereignty of Brandenbourg againſt the Biſhopric of Eichſtadt.

2. A concluſum of the Aulic council, of the 23d of March, concerning the pretenſions of the ſovereignty of Brandenbourg, againſt the Equeſtrian order in Franconia.

3. *Idem*, of the 8th of April, and againſt the Imperial town of Weiſſembourg.

4. *Idem*, March 5, &c. &c. againſt the Elector of Cologne, as grand maſter of the Teutonic order.

5. *Idem*, May 9, &c. againſt the Imperial town of Nuremberg.

Conſidering what the laws of the Empire preſcribe, we can by no means regard, nor will regard, theſe meaſures as legally valid and obligatory; but, on the contrary, we muſt conſider them as real encroachments on our rights of ſovereignty, and peculiarly prejudicial: We, in conſequence, therefore ſolemnly and ſeriouſly, by the preſent patent, adviſe and forewarn all thoſe of the Equeſtrian order who have hitherto belonged to the cantons of the Equeſtrian order of the Empire, as alſo all other perſons whoſe ſovereigns belong to the Equeſtrian order, or are neighbouring princes, not to ſwerve in the leaſt degree from their duties as ſubjects: We aſſure them that our intention has never been to interfere with the oath which they have taken to their reſpective ſovereigns; and we promiſe to protect them with all our power againſt every one: at the ſame time we would appriſe all thoſe who ſhall attempt to diſſuade any ſubject from his due allegiance to us, that they will be proſecuted in the moſt rigorous manner.

Given at Berlin, June 14, 1797.

(Signed) FREDERIC GUILLAUME.
FENKILSTEIN ALVENSLEBEN.
HARDENBERG HAUGWITZ.

Meſſage of the Executive Directory to the Council of Five Hundred.

Citizens Repreſentatives,

THE Council of Ancients have declared that they cannot adopt your reſolution relative to the perſonal and ſumptuary contribution of the fifth year. This circumſtance impoſes upon the Directory the obligation of obſerving to you, that it is of the

 greateſt

greatest moment that you should again take that object into your deliberation.

The 303d article of the constitution decides, as you know, that there shall be established every year a personal impost. You have declared, that that of the fifth year should be fixed at the sum of sixty millions. You have, moreover, laid it down as it is, a principle, that additional sums should be applied to the local expenses. A contribution of sixty millions, that might be exacted every month, was in its nature a resource, the want of which becomes every moment more sensibly felt.

The want of a law upon the personal combination of the fifth year deprives the treasury of an important return, and compromises the service of the local expenditure. The position in which the Directory view the political and economical situation of France, imposes upon them the obligation of depositing in your bosom the uneasiness which is occasioned by the delays in the adoption of measures that might re-establish public credit, ensure the defenders of liberty the pay and subsistence promised exclusively to all other services, and, without distinction between the ordinary and extraordinary, rally at their post all the public functionaries, give confidence to the creditors of the republic, spread consolation and succour among the unfortunate, and make all the citizens enjoy speedily the advantages of the revolution.

The external enemy retire from peace, in proportion as they perceive that the public treasury is left in distress. Several plans of amelioration have been submitted to you: consider that you have scarcely yet obtained any effect from them. Means of order may be undoubtedly of considerable efficacy: but when they added nothing to the receipts, acknowledged to be insufficient since additional measures are proposed, believe that the latter are neither less pressing nor less worth your solicitude. No expense is undertaken without its having been previously authorised by the opening of a credit.

The payments are in a great part suspended, even after the warrants are delivered; and yet all parts of the service are suffering. Such a state of things cannot last long; you wish to put an end to it; and you will succeed when, after having regulated the indispensible expenses, you shall balance them by certain receipts. The Executive Directory make the demand, and invite you to take it into consideration.

(Signed) CARNOT, President.

PRO-

PROCLAMATION.

The Municipal Adminiſtration of Liſle to its Fellow-Citizens.

Citizens,

THE plenipotentiaries of the French republic, who are arrived within our walls, are come to plant the olive of peace, and to labour at the great work of public felicity.

The plenipotentiaries of England will join them in this commune, and bring with them all thoſe pacific diſpoſitions which will revive our hopes of ſeeing the effuſion of human blood put an end to, of giving new life to agriculture and commerce, and of eſtabliſhing that happineſs which has been ſo long expected by the French republic, and Europe at large.

Theſe circumſtances, ſo fortunate for the friends of humanity, of order, and of public happineſs, will require from our fellow-citizens a ſlight ſacrifice of their time, and their labour. But this ſacrifice will appear light to them, as they will be the firſt to reap the advantages of it.

Without waiting for the requiſitions which circumſtances may render neceſſary, we flatter ourſelves that every one of our fellow-citizens will lend his aſſiſtance to pay to the repreſentatives of two nations, to thoſe whom two powerful rivals, willing to become friends, have choſen for the purpoſe of bringing about the common happineſs, all the honours that are due to them.

Our fellow-citizens and brethren in arms are informed, that the local national guard of the commune are to take up arms on the firſt ſignal given of the arrival of the miniſters of the two nations, who are to be received with a diſcharge of the artillery on the place; that the troops of the line and the national guard are to line the road from the gate to the hotel deſtined for the miniſters; and that there will be a guard of honour provided for the reſpective preſidents of the two legations. There will be alſo a guard ſtationed every day, which will be regulated according to circumſtances.

Given at a ſitting held on the 25th June, 1797.

ARTAUD, Preſident.
ROHART, Chief Secretary.

Vienna, June 21.

ON the 21ſt inſtant Count Thurn, in Stiria, publiſhed a declaration relative to the entrance of the Auſtrian troops into Venetian Iſtria. The principal reaſons aſſigned are as follows:

1. The

1. The revolutionary ſpirit which has manifeſted itſelf in the inhabitants of the Venetian territory, threatens the neighbouring countries, and compels the Emperor to ſecure himſelf from the unhappy conſequences which may be the reſult.

2. The ancient rights of his Imperial Majeſty, and his anceſtors, to Venetian Iſtria, which formerly made a part of Hungary. And as ſeveral of the Venetian provinces have detached themſelves from the ſovereignty of Venice, his Majeſty conceived this to be the time to aſſert his ancient rights.

This declaration has been accompanied by a general pardon, as well for the Auſtrian ſubjects who had fled into Iſtria, to avoid taking up arms, as for the Venetian ſubjects who had left their country.

Ratiſbon, June 23.

THIS day arrived here the long-expected Imperial court decree, dated Vienna, June 18, and relative to the introduction made reſpecting the general peace with the Empire.

The above-mentioned decree, which was brought to the dictature at Ratiſbon on the 23d ult. after the uſual preamble, is of the following purport:

IMPERIAL AULIC DECREE.

After various fruitleſs efforts, and the removal of manifold obſtacles, the glad proſpects of a general peace with the Emperor have advanced nearer to an end, ſo long and ſo ardently deſired by his Imperial and Catholic Majeſty and the ſtates.

In the preliminaries of peace, ſigned the 18th of April by the Imperial royal and French plenipotentiaries, which are now reſpectively ratified, as alſo in conſequence of the advice of the Empire of the 3d of July, 1795, ratified by his Imperial Majeſty, and delegating to him, with reſpectful confidence, the firſt overtures of peace, it has been deliberated upon the ſaid introduction to the general peace of the Empire, and, in order to ſecure a ſafe and equitable peace, it has been ſtipulated, that, from the day of ſigning, all hoſtilities between the German Empire and France ſhall ceaſe; and that a congreſs, conſiſting of the reſpective plenipotentiaries, ſhall be appointed, and a peace be concluded on the baſis of the integrity of the Empire.

His Majeſty the Emperor, having at heart that peace ſhould be reſtored to the German Empire and France, and the Executive Directory of the French republic wiſhing likewiſe to manifeſt

to his Imperial Majeſty their deſire of founding the ſaid peace upon a ſolid and equitable baſis, agree to a ceſſation of hoſtilities between the Germanic Empire and France, to begin from this day. A congreſs ſhall be held, formed of the reſpective plenipotentiaries, to treat upon and conclude a definitive peace between the two powers, on the baſis of the integrity of the Empire.

As to the place of congreſs, the negotiations for fixing upon a convenient place for the congreſs of the general peace of the Empire, are ſtill going on. His Imperial Majeſty reſerves to himſelf, and is in hopes of ſoon communicating the reſult of thoſe negotiations to the Diet, and of being likewiſe able, as executor of the concluſum of the Empire, to appoint the time for ſending the plenipotentiaries to the place of congreſs, while the deputed ſtates ſhall ſtrive in the interval to forward on their part all that is neceſſary to accelerate the buſineſs, and under the chief of the Empire, after having ſurvived many ſtorms, to begin, in the ſpirit of concord and firmneſs, the great work; and to ſecure, for centuries, the conſtitution and welfare of Germany, on the baſis of its integrity; and according to the ſenſe of the inſtruction of the Empire, by means of a ſafe and equitable peace, to the laſting happineſs of the human race.

Speech of General Buonaparte, on the 21ſt of June, to the National Guard of the Department of Lano.

TO you the public repoſe and tranquillity is entruſted. You muſt make the laws reſpected, defend property, and maintain the public ſecurity. The Ciſalpine republic is recognized by the powers of Europe, and even by the Emperor. It is a ſhame that the Italians for ſo many years ſhould have been dependant upon foreigners; in future they ſhall be ſubject neither to the Germans, nor to the Spaniards, nor to the French, nor to any other power. We have not abuſed victory; we have fought and conquered Lombardy to make it free. Falſe reports have been in circulation reſpecting your fate. Could you think that I was going under the walls of Vienna barely to ſell you to your ancient oppreſſors? No: in the heart of Germany I thought of you. There muſt no longer be any Swiſs among you, or excluſive patriots, ſince now all the citizens muſt be of this deſcription. Thoſe who were formerly called nobles, and alſo the rich, muſt be the firſt in giving the example. Unfortunate you will be if factions reign among you! Europe, which keeps her eyes fixed upon you, will be precipitated into an abyſs of calamities. Let no party divide you: the noble muſt conſider himſelf as on a footing with others. The firſt cham-

chamberlain, the perſon formerly moſt attached to the archduke, is now on a footing with the loweſt peaſant. No perſon will be ſo wicked as to recollect that he was noble, and not to love liberty. In fifteen or twenty days your conſtitution will be publiſhed, as well as the new order of things. Let moderation be your director; let religion be reſpected; every nation has its own; but religion muſt not be intermixed with the affairs of government; it would be ridiculous for it to uſurp this right; ſince its object is only the affairs of Heaven and not of earth. You have the Swiſs republicans for your neighbours, though they are divided by forms of government as much as by their mountains. Your republic, which is ſituated in the plain, muſt be one; it will compriſe four millions of inhabitants. Modena, Reggio, Ferrara, Bologna, Romagna, and, perhaps, Breſcia, will be united to you. With courage, with due reſpect for the laws, your republic will maintain itſelf, and make a figure among the powers of Europe. When your government is completely organized and conſolidated, the French will be the firſt to withdraw, with the exception of a number of troops, which will be neceſſary for your defence; and you will govern yourſelves.

Vienna, June 24.

IN conſequence of the diſturbances which prevail in the neighbouring Venetian ſtates, where the populace have aſſumed the power, orders have been tranſmitted to Baron Terzy, commander of the army in Inner Auſtria, to detach a body of troops under Count Klenau into Venetian Iſtria; and advices have ſince been received that the ſaid troops have marched, and taken poſſeſſion, without oppoſition, of Pirano, Umago, Cittanuova, Parenza, Orſera, and Rovigno, firſt iſſuing a proclamation, promiſing protection to the inhabitants and their property. On the ſide of the ſea, the coaſt was in like manner taken poſſeſſion of; but the other part of the Iſtrian ſhore, to Albone, is already occupied by Colonel Caſimir, as are likewiſe the iſlands Veglia, Cherſo, Arbe, and Pago.

A note from the Emperor has been delivered in to the Aulic council of war, requiring that all the troops in this vicinity which can be ſpared, ſhall immediately march for the Rhine: they will amount to about four battalions.

Report

Report upon the Clubs, presented to the Council of Five Hundred on the 24 Messidor (July 12).

DUPLANTIER. Would it support the constitution; would it promote the happiness of the people; would it promote internal peace, to favour those excesses, which the indefatigable apostles of anarchy wish to renew? They say that the 362d article of the constitution is in their favour; but that article concerns only the friends of order, and not those who have dug tombs for all Frenchmen, and whose doctrine is destructive of all social order. Arsenals of revolt and insurrection are established. The wretches are desirous of regaining the sceptre of terror by means of the scaffold. But their fratricidal plans are known, and the despair at having conceived them only remains. Liberty is so firmly seated, that a single motion on her side is sufficient to expose the shame, the weakness, and infamy of her hypocritical adorers. It is for the wisdom of the legislature to prevent the contest. To have foreseen the evil is a great point. Call to your mind the origin and history of popular societies.—The deeds which they have acted can neither face the light, nor be endured. Without doubt some gratitude is due to these societies, for the good they have done; but there is not one Frenchman, an enemy to the abuse of them, who would not co-operate in their destruction. Enthusiasm created the popular societies, but we shall soon see them degenerate. Men greedy of money and power direct these civic unions, and every step of their career has been a monument of their furious passions.—The 9th Thermidor has arrived, France, relieved from the yoke of the Jacobins, will at length breathe again, and their crimes will have an end; but they still pretend to influence your deliberations, to take part in your labours, and to direct your conduct. You have applauded the energy of the Directory when it shut the Pantheon. You will not, then, by suffering the re-organization of a band of wretches, once more deprive yourselves of the means of realizing the hopes of your constituents, and of drying up the source of your evils. We have certain advice that popular societies are erected in many of the departments, and threaten the public tranquillity. You know that there already exist many of them in Paris, which excite the solicitude and attention of the constituted authorities. It is with justice you ought to be apprehensive, since all these societies are composed of ultra-revolutionists, who have retarded the progress of the revolution instead of accelerating it; evil geniuses, who wish to perform a part upon the political theatre at any price; ambitious men, who are quite astonished at not having been the choice of the people; who, decorating themselves with the fine names of the Roman republic, have pillaged and plundered on all

 hands,

hands, and who have never known how to blush but in the blood of their fellow-citizens. What can be the effect of an union of elements composed of such fiery matter, unless disorder and terror? Dread the eruption of these new revolutionary volcanos! Have they not already dared to say that the representatives of the people were Chouans and royalists, who wished for the re-establishment of tithes and feudal rights, because they desired to give liberty of worship, and would not persecute the ministers of religion? and because they debated upon the subject of bells? Have they not dared to say that they supported the foreign faction because they repealed the revolutionary laws, and recalled into France those fugitives whom terror had driven away? Have they not dared to say that they were counter-revolutionists, because they shewed a determination to punish cheats and pillagers? Yes, there is no doubt, plots are forming against you. Already they talk of the cannon of Vendemiaire. Battalions of pretended patriots organize themselves. Arms are ready, signals agreed upon, and they only wait the signal for battle. Yes, they desire an insurrection. Nocturnal conventicles are multiplying, and the Jacobins, who have overwhelmed France with tears and blood, flourish in Paris. —I met two who were the executioners of my department; and perhaps there is not one of you but who can say the same. Temporizing would be fatal, and would lead to a catastrophe fatal, not to us who have the esteem and the confidence of our constituents, and who would find defenders and protectors in all who are the friends of order and government, but to those who might be engaged in action. Would you know what the Jacobins are capable of, listen to what was said by Rewbell in Brumaire, the third year: Where has tyranny its supporters, its satellites? Among the Jacobins. Who have covered France with mourning, and peopled the bastiles? The Jacobins. And I will add, because you will have popular societies, and pretended constitutional circles, which are synonimous. They have spread a report in the departments, that the representatives had been assassinated, because they would accustom the minds of the people to the false idea, in order that they may be the less terrified at the reality. Make them cease, by destroying the societies, which, like insects, devour the tree of liberty. It is not that we pretend to deny, citizens, the right of uniting in private societies, but we wish they should not be so numerous as to give occasion for distrust; we wish that a law should restrict their number, and regulate the mode of admission. [The reporter afterwards presented a plan of a resolution:]

Art. I. Those societies in which political questions shall be discussed—those which, under the pretext of public worship, shall enter into a discussion of three questions, can be permitted only on condition that the proprietors or occupiers of the houses in which

which they ſhall be held, conform themſelves to the following regulations:

II. Every citizen, having reſided at the place where ſuch ſociety ſhall be eſtabliſhed one year, may be admitted on the following conditions:

III In the communes where there are leſs than 5000 inhabitants, they are to be compoſed only of 10 citizens—In thoſe of 5000, and under 20,000, of 20 citizens—In thoſe of 20,000, and under 50,000, of 30 citizens; and in the four great communes of Paris, Lyons, Marſeilles, and Bourdeaux, of 40 citizens.

IV. Theſe ſocieties ſhall be ſubject to the regulations of the police. They ſhall not correſpond nor affiliate, nor hold public ſittings, nor have preſidents or ſecretaries, nor adopt deliberative forms, nor take any other name than that of a private ſociety occupied on political queſtions. They ſhall aſſemble only twice in each month, and are to break up at ſun-ſet.

V. In order to facilitate the meaſures of the police, the doors of the apartments in which ſuch ſocieties ſhall be held, ſhall have windows in them.

VI. The Directory and the adminiſtrations ſhall have the right to diſſolve them when public tranquillity ſhall appear to be in danger.

VII. The proprietors or occupiers of the houſes in which ſuch ſocieties ſhall aſſemble, ſhall affix on the outſide of ſuch houſes, "Popular ſociety engaged in the diſcuſſion of political queſtions."

VIII. Every ſociety which ſhall take any other name ſhall be declared contrary to public order: it ſhall be diſſolved by a verbal order, and if neceſſary by the armed force.

IX. Thoſe who ſhall make reſiſtance ſhall be proſecuted as guilty of rebellion.

Proclamation publiſhed at Nuremberg, on the 4th July, 1797.

WHAT has taken place to-day * in the barracks has induced a great part of the burghers and inhabitants of this city to take an active part in the event without being invited by the magiſtrate; and their conduct upon this occaſion has produced the effect, that the

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* The third of July had been fixed by the Pruſſians as the laſt period for the evacuation of the barracks occupied by the Nuremberg troops upon the territory, to the poſſeſſion of which they form pretenſions. In caſe of refuſal, force was to be employed; yet the voluntary evacuation did not take place. The garriſon, conſiſting of 88 men, had received orders to maintain their poſt, even if the laſt extremity were recurred to. On the third

the plan formed by a detachment of Pruſſian troops, to drive the military of the city from their barracks, has completely failed. The ſenate is very far from miſunderſtanding the motives of this action. They are convinced that too animated a zeal for the juſt cauſe of this city, and too exalted a patriotiſm, have been generally the incitement. Although ſuch motives deſerve the general gratitude, yet the ſenate conſider it as one of their duties, and think themſelves obliged to warn theſe perſons of the dangerous effects to which they are expoſed by taking part, without being invited, in the events which did not demand their intervention.

The ſenate believe the burghers to be ſufficiently enlightened to be convinced themſelves that the ſupreme head of the Empire will ſupport with ſuitable energy, the juſt decree of the 9th May againſt the Pruſſian regency, and which the ſenate have juſt rendered public; they invite them, in conſequence, to wait quietly for the iſſue, and not to expoſe themſelves and their families to danger by uſeleſs reſiſtance, and a too exalted patriotic zeal.

The ſenate having thus ſatisfied the deſire of the burghers, by confiding to them for a time the care of the gates, expect that they will remember the promiſe they have made to abſtain from all exceſſes and precipitate ſteps, and leave entirely to the magiſtrate and ſupreme tribunal of the Empire, the care of terminating this affair.

Speech of Carnot on the 14th July.

HOW pleaſant it is to celebrate the day on which liberty had its birth! that liberty, which aroſe out of the boſom of tempeſts, and was preſerved in the midſt of ſo many ſhoals, ſanctioned

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third of July, a detachment of 310 Pruſſian huſſars, grenadiers, fuzileers, and chaſſeurs, commanded by a major, made their appearance. The gate of the barracks was forced, the garriſon defended itſelf: an officer of Pruſſian grenadiers and four ſoldiers were wounded, and the attack failed. A truce for five hours was concluded, and in this interval freſh inſtructions from the ſenate were expected. At nine o'clock a capitulation was agreed upon, ſtating that the garriſon ſhould quit the barracks, drums beating, and with all the honours of war. The capitulation was, in fact, carried into execution; but as ſoon as it was made public, a violent ferment broke out among the citizens aſſembled; a great number armed themſelves with all kinds of arms, and appeared determined to make uſe of them. The prudent conduct of the Pruſſian major prevented all diſorder in this critical moment: he retired at ten o'clock with his detachment. A troop of armed populace afterwards demanded permiſſion from the ſenate to drive away the Pruſſian garriſon which was ſtationed under the gates of the two ſuburbs; but this demand was refuſed, and it was only permitted to the burghers to guard the gates conjointly with the Pruſſians. In the afternoon the magiſtrates publiſhed the above proclamation.

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by ſo many victories; that liberty, in ſhort, which guarantees a conſtitution ſtill new, but which has already been proved by ſo many violent attacks, by ſo many dark conſpiracies, by ſuch unexampled ſucceſs! Happy if, while the republic aſtoniſhes the world by the eclat of her arms, and ſtipulates with moderation, even on the theatre of her victories, the conditions of her peace and of the repoſe of Europe; wicked men, animated by the vileſt paſſions, by jealouſy, avarice, and the thirſt of vengeance, ſhall not ſucceed in tearing her vitals. But what can theſe impotent efforts avail againſt the national will, which demands an end to the revolution? In vain is an alliance formed between anarchy and deſpotiſm; between rage and hypocriſy; between Louis XVIII. and the ſhade of Marat, to extinguiſh the ſocial compact of 1795. They will not ſucceed more in trying to deſtroy it by a ſudden exploſion, than in executing the project of demoliſhing it piece by piece. Republicans, alarmed for the fate of the conſtitution, be re-aſſured. No, liberty ſhall not periſh. No, it is not a retrograde movement, to make a neceſſary march back to the point which ought not to have been overleapt. Our legiſlators will know how to ſtop at the point marked by juſtice; and that vigour of government which has been able to ſtrike down anarchy even in its fury, will know how to prevent it from reviving; and will ſtrike down royaliſm in its turn, if it ſhall dare to raiſe its proſcribed head. Friends of the republic, would you haſten the moment of enjoyment unalterable, keep at a diſtance from the impure remains of that abhorred ſect, thoſe ſanguinary diſciples of Robeſpierre and Babœuf, who inſolently mix their infamous cauſe with yours. The republic, ſay you, is about to periſh. It is in contention with all the efforts of malignity; its enemies enter in crowds; fanaticiſm brandiſhes its flaming torch. Say rather that the conſtitution is ſtrong indeed, ſince, by its means, the republic can already brave ſo many combined enemies: ſince the internal tranquillity has ſuffered no ſenſible alteration; ſince each day, during the twenty months of its organization, our ſituation has been inceſſantly improving; ſince it flouriſhes; ſince it proſpers in ſpite of the clamours, in ſpite of the defamation, in ſpite of the penury, under the brambles with which they ſtrive to ſtifle it. May a ſeparation then take place between the cauſe of the good, and that of the perverſe. May our enemies be numbered, that their nullity may be recognized. Frenchmen, dare at length to call yourſelves republicans! Dare to make a common cauſe with the conquerors of Europe, your fathers, your brothers, and your ſons. May all alarm among us ceaſe! May every one, in diſcharging with fidelity the duties which the neceſſities of the ſtate require, feel himſelf ſafe in his liberty and property! May he who has honeſtly acquired, enjoy the fruits of his induſtry, without fear of being deſpoiled by the moſt cruel

enemies

enemies of the republic, without fear of being the victim of his civism, of his confidence in the word of the legislature, without fear of invoking in vain the constitutional charter of his securi[illegible] and rights. Frenchmen, let us smooth the trifling interests whic[illegible] divide us: let us carry even to the feet of the Eternal Father o[illegible] free and pure worship; and may every one serve God accordi[illegible] to his own conscience, provided that we offer up our adoration [illegible] the spirit of love and concord." The dominion of the law is sep[illegible] rated from that of the conscience.—True religion, whatever m[illegible] be its worship, is essentially the friend of order, and of the ob[illegible] dience due to magistrates; it is the friend, therefore, of the [illegible] publican constitution. May every sort of worship, then, be e[illegible] ercised freely, under national protection; and may they in the[illegible] turn, who demand only for themselves simple toleration, n[illegible] become the oppressors of their fellow-citizens! Yes: the consti[illegible] tution is terminated! You, who are still seduced by differen[illegible] views of imaginary good, renounce these illusions which rend[illegible] you miserable; abandon the projects of which you will soo[illegible] become the victims: the time for exaggeration is past; it is n[illegible] longer by a revolutionizing enthusiasm, but by prudence an[illegible] firmness, by which a revolution is consolidated, that you ca[illegible] secure the basis of our happiness. Frenchmen, may this com[illegible] memoration of the day on which you conquered liberty, contribut[illegible] to make it more dear to you than ever.

Resolution passed by the Council of Five Hundred, on the 15th of July respecting the French Priests.

ARTICLE I. The laws pronouncing the penalty of banishment or imprisonment against priests who were subjected to oaths or declarations, or who have been denounced under th[illegible] name of refractory, or on account of incivism, and again[illegible] those who have given refuge to priests who have not taken th[illegible] oaths, are and remain repealed.

II. The laws that assimilate the banished priests and the emi[illegible] grants are also rejected.

III. The individuals implicated in the said laws are reinstate[illegible] in all the rights of French citizens, by fulfilling the conditio[illegible] prescribed by the constitution, to the enjoyment of the s[illegible] quality.

Resolution passed by the Council of Five Hundued, on the 16th July

I. NO instructor or professor of morals, legislation, or pub[illegible] right, can exercise his functions without having made a decla[illegible] tion to the following effect:

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I acknowledge the ſovereignty of the nation, reſiding in the total amount of the citizens. I promiſe to ſubmit to the conſtitution accepted by the French people, and to recommend all citizens to be faithful to it.

II. The preceding article is applicable to the miniſters of religious worſhip.

III. Thoſe who ſhall refuſe to obey the preſent law ſhall incur, for the firſt offence, a penalty of 500 livres; for the ſecond offence, a year's impriſonment, and for the third, baniſhment.

Buonaparte, Commander in Chief, to the Army of Italy.

SOLDIERS, this day is the anniverſary of the 14th of July. You ſee before you the names of our companions in arms, who have fallen in the field of honour in the cauſe of liberty. They have ſet you the example. You owe yourſelves wholly to the republic; you owe yourſelves, without reſerve, to the happineſs of thirty millions of Frenchmen; you owe yourſelves, without reſerve, to the glory of that name, which has received new ſplendour from your victories.

Soldiers, I know that you are profoundly affected by the proſpect of the evils which threaten your country. But your country can be expoſed to no real dangers. The ſame men who have made France triumph over confederated Europe are theſe. Mountains ſeparate us from France. You will paſs them with the rapidity of the eagle, if it is neceſſary, to maintain the conſtitution, to defend liberty, to protect the government and the republicans.

Soldiers, the government watches over the depoſitory of the laws which has been entruſted to its care. The moment they venture to ſhew themſelves, the royaliſts ſhall have lived. Lay aſide your inquietudes, and let us ſwear by the manes of thoſe heroes who have fallen by our ſide in the cauſe of lib rty—let us ſwear upon our new ſtandards, irreconcileable hoſtility to the enemies of the republic, and of the conſtitution of the 3d year.

(Signed) BUONAPARTE.

By order of the commander in chief,

(Signed) ALEX. BERTHIER,
General of Diviſion, &c.

Proclamation

Proclamation of General Buonaparte.

Head-quarters, Montebello, 11 Messidor, 5th Year.

THE Cisalpine republic was for many years under the dominion of the House of Austria. The French republic succeeded it by the right of conquest. It now renounces this right, and the Cisalpine republic is free and independent. Recognized by France and the Emperor, it will soon be equally acknowledged by the rest of Europe. The Executive Directory of the French republic, not content with employing its influence, and the victories of the republican armies, to secure the political existence of the Cisalpine republic, extends its care still further; and convinced that, if liberty be the first of blessings, the revolution which attends it is the greatest of evils, it has given to the Cisalpine people their peculiar constitution, resulting from the wisdom of the most enlightened nation. From a military regime the Cisalpine people pass to a constitutional one. That this transition should experience no shock, nor be exposed to anarchy, the Executive Directory has thought proper to nominate, for the present, the members of the government and the legislative body, so that the people should, after the lapse of one year, have the election to the vacant places, in conformity to the constitution. For a great number of years there existed no republic in Italy. The sacred fire of liberty was extinguished, and the finest part of Europe was under the yoke of strangers. It belongs to the Cisalpine republic to shew to the world by its wisdom, its energy, and the organization of its armies, that modern Italy is not degenerated, and is still worthy of liberty.

(Signed) BUONAPARTE.

The Minister of General Police, to his Fellow-citizens.

IN entering upon an important and difficult career, in which I never was ambitious to appear, the first impulse which I feel is, to address my fellow-citizens.—The nature of the functions which I am called upon to exercise, establishes between them and the magistrate of general police relations, the mutual bond of which ought to be confidence and a profound sentiment of the general happiness. What force is not required for the exercise of these duties in the co-operation of all good men, and in their anxiety to second his zeal, and to favour his good intentions! However dissimilar may yet appear the circumstances in which we are placed, when we compare the tempestuous season we have passed with our present, who is not struck with the advantage of having a government already proved in spite of so many obstacles by

by eighteen months experience, which has produced fo many fortunate and fplendid events, which carries in itfelf the principle of its own improvement, and under the fhelter of which every man may fo eafily repofe, and enjoy the bleffings of the prefent, and the hopes of the future! Who, without the moft inconceivable frenzy, would think of heaving the anchor, and replunging among the dangers and the tempefts of a new revolution? Confider as your enemy, as the enemy of the public, whoever fhould dare to fpeak to you of troubles, of factions, of civil difcords. Is there a fingle political affociation, the object of which is not to guarantee to its members liberty, fecurity, property; and do not thofe grand bafes of the focial compact compofe the foundation of your government? The only fpirit which now becomes the French people is the fpirit of prefervation. The only mean of repairing paft evils, and to prevent fatal cataftrophes in future, is, the love of order, obedience to the laws, attachment to the conftitution of the 3d year, an enlightened patriotifm, with peace and union among the citizens. Blind would thofe be indeed who fhould form other wifhes; for anarchy or defpotifm would overtake them to punifh them for their error. They would be very ungrateful; for they have their fhare in the protection of the government againft which they confpire; and, though they declaim fo openly againft it, they forget that they do this in virtue of that liberty which they infult. If you were deeply penetrated with thefe evils, you, every one of you, will become the moft powerful auxiliary of the magiftrate of police. In your families, in your relations of friendfhip, in all your focial communications, wherever amufement, a love of the arts and of fine pleafures, fhall affemble you together, reftrain by your example and by your good opinions the bad citizens who would wifh to miflead you and to difturb the public repofe. It is thus that you will affociate yourfelves to the functions of a minifter, whofe influence depends more than any other on the affiftance of opinion. I know that calumny already levels its fhafts againft him who addreffes you; filence it with a fingle word, challenge the calumniator to cite againft him a fingle action at which a freeman ought to blufh. The magiftrate of police ought to fpeak little, and do a great deal; but if to-day he fpeaks to you in the name of your own intereft, it is, that he may be able to act with more effect, and, above all, to avoid the neceffity of doing too much. Vigilance, without the fpirit of inquifition, actively to prevent injurious proceedings, to lay no fnares to have a pretence for meafures of feverity, equal reftraint of all parties hoftile to order and tranquillity, faithful to his duty in every one of its branches: fuch is the tafk he has to perform. They alarm his weaknefs and difcourage his zeal. If this zeal were a moment to relax, he has only to call to mind his predeceffor, who prefents fo glorious a

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model to imitate in the ſame functions. Had I conſulted only my taſte for ſolitary habits, I ſhould have remained far from the theatre of buſineſs. But perſuaded that every citizen of a free government ought to obey the call of the ſupreme magiſtrates, I yield and reſign myſelf. Such is my profeſſion of faith. I repoſe it upon the boſom of my countrymen, as a pledge of the purity of my intentions, and with a hope of finding in them the ſame ſentiments.

(Signed) LENOIR LA ROCHE,
Miniſter of the Interior.

Meſſage from the Directory on the 24th of July to the Council of Five Hundred.

Citizens Repreſentatives,

THE lamentable ſtate of the finances becomes worſe every moment; all the branches of the public ſervice ſuffer; they will all fail together in a few days, if a prompt remedy be not adminiſtered.

A view of their actual ſituation will demonſtrate this ſad truth. The accounts of credit opened ſince the 1ſt Vendemiaire to this day, amount to the ſum of four hundred and five millions. The ſums paid in the aforeſaid period, ſuch as annuities and penſions, and the ſalaries in myriogrammes, amount to twenty or twenty-five millions; the total ſums of which the payment has been authoriſed by the legiſlative body to about four hundred and twenty-five millions.

Of this ſum, the miniſters have ſtill ſeventy millions to diſpoſe. The miniſter of finance has ſuſpended the payment of thirty-eight millions, on orders of payment delivered to him. That ſum may, to a certain degree, be conſidered as if it had not been appointed to be paid; and thence it reſults that the expenſes actually diſburſed, whether by the authority of the two councils of the legiſlative body, by the miniſters, or by other perſons, amount only to three hundred and ſeventeen millions. The expenſes of the campaign of Italy are not included in this ſum, except ſome ſums particularly authoriſed; becauſe as the army lives on the produce of the contributions which it cauſes to be levied, the account will be regulated definitively. But the army of Italy conſtitutes not the ſole force which the republic ſupports; it has beſides under its ſtandards, the armies of the Rhine and Moſelle, the Sambre and the Meuſe, the garriſons of the interior, the extraordinaries of the marine, &c.: and when the political ſituation of the republic is conſidered with impartiality, it ſhould be matter of ſurpriſe to ſee ourſelves arriving within two months of concluding the year with a ſimple authority for the expenſe of three hundred and

and ſeventeen millions, whereas previous to the revolution, much greater ſums were expended in ordinary periods.

Doubtleſs, the ſum total of the expenſes is not yet exactly known, nor conſequently ſettled; but what we already know and perceive, ſupports the force of this obſervation.

This ſtate of things will appear ſtill more aſtoniſhing, when you conſider that of theſe three hundred and ſeventeen millions expended, more than eighty are ſtill due to the parties who ſhould receive them, and that their titles conſiſt either in a pledge on the value of national property, or on the produce of contributions to be brought in; thence it reſults, that if, on the one hand, the authoriſed expenſes amount to three hundred and ſeventeen millions, the payments made amount only to two hundred and forty or two hundred and fifty millions. All the cheſts however are empty. We exiſt only from day to day; and this poſition, well known to the national treaſure, ought to prevail over all the hypothetical calculations which may be preſented to attempt to deſtroy it. Its exactneſs is beſides demonſtrated by all the ſtatements of monies already received, and of thoſe to be received, which the commiſſaries of the national treaſury have preſented almoſt every month. You will thence ſee, citizens repreſentatives, that whatever efforts we uſe, we cannot calculate, by the exiſting laws, on more than twenty-four or twenty-five millions; you muſt alſo foreſee that the amount of the two or three following months will not arrive, by reaſon of the ſlowneſs experienced in the receipt of direct contributions during the harveſt. If calculations apparently higher are preſented, they give only nominal eſtimates, but it is not with them that the public ſervice can be maintained. What imports it, in reality, that the receipts amount to fifty millions (if you will) per month, if we muſt deduct therefrom ten millions remitted by orders of diſcharge, as many in *bons de requiſition*, two millions *en cotte nationale*, three millions in charges, which are reckoned neither in the accounts of receipt nor expenditure; as then there remain only twenty-five at diſpoſal.

It has been complained, that, in order to ſuſtain the public ſervice, *bons* have been given, payable out of the contributions to be levied; but with regard to ſums failed, there reſulted ſome inconveniences. What meaſure is exempted from inconvenience, when the receipt is below the expenditure? The Executive Directory has endeavoured to ſtop this proceeding, by deciding that, in future, no order of payment ſhall be delivered, but on diſpoſable funds. To commence putting this meaſure in practice, there was of public treaſure only 759,970 livres; it was neceſſary, from the want of documents, to conſider as already collected, all the preſumed incomes of a whole decade. Making a due diſtribution of this ſum, there remains diſpoſable for the ſervice of ten days, after deducting the pay of the ſubſiſtence of the army, the

O 2 annuities,

annuities, penſions, and indemnifiation of the legiſlative body, only 234,000 livres. That ſum being evidently inſufficient, the commiſſioners of the treaſury have been required to endeavour to procure 500,000 livres by negotiation; they replied, that they were unable to procure it; and if they had not been able to announce, at the ſame time, that we might calculate on 400,000 livres, ariſing from an anterior operation, we ſhould have found ourſelves under an impoſſibility of making ſupplies which could not be ſuſpended without endangering the public ſafety.

The Executive Directory has often already ſubmitted to you, Citizens Repreſentatives, its obſervations on this ſubject; it dreads not making known the ſtate of the public fortune, becauſe it is convinced of the poſſibility of recruiting it, ſo as to reanimate the confidence of good citizens, to ſtrike deſpair into our internal enemies, to aſtoniſh our external, and finally to demonſtrate that the revolution has not been made in France, to terminate in that ſtate of diſtreſs which is now experienced in that country.

You will obſerve, Citizens Repreſentatives, that we are reduced to reaſſeſs the landed contribution which ought to have been leviable ten months ago; that the law which was to produce ſixty millions by the perſonal contribution of the 5th year is not yet made; that the great communes have not at their diſpoſition the ſupplementary means which are neceſſary for their local expenſes, and that we are under the neceſſity of remitting to the commune of Paris, that it may provide for its local expenſes, almoſt all the taxes of the department of the Seine; that the indirect contributions announced ſince the beginning of the year, are not even yet put in a train of diſcuſſion; that the improvements which may be attained from enregiſtering ſtamps, mortgages, and poſts, are yet but mere projects; that the reſources which may be drawn from mortgaged lands and rent-charges, not feudal, are ſtill entire.

The utility, and the neceſſity alſo of theſe objects have been long acknowledged: ſince it has been propoſed to ſubmit them to your deliberations, the hopes conceived from them had ſuſtained the ſervice; that reſource does no more exiſt; other means are become indiſpenſable; without authoriſing them, the ſervice of the next decade will be impoſſible.

It is the duty of the Executive Directory to declare to you that it has arrived to the point of that criſis which it announced a long time ago, and that it has retarded it, by all the means in its power to uſe. You will find in your wiſdom the means of obviating the incalculable evils that muſt reſult, if the public treaſury does not receive prompt and efficacious ſuccours.

The Executive Directory invites you, Citizens Repreſentatives, to take into conſideration the requeſt that it has made to you.

The

The following facts prove how urgent it is:

We learn that the pay of the army is in arrear.

There are only 234 thousand francs for urgent purposes, which require ten millions.

There is more than five due to persons in employment, the major part of whom have not yet received the whole of what was due to them in the month of Germinal.

The repairs of roads, and public monuments, are about to be suspended.

The providers of bread to the prisons must stop.

The service of the hospitals is exposed to the same danger.

There is no effective reserve.

There remains nothing disposable.

It is to you, Citizens Representatives, alone that it belongs to find a remedy.

(Signed) CARNOT, President.
LAGARDE, Sec. Gen.

Substance of the Report on the Approach of Troops towards Paris, presented to the Council of Five Hundred on the 24th of July.

PICHEGRU appeared in the tribune, in the name of the commission directed to examine the messages of the Directory upon the arrival of troops near Paris. The orator began with stating, that the marching of these troops, whatever their destination might be, was against all the rules of the military art: that the 69th article of the constitution had been violated, inasmuch as *Ferte Hanay* is within the circle that the troops ought never to infringe, without the authority of the legislative body. He declared that the Directory had no knowledge of the marching of the troops, and that the minister of war was equally ignorant of the circumstance. It appeared, by certain documents, that it was by order of the minister of marine that the troops marched. "I declare," said Pichegru, "that attempts are making to mislead the soldiers, to deceive them, and to induce them to commit criminal acts against the legislative body." Speaking now, in the language of a general who has often led our legions to victory, he addressed himself to the troops:—"Brave warriors, you know your duty, you will obey your chiefs—you owe them submission; but you know that submission to their orders ceases as soon as it is contrary to the constitution. It is one of your friends that speaks—he has seen you in camps—he has shared your perils and your glorious labours. It is because he knows you that he loves you—it is because he knows you that he relies upon your love for your country. You have been told that

that royalism triumphs in the interior, in the bosom even of the senate. I tell you that such accounts are infamous calumnies, equally insulting to the mandataries of the people, and the people themselves, who have vested their confidence in them. No; the love of the country, the republican spirit, are not chilled; let factions shew themselves, and whatever be their mask, you shall see us fight, and destroy them all. As for some time the legislative body have been employed in doing justice, the sole means of inspiring love for the republic, the friends of trouble and ambitious men calumniate the legislature, because they know that they will be deprived of the prerogative of governing the republic at their pleasure. But you, brave soldiers, you will despise their perfidious discourses, you will not return to your country to involve it in trouble, but to embrace a brother in each of your fellow-citizens. You know that it is the nation alone that is preparing for you retirement and the recompence you have deserved."

After this speech Pichegru announced, that for some time the number of troops within the circle of the constitution had not been increased. He then presented two plans.

The first tends to fix the constitutional circle, which shall not be broken into by troops.

The six myriameters shall be drawn from the centre of the commune where the legislative body resides. At each road shall be placed a post with this inscription, "Constitutional limit for the approach of troops."

Every public functionary that shall give orders to the troops to pass this boundary, without the authority of the legislative body, shall be prosecuted as guilty of an attack upon the constitution.

The corps of troops passing the boundary shall be disbanded.

The second plan forbids every commandant or general in the interior to march troops beyond the limits of his command.

The above plans were agreed to.

Plan sent to all the Parishes in Great Britain, in May 1797.

Plan of a General Association of the Inhabitants of the Parish of to serve without Pay, for the Protection thereof, in case of any Emergency, at the Requisition of the Civil Power, to be submitted to the Consideration of a Vestry to be called for that Purpose.

1st. A GENERAL association shall be formed, which association shall be composed of householders, and such other inmates as shall be recommended by two householders at the least, being themselves members of the association, and approved, if judged necessary, by a committee of the association to be chosen at a general meeting.

2d.

2d. That the members of the aſſociation ſhall put down their names and places of abode in a book, to be provided and kept in the veſtry for that purpoſe.

3d. The pariſh to be divided into diſtricts; the inhabitants of each diſtrict, who enroll themſelves, to be divided into claſſes of 50 each, to be commanded by an inhabitant of that diſtrict, who ſhall be conſidered as captain of the claſs, and act as ſuch, under a commiſſion from his Majeſty. This officer to be recommended by a committee of aſſociation to the lord lieutenant. Each claſs ſhall carry a flag to diſtinguiſh it, and the perſon who is to carry it ſhall be nominated by the captain of the claſs.

4th. The majority of any claſs ſhall be empowered to reject from that claſs any individual, whether houſeholder or inmate, who ſhall appear to them to be an unfit member thereof.

5th. In caſe of alarm, and at the requiſition of the civil power, the claſs to be aſſembled at a rendezvous, which ſhall be previouſly appointed by the captain.

6th. Place of general rendezvous for all the claſſes ſhall be appointed by the committee of aſſociation.

7th. All perſons enrolling themſelves to furniſh their own arms, which arms ſhall be either firelocks and bayonets, pikes, or any other arms, which ſhall be approved of by the committee.

8th. A liſt of the members in each claſs to be made, and a copy lodged with each member in that claſs, together with a copy of ſuch inſtructions, ſigned by the captain of the claſs, as may be found neceſſary for their more ſpeedily collecting together in caſe of alarm, and for regulating the proper quantity of ammunition which each member furniſhed with a firelock ſhall conſtantly be provided with.

9th. No member of the aſſociation to be required to meet to exerciſe, but each claſs may be muſtered with their arms by its captain, at ſuch convenient and ſtated times as ſhall be agreed upon; thoſe who furniſh themſelves with firelocks, will, at their requeſt, be allowed a ſerjeant or corporal by government, to teach them the uſe of fire-arms, in order that they more conveniently may act together, either in ſeparate claſſes, or jointly with others in the ſame claſs, as ſhall be agreed upon by the members of the aſſociation *.

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* This will be to be determined in each pariſh, upon a conſideration of what may beſt ſuit the mutual convenience of the ſeveral members, according to their relative ſituations, in point of neighbourhood, and to the arms which they mean to furniſh themſelves with.

10th. A hat and feather, or some other mark of distinction, to be adopted; or those provided with firelocks, if formed into classes by themselves, to have an uniform if they chuse it †.

11th. Not to go out of the parish, except of their own accord.

12th. No person who is engaged in any military corps, or other association, to be appointed as captain; but such persons may enroll themselves, and only engage to join this association when not called away by other duties.

N.B. The above plan is only suggested as a general outline, which may be varied and modified in such manner as may best suit the local situations and convenience of the inhabitants of such parishes as shall think proper to associate for the mutual security and protection of themselves and their property, upon the principle here laid down.

As some small expenses must necessarily be incurred for the purchase of flags for the different classes, paying for the stamps of the commissions (his Majesty being graciously pleased to grant them free of every other expense), and some other trifling incidental charges, a subscription to be opened, where every householder who approves of this plan, and will give it his support, may subscribe any small sum that he pleases, not exceeding the amount of shillings, to defray the same.

Such female householders as are willing to signify their approbation of this plan, and give their support to it, to be requested to authorise some householder in the parish, who is himself a member of the association, to sign their names, and to attest that it is by their authority; and in that case such female householder may, in concurrence with another householder, being a member of the association, recommend any householders or inmates, being proper persons, to join in the association, and the person so recommended shall be enrolled in like manner as the other members of the association.

Speech of the President of the Directory on the Fete of the 9th Thermidor.

WE celebrated on the 14th of July the downfall of hereditary despotism; to-day we celebrate the fall of a tyranny still more detestable, because it is one deriving not its importance from the prejudices of birth, to which precedent and the lapse of time

† This will be governed by the agreement which the association shall come to upon the 9th article.

have

have given consequence, nor possesses it any of those qualities of a personal nature, which are calculated to seduce mankind, and which, in some respect, seem to lessen the weight of arbitrary authority. Liberty! it is to thee we dedicate all our republican festivals; but those of the 9th and 10th Thermidor are particularly devoted to thy shrine. It is to those days that the law hath peculiarly attributed thy sacred name, because it is owing to those sacred epochs that thou art indebted for ceasing to be something more than a name; it is to those periods thou art indebted for thy substantial existence. Until those happy days thou wert but a bleeding spectre, and the greatest crime which characterised the execrable system overthrown by thy influence, was that of endeavouring to render thee odious, by giving, under thy name, the reins of dominion to licentiousness, plunder, terror, and death.

Frenchmen, this day, devoted to festivity, is not a proper time for afflicting your minds by painting to your eyes a long series of those misfortunes which have desolated the human race during the calamitous period of which I have been speaking. The tyrannical character which peculiarly attaches to this period, produced constantly, in the very name of the people, the destruction of the people; and in the name of liberty, founded on virtue, civic anarchy, debauchery, desolation, and ferocity; in the name of equality of rights, replaced the right of property by that of rapine; and further, by this subversion, sapped the fundamental principles of industry, commerce, and national property; nay, in the name of reason proscribed the lights of science and the arts, covered with contempt, as though they were vain prejudices, the consolatory and amiable lessons of morality; stifled all the sweet affections held forth by nature; imposed silence on pity, modesty, paternal and filial love; and finally broke asunder, by the effects of a false and inconsistent philosophy, all those bands which unite man with man, whether by the consideration of existing friendship, the remembrance of the past, or the hope of the future; or, if you please, by those illusions of the imagination which, however they originate, have the effect of extending a charm over life, and shedding over the griefs of humanity and the tediousness of mortal existence, the balm of comfort and the flowers of delight. The republic in those days existed only in our armies. It was in the camp alone that humanity found refuge. The defenders of the country, by covering France with their laurels, stole from us, if I may so express myself, the consideration of the crimes which overwhelmed us. Their triumphs were so numerous, they assumed so great a character for devotion to their country, for patience and for heroism, that their glory ought to efface in the history of France all the blemishes of the revolution. Let us cease to occupy our minds with the consideration of catastrophes which we shall never again behold, in order

to give place to the celebration of a period which may be confidered as a termination of them. This day will not be loft. By recalling tyranny to our remembrance, it recalls at the fame time its precipitate fall, and the errors which have for fo long a time deprived us of reaping the fruits of victory. It prefents to the ambitious the dreadful example of the deftiny which awaits oppreffors; it teaches the true friends of the republic never to form an union with the factious, or to difagree one with another; it teaches them that there is no fafety but by all uniting in one common bond, and by purfuing the principles of juftice, and adhering to the conftitution of the third year.

Speech of the Prefident of the Council of Five Hundred on the Anniverfary of the Overthrow of Robefpierre.

THE 9th Thermidor; this day recalls to our minds events of a memorable nature. Every ftep we meet honourable victims, which this famous day wrefted from the hands of their executioners. Wherever I turn my eyes in the hall, I perceive members who owe their fafety and their liberty to this day. I hail thee, O 9th Thermidor! Day ever to be remembered! Day which will ever remain the terror of the factious and intriguing, and the hope and confolation of the people! Thy memory will pafs from generation to generation, as forming a period of folemn expiation for fuch an abundance of tears and blood.

But it is not alone by confidering men's fentiments we ought to celebrate this day. Doubtlefs it was a grand effort of juftice. Let us every day celebrate the 9th Thermidor, by confoling the citizens with the benefits for which they look up to us. It is in vain we are attempted to be driven from the feat of juftice by menaces. Calumny will die away, but the good ye fhall have performed will endure, and will manifeft the purity of your endeavours, and the gratitude of the fenfible part of mankind.

Our glory, like our exiftence, refts upon the maintenance of the conftitution of the third year. Whether you go before or behind, proceed to the right or to the left, I behold nothing but a fea of blood. Be affured, founders of the republic, there are in this place none but thofe who wifh to imitate and emulate you. And ye brave defenders, whom malevolence feeks to eftrange from the name of liberty, ye know that ye can never ceafe to be republicans, while ye remain juft.

Whatever may be the ftruggles of impious factions, we will never make a retrograde motion towards tyranny of any defcription. The bloody yoke of terror fhall no more weigh down France, and the 9th Thermidor fhall not have paffed in vain.

Arret of the Executive Directory of the 12th Ventose.

THE executive directory having consulted the law of the 9th of March, 1793, considering that the flags of neutral powers being no longer respected by the enemies of the French republic, and all the rights of men being violated to their prejudice, it is no longer permitted to the French people to fulfil towards those powers in general, that wish which they have so often manifested, and which they will constantly entertain for the full and entire freedom of commerce and navigation, directs, among other dispositions,

1. That ships of war and privateers may stop and bring into the ports of the republic, neutral ships which shall be charged, in whole or in part, with merchandise belonging to the enemy.

2. That merchandise belonging to the enemy shall be declared good and lawful prize, and be confiscated to the profit of the captors.

3. That in all cases neutral ships shall be released, the moment that the merchandise seized is discharged; that the freight of it shall be paid at the rate which shall have been stipulated by the consigners; and that a just indemnity shall be granted on account of their detention by the tribunals competent to decide upon the validity of prizes.

4. That these tribunals shall be directed besides to send, three days after the decision, a double inventory of the merchandise to the minister of marine, and another to the minister for foreign affairs.

5. That the present law, applicable to all the captures that have been made since the declaration of war, shall cease to have effect as soon as the enemy shall have declared non-seizable, although destined for the ports of the republic, the merchandise laden on board neutral ships, which shall belong to the government or to French citizens.

Having seen the law of the 27th of July, 1793, which directs the foregoing law to be fully executed; having also seen the 7th article of the law of the 13th Nivose, third year, which enjoins all the agents of the republic to respect and observe in all their dispositions the treaties which unite France to the neutral powers of the continent, and to the United States of America; considering that this last law is not derogatory to the law of the 9th of May, 1793, resolves as follows:

Art. 1. The commissaries of the executive directory with the civil tribunals of the department, shall take care that, in the contests upon the validity of marine prizes, no decision shall be founded upon the 7th article of the law of the 13th Nivose, without the minister of justice having been previously consulted, con-

 formably

formably to the 3d article of the law of the 8th Floreal, fourth year, relative to the treaties, in virtue of which neutral persons pretend to withdraw themselves, by means of the first of these laws, from the execution of that of the 9th of March, 1793.

2. The minister of justice shall examine whether the treaties still subsist, or whether they have been modified since the conclusion of them: there shall be furnished to them by the minister for foreign affairs all the documents of which they shall stand in need, and reference shall be made to the executive directory, as it is prescribed by the law of the 8th Floreal, fourth year.

3. The directory remind all French citizens, that the treaty concluded on the 6th Feb. 1778, between France and the United States, has been, on the terms of the second article, modified of full right by that which has been concluded at London, on the 19th Nov. 1794, between the United States of America and England: in consequence,

1. After the article 17 of the treaty of London, of the 19th Nov. 1794, all merchandise of the enemy's, or merchandise not sufficiently ascertained to be neutral, conveyed under American flags, shall be confiscated: but the ship, on board of which such merchandise shall be found, shall be released and given to the proprietor. The commissaries of the directory are enjoined to accelerate, by all the means in their power, the decision of the contests which shall arise, either upon the validity of the captures of the cargoes, or upon freights and insurances.

2. According to the 18th article of the treaty of London, dated the 19th of November, 1794, relative to articles declared contraband by the 24th article of the treaty dated February 6, 1778, are added the following:

Ship timber;
Oakum, pitch, and rosin;
Copper for sheathing vessels;
Sails, hemp, and cordage;

And every thing which serves directly or indirectly to the arming and equipping of vessels, excepting bar iron, and fir in planks. These articles shall be confiscated as often as they shall be destined, or attempted to be carried to the enemy.

3. According to the 21st article of the treaty of London of the above date, every American, who shall hold a commission from the enemies of France, as well as every seaman of that nation composing the crew of the ships and vessels, shall, by this fact alone, be declared piratical, and treated as such, without suffering the party to establish that the act was the consequence of threats or violence.

4. In pursuance of the law of the 14th Feb. 1793, the regulations of the 21st October 1744, and of the 26th July, shall be complied with according to their form and tenor.

Every

Every American ſhip ſhall therefore be deemed a lawful prize, which ſhall not have on board a bill of lading in due form, according to the plan annexed to the treaty of the 6th of Feb. 1778, the execution of which is enjoined by the 25th and 27th articles of that treaty.

5. The commiſſioners of the executive directory are required to carry into effect the penalties that attach on all clandeſtine attempts that may be made by American, or veſſels belonging to any other nation, to paſs as neutral, on board the veſſel where the fraud is attempted to be practiſed, in the manner that theſe penalties have been repeatedly carried into effect during the preſent war. The penalty ſhall attach where the blanks in the conſignments and invoices are not filled up, though ſigned and ſealed, where the papers are in the form of letters, containing fictitious ſignatures; where are double paſſports or policies, ſpecifying different deſtinations; where conſignment is made to two or more factors, and where there are different receipts or papers of any kind which conſign the whole or part of the ſame goods to different owners or different deſtinations.

6. By this article, proviſions of the treaty of the 9th Frimaire laſt, relative to freight and inſurance, are repealed, as far as they apply to inſurance.

7. The preſent treaty ſhall be publiſhed in the bulletin of the laws. The miniſters of the marine and of the colonies, of juſtice, and for foreign affairs, are charged with the execution of it in their reſpective departments.

(Signed) REWBELL, Preſident.
LA GARDE, Secretary-general.

Reſolution paſſed in the Council of Five Hundred on the 24th of July, for the Suppreſſion of Popular Societies.

1. EVERY ſociety, in which political queſtions ſhall be diſcuſſed, ſhall be proviſionally forbidden.

2. Perſons who ſhall aſſemble in ſuch ſocieties ſhall be apprehended and taken before the tribunals of the correctional police, as guilty of unlawfully aſſembling, and be puniſhed accordingly.

3. Every proprietor or tenant of a houſe let to ſuch ſocieties ſhall be obliged to pay a penalty of 1000 livres, and ſuffer three months impriſonment.

The

The Minister Plenipotentiary of the French Republic to the Batavian National Assembly.

2d Thermidor, 5th year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.

Citizens Representatives,

IT is at this moment, when the Batavian people assemble for the exercise of the first right of a free nation, in founding a constitution, which shall place it in the ranks of the powers of Europe, that the undersigned discharges his duty, by addressing to you, on the part of his government, his felicitations on this happy epoch, and the tranquillity and wisdom which prepared it. Under these circumstances, decisive of the destiny of the Batavians, the executive directory of the French republic (which has its eyes constantly fixed on those important labours which you have so happily terminated) redoubles the lively interest it took in the course of your proceedings, and seizes this opportunity of manifesting to the whole nation the sentiments of a faithful ally, in its wishes, its hopes, and good disposition towards you. It was not contented with maintaining attentively, through a train of negotiations, produced by the wisdom of its councils, as well as by the success of the French arms, the interests of the Batavian people; with having procured for it new alliances, equally advantageous and honourable; with having thus associated it with the proud destiny of the French: it does not dissemble, that all those benefits would be illusive and transitory, without the advantages of a good constitution, and a settled government, which form the first wants of a people. But it was penetrated with the sincerest satisfaction to find that this long-expected constitution was on the point of being presented to the Batavian people; how was its joy increased, when, observing your constitutional labours, they saw consecrated in them not only those great and true principles which preserve individual, political, and moral liberty, but also those of profound philosophy, enlightened by experience, when they found in them (instead of that ill-cemented union of partial sovereignties, which increase and thwart each other incessantly) the unity which is the life of a political institution—the concentration of the sovereignty and national representation—the exact demarcations of power—the frequent renewal and gradual advancement of public functionaries—the periodical return of primary assemblies, which always bring back authority to its primitive source—and the happy faculty of lawfully turning to advantage even the errors of sages, and the results of observation. In the mean time, the French government is far from attributing to this grand work of yours the merit of such perfec-

perfection, as leaves nothing to be wished for, and unites all suffrages. It knows that all human works are necessarily imperfect. But it thinks that in this instance the imperfections are trivial, and easy to be repaired—that succeeding legislators may, in times of tranquillity, redress the details of any abuses—that one of the first of civic virtues is to sacrifice self-love and private notions to the common interest and general opinion—that, in fine, it becomes even the honour of the Batavian nation to grant this code, so long meditated and solemnly discussed in its national assembly, that indulgence never denied to the important productions of human industry—to acknowledge no other judges, but time and experience. Batavians! happy Batavians! no excess, no violence has hitherto stained your honourable revolution. Civil discord has not armed your innocent hands; and the good sense of the nation, warned by terrible examples, has preserved it from those shocks which attend the foundation of the greatest empires. It depends on you to secure to yourselves the glory of a fortunate exception. It depends upon yourselves to afford to the eyes of the two worlds (which your industry and conquests have filled with lasting monuments, and which contemplate with interest your regenerative efforts) the single example of a people passing to liberty from the violence of oppression, and renewing calmly, and without convulsions, its political existence. This glory is too pure and affecting, this happiness is too great and too rare, not to make you afraid to expose either the one or the other to the uncertainty of events. No—you cannot behold without horror all the dangers of civil dissension, to which you would infallibly be led by the fatal adjournment of the constitution. You will reflect, in your wisdom, that, "if energy produces revolutions, it is reason alone that can collect the fruits of them"—that between the dissolution of the social order and the despotism that springs from anarchy, there is no remedy but a constitution, and a moment only given for its formation; that the innumerable inconveniencies of a long delay would wound the metropolis and its colonies in their political connexions, their commercial relations, their internal administration; and that the apprehended evils might, perhaps, be inferior to those which it is impossible to foresee. A motive of another kind, and which certainly has not escaped the penetration of your legislators, is this—that an established government is the safest pledge which states can mutually offer for the execution of their treaties; and that in this respect there could be no equality, while the destiny of the Batavian people was in the uncertain train of public discussion, and in the stormy contention of contrary opinions. After all these important considerations, the executive directory is willing to persuade itself that the same rectitude of judgment, which eminently distinguishes the Batavian people, will not suffer them

them to make any change in what regards their genuine interests; and that it will not fail in establishing a social compact, which promises such great advantages, which annihilates all distinction and all hopes of parties; which restores its political rank, and consolidates its existence; which puts the seal to its tranquillity, and re-opens the career of its industry. It feels an early pleasure in the happy perspective which offers to its view the acceptance of the project of a constitution framed by its own suffrage, and under its own eyes; the renewal of the ancient Batavian glory, and of that national enthusiasm of which we have seen so many honourable proofs; the return of that consideration which your political importance, your past successes, and the advantage of your geographical position, make you in the habit of possessing, while you feel the necessity of it; finally, the progress of a prosperity equally interesting to the two republics.

Health and Fraternity!

(Signed) FR. NOEL.

Substance of a Letter, addressed by the Elector of Saxony to his Majesty the King of Prussia, relative to the late Differences subsisting between that Monarch and his Neighbours in Franconia.

FAR from meaning to decide upon, or call in question the validity of the pretensions of your Majesty to the rights of sovereignty, which in later times have been enjoyed by several of your neighbours in Franconia, reputed, in consequence, to be members of the Equestrian order of the empire, I think it my duty to suppose, from the known equity of your Majesty, that you will not determine to assume these rights without impartially examining your pretensions, and that all the steps which are taken respecting the principalities of Franconia have been directed by justice, and a desire to pave a way (for you and your electoral house, and for the advantage of the subjects of Franconia suffering from the differences that have arisen respecting the sovereignty) which may lead to a distinct and amicable conciliation of all their respective rights. Your Majesty, however, is too enlightened not to be convinced that after all the laws which have been made, pretensions to rights which are not united with the possession, must be previously referred to the judge, and decided, in order to be able to come at the enjoyment of them, and that the arbitrary deposing of him who is actually in possession, cannot be approved by any one; in truth, it cannot be doubted, that if your Majesty had employed measures of negotiation with the different powers, it was much to be feared that the business would not have been speedily terminated and arranged. But this consideration was not sufficient to set you above all the laws against arbitrary power, which are so

salutary

salutary in themselves, and so interwoven with the spirit of the Germanic constitution. We can no longer accuse the supreme tribunals of the empire with partiality and injustice, if they exercise their functions agreeably to the laws by which they should be guided, and if they apply them to the actions and conduct of your Majesty. The consequences which will result from it will be felt.

Your Majesty has been revered with reason by a great part of the empire, as one of the first defenders of the constitution. And what matter of affliction will it not be for every state of the empire torn from the country, if that confidence which is founded upon veneration is weakened by the new steps taken in Franconia? I leave to your Majesty's wisdom to decide whether these premature steps will not lead them to form very curious notions of the Germanic association, whose founders had for their principal object the support of the laws of the empire, and the preservation of its constitution.

Upon the seizure of the county of Schaumbourg by Hesse, your Majesty testified that a member of that association would draw upon him the reproaches of the whole body, if he attempted to dispossess a co-estate of the empire, without having recourse to a judicial process. I confess that that differed in several particulars from the present case. But they are similar in respect to the arbitrary procedure in both cases. It is satisfactory for me to learn, that after having concluded an arrangement with different states, your Majesty hopes that the same thing will take place with the neighbouring states. I consider the speedy fulfilment of this prospect as the only means of preventing those consequences which will follow from a juridical information, if the difference cannot otherwise be accommodated. After all these considerations, and conformably to the sentiments of friendship and veneration which I feel for your Majesty, I entreat you to employ ultimately the most proper means for effecting an equitable arrangement with the states of the empire, and to remove every thing which looks like being unconstitutional in your conduct to these states.

Report of the Minister of Finance to the Directory.

Citizens Directors,

YOU have directed me to present to you a statement of the receipts of the republic, with an account of the improvements of which each part might be susceptible. Your object is to discover by this, whether, from the public revenues, authorized by the existing laws, the whole produce is drawn, which ought to be drawn—whether there are abuses to be remedied, and improvements to be expected.

I ſhall lay before you a ſtatement of the principal receipts, in the order directed by the importance and amount of their produce. I ſhall add to each article ſuch obſervations as appear to me to be neceſſary to anſwer the queſtions which you have aſked: I ſhall afterwards proceed to the new plans that have ſucceſſively been preſented. In following this mode of proceeding, I ſhall have the advantage of propoſing nothing more than the ideas that have already been ſubmitted to the legiſlative body, which they have diſcuſſed, which have engaged their intereſt, and have induced, in the minds of all the citizens, hopes which the national repreſentation will fulfil, as ſoon as it ſhall give to the financial department the time that it requires.

The finances conſiſt of two principal parts, the receipt and expenditure. Each of theſe is regulated by a grand principle of adminiſtration. By the receipts, the expenſes found to be neceſſary muſt be equalized; economy ought to preſide in all deciſions relative to the employment of the public funds.

The ſituation of the finances of a great nation is ameliorated, and ſociety at large experiences the happy effects, when, on one ſide, every thing is collected that is neceſſary, and, on the other, when nothing is expended but what is indiſpenſable. The countries that are the moſt happy are not thoſe that pay the leaſt in contributions. When the poverty of the public treaſury paralyſes the ſources of general proſperity, they are in the beſt ſituation which collect what is neceſſary, and expend only what is neceſſary.

Upon theſe principles it is that I ſhall lay before you, under different heads, the ſituation of each of the articles of which the finances of the republic are compoſed.

I. DIRECT CONTRIBUTIONS.

Under this head are compriſed the land-tax and ſumptuary contribution. The legiſlative body have fixed the total amount at three hundred millions: they poſſeſs this character in particular, that they ought to produce that ſum to the public treaſury, and ought beſides to place, at the diſpoſal of the central and municipal adminiſtrators, the means that may be neceſſary to defray their private expenſes. The laſt laws have preſcribed upon this ſubject, that there ſhould be added three additional ſols to the land-tax, and five to the ſumptuary contribution; that a common total ſhould be made of all the additional ſols of the land-tax, and that the produce ſhould be diſtributed through the ninety-eight departments, according to their reſpective wants. It is otherwiſe with the additional ſols of the ſumptuary contributions: they may be varied in each commune according to their expenditure; the neceſſity is to determine the proportion; and each commune takes for its private expenſes the produce of the collection. The intereſt

tereſt of thoſe who pay is here connected with the good of the ſervice of the national treaſury, to make it know that it would be deſirable that the direct contributions ſhould be determined by the legiſlature three months before the end of the year, in order that they might be collected by the 1ſt Vendemiaire, and fulfil the object of their eſtabliſhment as the neceſſity occurs. It has not been poſſible to obtain this advantage for the fifth year; it is to be deſired that we may be more fortunate for the ſixth year. Whatever efforts are uſed, the liſts of the land-tax of the fifth year will not be completed before this and the 1ſt of next Vendemiaire: thoſe of the ſumptuary contribution will be much longer delayed; the law is not yet paſſed, and the Council of Five Hundred have adopted three different reſolutions upon the ſubject.

The legiſlature have recognized the inconvenience of the delay into which they have fallen. They have directed the collection of three fifths of the liſts of the fourth year: that is, undoubtedly, the moſt expedient meaſure that could be adopted; but this remedy carries with it the neceſſity of making out proviſional liſts, always long and always expenſive; they have not, beſides, guaranteed the public treaſury from the neceſſity of aſſiſting the great communes, which, having no diſpoſable reſource, would always be expoſed to great inconveniences, if there had not been taken from the receipts, which ought to have had another deſtination, the ſuccours that were neceſſary. A ſingle example will prove this: the law of the 29th Nivoſe allots, proviſionally, 200,000 livres per decade, to the commune of Paris; theſe 200,000 livres, which have not always been able to be paid in toto, have abſorbed the returns of two fifths; the public treaſury has loſt, at leaſt for a time, the principal which they would have recovered, if the commune of Paris had had additional money ſufficient, or ſupplementary means at its diſpoſal.

This ſingle example proves that the delay which the aſſeſſment of the direct contributions experiences, has diminiſhed on one ſide the receipts that ought to have been made, and taken from the other a part of thoſe which have been really effected. This latter inconvenience will always be renewed till a law, ſimple in its proviſions, and eaſy to be executed, ſhall reſtore the additional ſous to their primitive deſtination, and ſtill not place them at the diſpoſal of the central adminiſtrators and municipalities, which, having thus the means of defraying their expenſes, will not dare to aſk for advances, or will not be attended to if they do. I point out two principal objects, which it is of importance to obtain, in the direct contributions; celerity in collecting, and a ſimple and eaſy manner of diſpoſing of the additional ſols. There is a third which I muſt not loſe ſight of; it is the law which the directory have deſired for the reform of the extra-impoſition of the national domains. I think that the amount of the ſum that will be paid by

the domains, in certificates of possession, will be twenty-five or thirty millions; and that we should be quits for the third, if the operations were made again: we shall gain by that from fifteen to twenty millions. The directory have moreover invited the legislature, by their messages of the 2d Vendemiaire, 7th Nivose, and 7th of Thermidor, to occupy themselves in the liquidation of the forced loan. The nation would be forced, if it were left in its present state, to reimburse more than has been received. This compensation will bring more than thirty millions upon the returns of each of the ten years to come.

II. REGISTERING.

Registering, properly speaking, the duty collected upon the change of immoveable property and the authenticity of public or private acts, forms one of the principal branches of the public revenues of France. By uniting this right to some other receipts which I shall speak of hereafter, hopes were entertained of procuring one hundred millions. Experience has proved that they have not exceeded sixty or sixty-five, I ought to say forty-eight or fifty, because I separate the registering of the stamp duty, mortgages, &c. The ameliorations proposed under this head, have not been admitted, but they have not been condemned: it appears on the contrary, that the public opinion has for some time been in their favour; this has manifested itself particularly in the Council of Ancients.

These ameliorations consist principally in putting the collection above the losses which supposed valuations and false declarations have made it experience. Formerly there was a remedy which opposed the manœuvre—it was to rescind an account of error in the finance of the state. This has been proposed to be re-established: others have demanded the national right of pre-emption: others the estimate by experienced men. These different opinions are founded on the same basis: they prove the acknowledgment of the necessity of improving the collection of the duty. If the legislature adopt the views that shall be proposed to them, I think we may rely upon an increased receipt of a million a month, or twelve millions per year. The fixing of the price of immoveable property by experienced men, appears to me to be more conformable to received principles, and to the interest of the treasury; if we apply it, as would be inevitable, as soon as we had adopted it in sales and successions, I consider the amelioration stated above as certain and infallible. It would be still more certain, if the collection established upon charges by sale could be modified, and if per contra we augmented that which ought to be laid upon successions in a collateral or foreign line. The example of a nation, the ally of the republic, may be recited in support of this proposition.

It is with reaſon that the right of regiſtering is placed in the rank of the moſt uſeful duties. The facility with which it is collected, the certainty of its produce, ought to make thoſe opinions prevail which tend to bring into trade as many domains as poſſible. We may calculate, that a change takes place every twenty years, and that every twenty years conſequently the public treaſury receives the 25th, or the 40th, or the 50th (the average thirty-ſeven or thirty-eight) of the capital value of immoveable property. This revenue is loſt with reſpect to every thing applied to public eſtabliſhments, or which comes into the poſſeſſion of any eſtabliſhments, being then aſſimilated to the old mortmain.

III. STAMP DUTY.

The ſtamp duty will not produce all together twelve millions in the courſe of the five years. It would produce fifteen, if ſome proviſions were added to the laws paſſed on this head. It is not by augmenting the quantum of the duty, that this increaſe will be obtained; it is by extending the things liable to the duty. The directory have in ſeveral meſſages, and particularly in thoſe relative to the improvement of the poſt revenue, propoſed it. It would be uſeful to point out, in a more preciſe manner, what are the regiſters of merchants and tradeſmen ſubject to the ſtamp duty, in order to take precaution with reſpect to them, and to enſure the execution of the regulations. It might be required that all the acts of the adminiſtrative bodies, and all the memorials addreſſed to them, ſhould be upon ſtamped paper; the ſame might be done with reſpect to a great number of others which are delivered into the national treaſury; an increaſed produce would thus be obtained of three or four millions.

IV. MORTGAGES.

The mortgages do not produce at this moment more than 1,500,000 or 1,800,000 livres. Their regime is only known in a part of the interior; if it were made common to all the departments, and were founded upon other principles, eight or ten millions might be obtained. Two plans have been preſented to the commiſſion of finances and the Council of Five Hundred; I think I may ſay that their admiſſion would procure an increaſe of 500,000 livres per month.

V. DUTIES ON RECORDS.

This duty is almoſt null: the former commiſſion of finance of the Council of Five Hundred preſented a plan upon the ſubject. The adminiſtration of the domains has produced a new work; if it be agreed to, we may reckon upon a produce of five or ſix millions a year.

VI.

VI. PATENTS.

The patents will produce about eighteen millions in the courſe of the fifth year. It is allowed that this duty may be improved by rectifying the claſſing of the trades and profeſſions. The ſucceſs of this duty is implicated in part in the ſpeedy emiſſion of the law.

VII. CUSTOMS.

The cuſtoms will produce one or two millions more than they were eſtimated; circumſtances require that they ſhould be left in their preſent ſtate.

VIII. POSTS AND POST-HOUSES.

The law of the 16th Brumaire had declared that this branch of the public revenue would be carried to twelve millions: it produced nearly that ſum before the revolution: the territory of the republic is more extenſive than it was then; its population is increaſed an eighth, and yet the produce does not exceed five millions; there is a difference of ſeven millions; the cauſes are known; the Council of Five Hundred would have put an end to them, but the Council of Ancients, having declared that they could not adopt the laſt reſolution, a new plan muſt be adopted. The Directory have directed the attention of the Council of Five Hundred ſeveral times to this ſubject.

IX. POWDER AND SALTPETRE.

The adminiſtration of powder and ſaltpetre produced about 500,000 livres before the revolution; the war has altered the ſituation of affairs, but the prohibition of the ſale has had a great influence upon the preſent ſtate. A reſolution of the Council of Five Hundred rejected by the Council of Ancients, re-eſtabliſhed the duties of the adminiſtration and the bureaux of diſtribution; the progreſs made on this head in late years by the invention of round powder, promiſes 4 or 500,000 livres beyond the expenſe, even if the war ſhould be continued; but a law is neceſſary upon the ſubject.

X. DUTIES UPON THE MARK OF GOLD AND SILVER.

The Council of Five Hundred have long heard a plan read of a reſolution upon this ſubject. They produce ſcarcely any thing; a good law would make them produce 500,000 livres.

XI. NATIONAL DOMAINS.

The national domains afford two great means of reſource to the republic—the capital value of thoſe that are alienated, the revenues of thoſe that are not.

It

It has often been ſaid in the legiſlature, that this immenſe reſource would vaniſh by the fears inſpired in the minds of the purchaſers of the national domains: it will, on the contrary, aſſume new vigour, if the confidence which each citizen ought to place in it, is fortified.

This truth had been deeply felt by thoſe who preſented to the nation the conſtitutional act, and by the nation itſelf which accepted it. It is neceſſary that no purchaſer ſhould be afraid of being diſturbed in his poſſeſſion: it is neceſſary that each ſhould come with confidence to the ſales, and be eager, by an effect of the ſame ſentiment, to raiſe the property to its juſt value. Confidence will pay for the property already ſold; it will raiſe the price of that which remains to be ſold: the want of it will produce depreciation, and almoſt annihilate the value of what remains to be diſpoſed of.

The advantages to be obtained on this head relate to the maintenance of the laws that had already procured them; when they produce good effects, it is dangerous to touch them. A ſhort time ago, perſons bought ſecurely the domains of the emigrants; the parſonage houſes were ſought for, and this immoveable property was brought into trade: that ſtate of confidence may be eaſily re-eſtabliſhed: the moſt efficacious means are, to put an end to the uncertainty increaſed by propoſals which it would be more uſeful to examine without delay than to adjourn.

Confidence will double the value of the national property that remains: confidence will produce a diſpoſable reſource; will extinguiſh a part of the debt; without it all thoſe advantages are loſt, or deferred to periods when they will be leſs uſeful.

We cannot advert to the national domains, without directing one's attention to the engagements.

The law of the 10th Brumaire, of the third year, had directed the reſumption of all the domains engaged: that of the 10th Brumaire ſuſpended the execution of it. Theſe domains are contained in an extraordinary claſs: the poſſeſſors cannot conſider them as incommutable property; the republic cannot conſider them yet as diſpoſable; yet they are an important reſource. It would be eaſy to make it uſeful, and it would be ſufficient to admit the poſſeſſors to the redemption of the revocable nature of their titles. We muſt foreſee that they would be eager to profit of this advantage. The amount of what might be produced by this meaſure, is eſtimated at thirty millions of money.

XII. GROUND-RENTS, NOT FEUDAL.

The Council of Five Hundred have been employed for a few days upon the ground-rents, not feudal: they have proclaimed this truth, that they had only been conſidered as extinct, by a falſe interpretation of the law of the month of July, 1793.

The

The annual revenue of the non-feudal ground-rents belonging to the republic, may be carried to about ten millions; the Council of Five Hundred thought they might authorize the redemption by paying the greater part in public debt, and a part in money, which might ſtill be diminiſhed by the effect of a premium.

It ſeems that thoſe bound to pay them would have found it ſufficiently advantageous to relieve themſelves from them, half in money and half in public debt: this at moſt is but a ſimple obſervation, which does not diminiſh either my reſpect or my deference for the reſult of the deliberations of the Council.

The reſources of the ground-rents are augmented, when we add to them the produce of thoſe of the departments of the Upper and Lower Rhine; the proprietors know themſelves to be obliged to continue the payment of them, which they mean to redeem, and only wait for a law to authorize them.

The collection of the non-feudal ground-rents may, as I have already ſaid, increaſe the revenues of the republic ten millions; their redemption may extinguiſh five millions of intereſt of public debt, and procure one hundred millions in diſpoſable value. They would be obtained by admitting obligations at ſtated periods, as the law of 16th Brumaire, fourth year, preſcribes reſpecting the alteration of the domains.

Such, Citizens Directors, are the principal branches of the exiſting revenues; but they are not the ſole reſources that remain to the republic. The juſtice of making thoſe pay for keeping the roads in repair, who make uſe of and injure them, has been acknowledged. The fine condition of the roads in two neighbouring nations, and in Belgium, is an anſwer to all the objections that may be urged againſt the duty of toll, and keeping in repair. The Council of Five Hundred has admitted it in its principle: if the Council of Ancients approve, the repairing of the roads and highways will only be remembered as a part of the public expenditure. The produce of the duty eſtabliſhed will provide for it.

The great communes have for a long time ſolicited ſupplementary means to their additional ſols: the legiſlature are about to direct their attention to this important object: they will in their wiſdom find out means the moſt ſuitable to the preſent ſtate of things: the cities will no longer need the aſſiſtance of the public purſe, and will, on the contrary, take at their own charge objects which coſt ten or twelve millions.

Some propoſitions have been made upon the duty on the introduction of ſalt: they have been combated; but the debates upon this ſubject have not deſtroyed the reſources which the nation will draw from her ſalt-pits, by eſtabliſhing magazines, in which the citizens will procure their conſumption at a better market than could be procured by the trade with private perſons; which, beſides, will remain abſolutely free: this truth is demonſtrated by a ſimple

a ſimple calculation: the uſual commerce is not contented with an annual benefit of five per cent. upon its capital—the induſtrious man requires ſomething more: the nation, on the contrary, finds great advantages in drawing this produce from the articles that would remain dead, without eſtabliſhments to make them uſeful.

The Council of Ancients have rejected the propoſed eſtabliſhment of lotteries. I recur to this ſubject only to obſerve, that the department of the Dyle has been forced to publiſh the ancient laws, prohibiting dealings in foreign lotteries: it would be better that thoſe funds ſhould remain in the interior, and be employed to the profit of the great communes, the hoſpitals, and foundlings.

The ſtatement required from me, Citizens Directors, does not impoſe upon me the obligation to paſs in review the long enumeration of the duties eſtabliſhed in France, and in other ſtates. The government of the republic endeavour to reduce their expenſes; and they deſire only to obtain what is neceſſary to meet them.

You have demanded from each miniſter a ſtatement of the ſavings made in his department ſince the eſtabliſhment of the conſtitutional regime; each, even the ſlighteſt detail will be read with intereſt; it will be ſeen that their efforts have been as firm as they have been perſevering; and when the actual ſtate of the expenſes ſhall be compared with thoſe of two years ago, men will be aſtoniſhed to find ſo ſatisfactory a reſult, eſpecially when they ſhall direct their attention to the difficult circumſtances in which the government is placed. Each miniſter may add to his account given in, the following obſervations: that greater reforms might have been made, and greater reductions produced, if they had had diſpoſable means: all parties with which they had had to treat, have calculated upon the uncertainty of payment, and have regulated their prices in conſequence; better conditions might have been obtained, if the exactneſs of payment, at the epoch of delivering in the articles, could have been promiſed and guaranteed. The difficulties experienced in the payment are felt in a more lively manner than all the calculations in theory. The creditor who does not receive what is due to him, thinks rather upon the diſtreſs than the caſe of his debtor: there are occurrences in which one is forced to buy ſilver with gold, when ſilver is neceſſary for the moment, and when one cannot promiſe to replace it but by gold.

A well-underſtood economy directs us always to have the means of preventing the neceſſity of ſuch operations. Complaints are made of authorities to pay given upon inſufficient, but not received revenues; they would not have been given, if the neceſſary funds had been in the public treaſury. The public ſervice cannot be performed without expenſe; if the public treaſury does not pay in effective means, it muſt pay by its engagements: no one would

 oblige

oblige himſelf, without that, to make the neceſſary deliveries. Theſe authorities are, without doubt, inconvenient, no one denies; but could one avoid giving them? That is the difficulty to be reſolved. For a long time the receipts have been leſs than the expenditure; and yet for a long time it has been neceſſary to perform the public ſervice for fear of compromiſing the ſafety of the country. It would have coſt leſs, if we had had more means.

I have thus pointed out, Citizens Directors, thoſe which may render to the republic the advantages that have been deferred, but which are not loſt.

The legiſlative body, informed of the real ſtate of the finances, convinced of the difficulties which the ſervice experiences, will put an end to them; acquainted with the reſources that remain, they will make them uſeful. No nation is in a ſimilar poſition to that of France; after having made head againſt almoſt all Europe coaleſced againſt her, ſhe can, at the moment of peace, ſhew herſelf to be in a condition to repair, ſpeedily, all the evils of war, and to carry on freſh campaigns, if the obſtinacy of her enemies ſhould force her. Our agriculture is flouriſhing; good laws will reſtore activity to commerce. The legiſlative power may render reſources, which aſtoniſh our neighbours, available and efficacious: they exiſt, they are known. Let the legiſlature pronounce, and all will be eager to ſecond their meaſures. The want of laws is acknowledged.

The Executive Directory may diminiſh the expenſes in proportion as the ſituation of the public treaſury ſhall permit them to become more ſevere: but this previous thing is neceſſary: the neceſſity of uniting the will of all to attain the ſame end, is felt by the immenſe majority of the nation: it is impatient to enjoy at length the fruit of its labours, the advantages of the revolution. There only remains one effort to be made; it is that of re-eſtabliſhing the finances: this will coſt no regret, it will produce nothing but happy conſequences, it will re-open all the reſources of public proſperity.

The Miniſter of Finance,

D. V. RAMEL.

Ratiſbon, 12 July.

A COPY from the college of electors has been printed here, relative to the ſteps and innovations made by the court of Berlin in Franconia. It contains a letter from the elector of Mentz to the emperor, and another to the electors. In the letter it is propoſed that a concluſum, or deciſion of the electoral college, ſhall be paſſed. Treves and Cologne have acceded to the propoſal. The elector palatine is of advice, that a letter of repre-

representation of the supreme chief of the empire, should be addressed to the King of Prussia. The electors of Saxony and Brunswick have addressed their representations directly to his Prussian Majesty.—In consequence of these circumstances, a mandate has been sent to the King of Prussia from the Aulic council. The first measure of the council now will be to invite some powerful state of the empire to execute the sentence, and put the injured states in possession of that of which they have been deprived by the Prussian cabinet.

Report of Aubry to the Council of Five Hundred, on the 20th July, upon the Marching of Troops towards Paris, within the Limits prescribed by the Constitution.

I COME in the name of your committee of inspectors, to ask a few moments to inform you of facts, the truth of which I warrant. Four or five regiments of chasseurs, of the army of the Sambre and Meuse, are arrived by different routes near Corbeil. Others have arrived on the side of Soissons. The inhabitants of these countries have been seized with the utmost consternation. Orders have been given to prepare lodgings for the troops.

The committee has considered that the Directory could not have given this order without violating the 69th article of the constitution, and incurring the penalty of ten years imprisonment, enacted against the ministers, or the Directory, who should order troops to approach within twelve miles, without having previously informed the legislative body, and being authorised by it. The conduct of the Directory is marked out by the constitution. Corbeil is but seven miles from Paris. I demand that during the sitting a message be sent to the Directory, in order that it may give us an account of its proceedings by the sittings of to-morrow, 1st, If it be true that four regiments of guards have arrived at Corbeil; 2dly, By whom the orders for marching have been given; 3dly, If the necessary measures have been adopted to prosecute those who have given such orders.

A Message in consequence the above Report was ordered by the Council of Five Hundred to be sent to the Executive Directory.—In the Sitting of the Council on the same Day, the Directory returned the following Message:

IT is true, that four regiments of horse passed (the 13th, 14th, 15th, and 16th) within the distance of eleven miles from Paris, to proceed to an ulterior destination. It was but yesterday we were apprized of this infraction of the

constitutional act, and immediately an order to send away the troops was expedited. The Directory attributed this circumstance to the inadvertence of the commissary at war. It thought it was owing to a mistake. The council spoke in its message of troops arriving at Soissons; the Directory had no knowledge of it.

(Signed) CARNOT, President.
LAREVEILLIERE LEPAUX,
for the Secretary General.

The message was ordered to be referred to a committee.

Report to the Council of Five Hundred, on the 21st July, of the Committee appointed to examine the Message of the Directory, upon the Marching of Troops within the constitutional Limits.

LENORMAND.—The commission you named yesterday, composed of the representatives Pichegru, Willot, Gaux, Doulcet, Lenormand, has examined the message of the Directory relative to the troops who have passed the limits marked by the constitution. It has perceived that the Directory has not answered to one of the most important questions. The Directory has said, that it thinks no mischief was intended by the march of the troops; but we had demanded, who gave orders for their marching. It is necessary to know this fact; this shall be the object of a new message. A second message should be also sent, desiring to know the state of the troops who were in Paris on the 1st Thermidor, and who now are in Paris.

The council ordered the two messages.

Substance of two Messages sent by the Executive Directory to the Council of Five Hundred, on the 22d July.

IN the first message, the Directory desired to distinguish between the order to march and the order of marching. It avowed having given the order to march, but for a far different destination. It was ignorant who had given the order of marching. The commissary Lesage at Mezieres had given orders to prepare quarters at Ferte-Alais. It concluded by desiring the council to trace the line of demarkation. The most common opinion is, that Ferte-Alais is thirteen leagues.—The last edition of the Vosgien Dictionary states it at twelve.

In the second message, the Directory gave an account of the troops at present in Paris, and within the distance limited by the constitution.

Both the messages were ordered to be referred to a commission.

Speech

Speech of Willot in the Council of Five Hundred, on 31st July, relative to the Marching of Troops.

THE committee appointed to make a report relative to the unconſtitutional marching of the troops, was, he ſaid, diſſolved, after having performed its duty. But your committee of inſpectors is not unacquainted with the motions of the troops in the interior, the certainty of their arrival at Rheims and elſewhere, and the ſpirit of madneſs which leads them from their duty. Every where the defenders of the republic ſay, their march is directed againſt you, who are their enemies; againſt you, who oppoſe a general peace; againſt you, who wiſh to diſſolve the government. Againſt whom ought theſe detachments of the armies of the Sambre and Meuſe to be employed? Neglect not, at a time ſo critical, any means of watching over the intereſt of the people. Every thing demonſtrates the falſity of the charges alleged againſt you. What reference to any maritime expedition has the preparation of ſuch a conſiderable force of cannoneers and of chaſſeurs? Their retrograde motions are a proof that they are uſeleſs with reſpect to any ſuch expedition. It is important to be ſatisfied whether this retrograde motion is real. We ought to know why ſo many perſons daily arrive in Paris. Who are there among us who are not deſirous of the return of confidence? but is it to be procured by appearances of threats? I demand that the committee of inſpection may be obliged to inform you of the circumſtances which have come to its knowledge, and you will afterwards judge whether you ought not to inſiſt upon the Directory's proſecuting thoſe who are reſponſible.

The printing was demanded, and was decreed.

Speech of Delahaye, upon the Marching of Troops, in the ſame Sitting.

I BELIEVE that the committee charged to make a report reſpecting the unconſtitutional marching of the troops, has not fulfilled the object for which it was formed; for what is the object on which it has been employed? To ſpeak freely, the object is a conſpiracy againſt the legiſlative body. Well, the committee has not fathomed this conſpiracy, of which, although we have no official communication, we have a moral proof.—Troops are at Soiſſons, at Rheims, at Chartres, at Amiens. They may in one night come and beſiege us; for, as was obſerved by a certain man in power, "A thouſand men to attack the Five Hundred, a thouſand men to attack the Ancients, and the patriots will perform the reſt." The committee ought not to be diſſolved. I demand that it may make you a freſh report. —Agreed to.

Report

Report of Delarne to the Council of Five Hundred, on the 4th August.

"I COME in the name of your committee of inſpectors, to make the report you have deſired on the march of the troops. The reſult of the information we have obtained is, 1ſt, That twenty-ſix or twenty-ſeven thouſand men have been drawn from the army of the Sambre and Meuſe, inſtead of 9000, as General Hoche wrote. 2d, That this force directed its march towards Paris. 3d, That a formidable artillery followed this force, which was to encamp at St. Denis, Etampes, and the neighbouring places. 4th, That the expenſes of this march have been drawn from the hands of the receivers of the departments, and particularly that of Marne, from whence there have been taken the ſum of 40,000 livres in ſpecie. 5th, That forced requiſitions have been levied on account of the neglect of the commiſſaries, and that conſiderable havoc has been committed. Every effort is made to ſeduce the troops; ſoldiers, officers, are permitted to make propoſals the moſt abſurd and the moſt injurious againſt the legiſlative body; libels are circulated in the army; L'Ami des Loix and the Sentinelle are the only newſpapers they read. Notwithſtanding the order to retire, a great number of troops ſtill march towards Paris, by the orders of General Hoche, and in oppoſition to General Ferino, who has received counter orders from the miniſter of war. The legion denominated Francs, formed in oppoſition to the principles of the law, is quartered throughout the country. The bodies of troops which have received orders to march back, reſort to Paris in diviſions habited as citizens. Leſage, the commiſſary, has made himſelf particularly conſpicuous in directing theſe movements. At Chartres, five hundred of the banditti have been provided with arms and ammunition. Paris is filled with ſtrangers, who thirſt for blood and pillage. The armies deliberate, correſpond with each other, and make decrees and proclamations, with which all France is overwhelmed. What ſtep has been taken by government to prevent theſe abuſes?" The ſpeaker propoſed the ſending a meſſage to the Directory, to demand, 1ſt, Whether it had received the documents which it had promiſed, with reſpect to the marching of the troops, limiting its anſwer to the period of three days? 2d, What meaſures had been taken to put a ſtop to the violation of the 275th article of the conſtitution, which prohibits the armed force from entering into deliberations?

The council adopted theſe propoſitions, and ordered the report to be printed.

Subſtance of a Meſſage of the Council of Five Hundred, on the 7th August, from the Executive Directory.

THE meſſage of the Directory announced the taking neceſſary meaſures for executing the law of the 10th Thermidor relative to

to fixing the conſtitutional limits, beyond which the troops ſhould not treſpaſs.

The Miniſter of Finance to the Commiſſioners of the Executive Directory reſiding at the Central Adminiſtration of the Departments.

I SEND you, Citizen Commiſſioner, a copy of a letter I received on the 1ſt inſt. from the Executive Directory, calling on me for an account of the manœuvres practiſed to alarm the purchaſers of national domains. It enjoins me to cauſe an exact obſervance to be made of the laws and principles which are to ſecure them from the new attempts of the enemies of the country. I entreat you, Citizen Commiſſioner, to demand of the central adminiſtration of the department, to tranſcribe on its regiſters the copy of this letter, to the end that your fellow-citizens may be made acquainted with it, and that it may manifeſt, by its publicity, the intentions of the government, on whoſe efforts and perſeverance every ſtreſs may be laid. I ſhould be afraid of weakening the impreſſion which an expoſition of the principles by which the Directory is actuated ought to make on every citizen, if I were to enter into any elucidation of my own. It rather becomes me to confine myſelf to the preſſing exhortation and formal recommendation I now make to you to employ all the means in your power to reanimate public confidence, to prove that it is eſtabliſhed on the moſt ſolid baſis, to point out all thoſe who aim at weakening it, to apply to them the laws enacted againſt the enemies of the country, and to communicate to me all the facts which may come to your knowledge. If any purchaſer of a national domain ſhould be moleſted in the enjoyment of his property, denounce the author of the outrage to the tribunals, and appriſe me without delay of what has happened. If an emigrant ſhould find an aſylum in your department, cauſe him to be apprehended, and give information to the miniſter of police. If any one ſhould revive pretenſions or prejudices condemned by the laws or by reaſon, endeavour in the firſt inſtance to root out the error by an expoſition of uſeful truths. If theſe pretenſions or prejudices ſhould be perſiſted in, the intention muſt then be criminal: and you are to exert every ſeverity, to the end that the good citizens may find in the agents of government the guaranties of public ſecurity. If you ſhould find that an endeavour is made, no matter on what pretext, to conceal any property belonging to the national domains, you are to conſider the author of this fraud as a dilapidator of the public property, and to proceed againſt him accordingly. You are to tranſmit to me a ſtatement of the ſales of national domains up to the 1ſt Thermidor, in ſeparate columns, as follows:

1. An

1. An account of the immoveable property ſold, and the name of the commune in which it is ſituated.

2. The eſtabliſhment on which it depended, or the old proprietor.

3. The ſum for which it was put up to ſale.

4. The ſum for which it was ſold.

5. The name of the purchaſer.

And a ſixth blank column is to be left for obſervations.

If any purchaſer ſhould have been moleſted in his poſſeſſion, you will ſtate the ſame in a note, with the ſteps which have been taken to ſecure him the protection of the laws. During the firſt decade of every month you will ſend me a ſtatement, in the ſame form, of all the ſales made during the preceding month. You are to be punctual in this reſpect, as it is a general meaſure which promiſes great utility. You cannot fail, Citizen Commiſſary, to be aware of all the importance of this letter. You cannot have ſo favourable an opportunity to give the Directory a proof of your zeal in an affair in which it takes ſo lively an intereſt.

D. V. RAMEL, Miniſter of Finance.

Addreſs of the Prince of Condé to his Army on the 20th of July.

HIS Majeſty the Emperor of Ruſſia has done me the honour to inform me, that the King of France has juſt made an arrangement with him reſpecting this army, and that his Imperial Majeſty flatters himſelf that both his Majeſty and myſelf will be equally ſatisfied with the overtures that his miniſter is charged to make to me in his name.

The Emperor of Ruſſia wiſhes to contribute to the ſupport of the army. This ſovereign is about to intercede with the courts of Vienna and of London, to induce them to continue to us their generous aſſiſtance. Until all the arrangements ſhall be made, he aſſures me, that from the moment he takes charge of the army, all the individuals that compoſe it, and wiſh to partake of his bounty, from the firſt lieutenant-general down to the private ſoldier, ſhall have the ſame pay and appointment that he now enjoys. We ſhall not be informed till after the return of the courier now ſent to Ruſſia, of the nature of the hereditary conceſſions that his Imperial Majeſty promiſes to the army, according, at the ſame time, to the French nobles, the ſame privileges that are enjoyed by the Ruſſian nobility.

Addreſs

Addreſs of General Maſſena's Diviſion of the Army of Italy to the Executive Directory.

WHEN peace has arrived to put an end to our labours, it is our duty to look towards our country. What a heart-rending picture does it preſent! The conſtitution violated, the government degraded, the emigrants returning, the prieſts, rebels to the laws, protected and honoured, the faithful and upright republicans proſcribed and murdered, the poignards of the royaliſts ſtained with the blood of the defenders of their country. What! do theſe monſters imagine that eight years of ſacrifices, of battles, and of fatigue, have exhauſted our courage? Do they imagine we have not enough left to defend the conſtitution we have ſworn to maintain? Let them tremble! Yes; let theſe conſpirators tremble! We will keep this formidable oath. The ſwords which have exterminated the armies of kings, are ſtill in the hands of the conquerors of the Rhine, of the Sambre and Meuſe, and of Italy.

Does the road to Paris preſent more obſtacles than that to Vienna? No: it will be opened to us by the republicans who have remained faithful to liberty. United, we ſhall defend it; and our common enemies *ſhall have lived.*

Addreſs of General Joubert's Diviſion of the Army of Italy.

ROYALISM raiſes its audacious head, and multiplies murders in all the departments.

Prieſthood faſcinates the eyes, heats the heads, ſharpens the poignards. The execution of a plan combined for the re-eſtabliſhment of the throne is openly followed in the legiſlature. One liberticide law is ſcarcely paſſed, when another is propoſed; the Directory, who are entruſted with the care of our conſtitution, accepted by our armies, and acknowledged by all Frenchmen, are accuſed without the leaſt attention to decency: charges are preferred againſt the citizen who has rendered the moſt ſignal ſervices, and who at this moment is entruſted with the greateſt intereſts, in order to crown the labours of all the armies by a glorious peace, which would conſolidate the republic, and annihilate all factions and all parties except the friends of the government.

Add to this rapid ſketch the return of the emigrants *en maſſe*, on which the members of the council congratulate themſelves in their ſpeeches; the cries of death; the dreadful howlings of the journaliſts of Louis XVIII.; and you will have the mournful picture of the riſing counter-revolution.

What, comrades! ſhall we have ſhed ſo much blood for the proſperity and glory of our country, and yet ſee it replunged again into the diſorders of anarchy—into the fury of civil wars? Shall the odious Capet, who for ſix years has carried his diſgrace from ſtate to ſtate, conſtantly driven before our republican phalanxes, reduce us under the yoke? If this idea be diſguſting to every citizen who has but once in his life been ſtimulated by the love of his country, how much more ſo muſt it be to the old ſoldiers of the republic!

Volunteers of the army of the interior! the ſame men whom you ſo often repulſed on the banks of the Rhine, whom you ſo completely humbled at Quiberon, are now at Paris, and in the departments; they form an army in preſence of our own. Firm to your principles, obey the voice of the Directory; be faithful to your glory; make a rampart of your bodies around the conſtitution, which you have ſworn to maintain; and rely upon victory, in the full conviction that ſhe never will forſake the republican colours.

Meſſage from the Directory to the Council of Five Hundred, 14 *Thermidor (Aug.* 1).

Citizens Repreſentatives,

THE Executive Directory has juſt come to a ſecond deciſion upon the order for the urgency of payments to be made during the 2d decade of Thermidor. The demands proceeding upon the moſt preſſing wants amounted to about 20 millions. It was neceſſary, in order to ſuſtain the ſervice, to conſider as diſpoſable the expected receipts from the departments during the laſt decade, and from the national treaſury during the preſent. The calculations have been made no higher than 6,250,000 livres. They have been diſtributed in a manner that appears moſt agreeable to the laws which have been paſſed, and moſt neceſſary for the maintenance of the ſervice in the difficult circumſtances in which we are placed. There remains a deficit of about fourteen millions, which will be felt in the enſuing decade, with the accumulation of the expenſe of the ſucceeding ten days. Whatever calculations may be made, Citizens Repreſentatives, it ought to be demonſtrated to you that the preſent means are inſufficient. The ſtatements which the commiſſioners of the national treaſury have for ſome days ſent you, prove that they cannot depend upon a recovery of 23 millions in effective ſpecie during the month Thermidor. It will be impoſſible to ſuſtain the ſervice with ſuch feeble means. The difficulties it experiences render its ſituation worſe and worſe every day. This ſtate of things the more deſerves your attention, becauſe the reſources which the republic has left may eaſily

easily produce an alteration. The knowledge of these resources has hitherto supported our courage and our hopes. It is time to display them, and turn them to advantage. The minister of finance has pointed out some of them in the annexed report; the Directory has several times had occasion to invite you to submit them to your examination, and again it urges the same request. The danger of the present moment imposes this as a duty. The happy changes which it sees in the adoption of measures for the re-establishment of public credit, induce the Directory to hope that they will soon be taken into consideration.

(Signed) CARNOT, President.
LAGARDE, Secretary.

Letter from his Majesty the King of Great Britain, as Elector of Hanover, to his Imperial Majesty.

THE letter of the 7th of September, 1796, with which your Imperial Majesty has favoured me, respecting the possession of the territory of the Imperial city of Nuremberg, of the dependencies of the bishopric of Eichstadt, and of the immediate command in Franconia, I hold as a precious monument of the sentiments of justice and paternal solicitude by which your Majesty evinces the cordial concern you feel for the preservation of the Germanic constitution, and for the punctual observance of the electoral capitulation; a conduct which cannot fail considerably to contribute to the glory of your Imperial Majesty's reign.

I received that letter with sentiments of veneration equal to the gratitude that was excited in my breast by the kind confidence of which your Imperial Majesty has thereby given so striking a proof: and I accordingly could not but pay the most scrupulous attention to the object in question, and ponder on it with all the anxiety which the most vivid interest could inspire.

Your Majesty, doubtless, can be no stranger to the principles I profess respecting the maintenance of the system of the empire, and the regard due to its laws, as also to the uniform disposition which will invariably induce me to do every thing in my power that can contribute to that end. I have by no means neglected to consider the importance and extensive consequences connected with the events in question; and I cannot but applaud the profound wisdom of the measures which your Majesty has adopted. Your Majesty has expressed a desire to be acquainted with my sentiments and opinion on this subject, and also that I would employ my interposition with the King of Prussia: and indeed I think that the interposition suggested by your Majesty, of all the electors of the empire, with his Prussian Majesty, is, in the existing circumstances, highly expedient, as from the entire confi-

dence reposed in the sentiments and opinion of his Prussian Majesty, the electors are induced to hope that he will not interrupt the course of justice; but that he will express his decided preference, that the lawful possessors should be protected in the enjoyment of their rights. I am conscious, therefore, that I comply with the wishes of your Imperial Majesty, by sending to his Prussian Majesty the letter, a copy of which I do not scruple to annex to the present. Nothing shall ever be more agreeable to me, than to seize every opportunity of proving to your Imperial Majesty, on every occasion, how unfeignedly I confide in him, and thus to convince him of the high esteem with which I always am

Your Imperial Majesty's, &c.
(Signed) GEORGE R.

St. James's, Feb. 17, 1797.

Letter from the King of England to the King of Prussia.

THE perfect confidence I repose in the patriotic sentiments of your Majesty, as well as the friendship which I flatter myself your Majesty entertains for me, induce me, without any hesitation, to acquaint you that his Imperial Majesty has written to me, as an elector of the empire, a private and circumstantial letter respecting the taking possession of the Imperial city of Nuremberg, of the dependencies of Eichstadt, and of the Equestrian order, which took place last year on the part of your Majesty, on account of your principalities of Brandenbourg, in Franconia. His Imperial Majesty has expressed a desire that I would communicate to him my sentiments on this subject, and also that I would employ my interposition with your Majesty.

Whereas his Imperial Majesty, in the differences that have arisen on this occasion, is only desirous to fulfil the duty prescribed to him by the capitulation of the empire, in a manner that must highly redound to his honour, and at the same time to manifest the high consideration which he entertains for your Majesty, I accordingly held it my duty, in my capacity of elector, and in compliance with my obligations, not to refuse the request of his Imperial Majesty.

I am, however, far from being disposed to erect myself into a judge of the justice of your Majesty's pretensions, or even to enter into a discussion of the principles on which they are grounded.

I feel it sufficient to rely on your Majesty's wisdom and abilities, which so fully enable your Majesty to judge of every thing that belongs to the system and constitution of the Germanic empire,

empire, in the preservation of which your Majesty has principally taken on you to be vigilant; and for this I depend on the noble and generous sentiments by which your Majesty, of your own accord, seemed to have regulated your conduct in the instruction published the 17th of March, 1792, with regard to the regencies of Anspach and Baireuth, especially respecting the pretensions and differences which might arise in those principalities.

These sentiments and this conduct of your Majesty leave me no room to doubt, but that it is your Majesty's intention to support, on constitutional grounds only, your claims on your neighbours in Franconia; and, consequently, that you will leave those less powerful co-estates and proprietories of the empire in the enjoyment of what the laws secure to them, and of what your Majesty grants to your own subjects against yourself, to wit, their maintenance and re-establishment in a just and incontestable possession.

While I most willingly, on the present occasion, manifest the most perfect confidence in your Majesty, I at the same time take the opportunity of renewing to your Majesty the assurances of the high esteem with which

I am, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE R.

St. James's, Feb. 17, 1797.

Proceedings of the Diet of Ratisbon.

Ratisbon, July 24.

THE diet began on the 21st instant to deliberate on the necessary preparations and deputations for the conclusion of a treaty of peace between the German empire and the French republic.

The directorial envoy of Austria opened the business in the council of the princes, and recommended that, as the negotiations were shortly to be opened, deputies might be appointed. In the electoral college the business was opened in like manner, and the following votes were given: Austria, Burgundy, and the electorate of Bohemia, voted thanks to the Emperor for his exertions in preserving the integrity of the empire, his labours for the attainment of peace, and his communications on the subject. The electorates of Bavaria and of the Palatinate, in addition to the above, moved that the conclusion of the peace be left wholly to the Emperor, confiding, as they did, in the determination of his Majesty to preserve the geographical and political integrity of the empire. The elector of Cologne, in his vote, acknowledged the great advantages derived by the empire from the exertions of the

the Emperor and the Archduke Charles. Bremen and the electorate of Brunſwick or Hanover ſtated, that his Majeſty had appointed his late directorial envoy, Van Rheden, in the circle of Lower Saxony, to be his plenipotentiary at the deputation of the empire, and that he was ready on all occaſions to join with his co-eſtates in ſo important a concern.

Saltzburgh, Saxe Gotha, Treves, and many other ſtates, voted, that the concluſion of a peace ſhould be ſolely and entirely left to his Imperial Majeſty. Straſburgh, Conſtance, and Hildeſheim, voted for inſtructions to demand indemnity of the French. Trent recommended to his Majeſty the fate of thoſe German princes who expect to be again put in poſſeſſion of their territories.

Magdeburgh, Deux Ponts, Brunſwick, and Wolfenbuttle, left the protocol open.

On the 24th ult. Baſil, Anterior Pomerania, Munſter, Heſſe Darmſtadt, Thurn, and Taxis, and many others, voted with Saltſburgh, &c.

The General Commander in Chief of the Army of the Sambre and Meuſe, to the intermediate Committee eſtabliſhed at Bann.

UPON the 14th of this month I informed you, that fearing the funds with which you could ſupply the paymaſter of the army, might be applied to ſome other deſtination than the pay of the army, I requeſted you to keep them till I gave you an expreſs order.

Now that the paymaſter of the army has called upon you to pay him theſe funds, I myſelf prohibit you to obey his requiſition; and I declare to you formally, that you ſhall be perſonally reſponſible for the infraction of this order, declaring to you at the ſame time, that the ſum depoſited with you is intended for the pay of a numerous column detached from this army, for two months after it ſhall have entered upon the deſtined march. The officer who is charged to take the funds in queſtion, ſhall be the bearer of an order from me, and I ſhall be certain that they ſhall not paſs through the hands of jobbers, contractors, furniſhers, and other people of this deſcription (*agioteurs*, *entrepreneurs*, *fourniſſeurs*, et autres *gens* en EURS).

(Signed) L. HOCHE.

Letter of General Buonaparte to the Chief of the Maniotes, dated Milan, 12th Thermidor (July 30).

THE council of the French republic at Trieste has acquainted me with the attention your lordship had shewn in sending a deputation to intimate to me the desire you had to see in your ports some French vessels, and to be in any respect useful to the brave French soldiers of the army of Italy.

The French esteem the small but gallant Maniote people, who alone of ancient Greece have preserved their liberty. In all the circumstances which may occur, they shall ever give proofs of their protection, and a particular care to favour their vessels and their citizens.

I beg your lordship to receive with kindness the bearers of this, who have the strongest desire to see more nearly the worthy descendants of Sparta, who, to be as renowned as their ancestors, wanted only to appear on a larger theatre.

The first time that any of your relations have occasion to visit Italy, I beg you to recommend them to me. I shall feel a real pleasure in giving marks of the esteem which I entertain for you and your compatriots.

(Signed) BUONAPARTE.

Ordinance published at Verona on the 8th of August, 1797.

WHEREAS Citizen George Giusti continues, notwithstanding repeated admonitions, to revile the popular government and equality; and instead of styling himself Citizen, assumes the title of Count; since he daily boasts to his servants that he is of one of the best families in Rome; and, which is much worse, continually inveighs against the popular government; the said Citizen George Giusti is hereby sentenced to pay 100 sequins, which money shall be appropriated to erect a column to Liberty in the Green Market. This sentence shall be read to Citizen Giusti, in the presence of all his servants and domestics, by the secretary of the municipality, to instruct the whole family in the true principles of liberty and equality.

Approved by General Verdier, French commandant in the province of Verona.

Message from the Executive Directory to the Council of Five Hundred, 24th Thermidor (August 12).

Citizens Reprefentatives,

THE Executive Directory has juft decreed and figned a treaty of peace, concluded yefterday the 23d of the prefent month, Auguft 10, with Portugal, negotiated in the name of the French republic by Citizen Charles Delacroix, minifter plenipotentiary, invefted with powers to this effect by a decree, dated 30th Meffidor laft, and in the name of her Faithful Majefty the Queen of Portugal by M. d'Aranjo, invefted with full powers, figned at the palace of Quelun, June 10, 1797. The Directory has tranfmitted to you this treaty, in execution of the 333d article of the conftitution, and invites you to take it into your confideration.

Annexed are copies of the refpective powers of the plenipotentiaries.

(Signed) CARNOT, Prefident.
LAGARDE, Secretary.

BRITISH MERCHANDISE.

The Minifter of Juftice to the Commiffaries of the Directory with the Correctional and Criminal Tribunals of the Frontier and Maritime Diftricts.

Paris, 1ft Fructidor, 5th Year.

I AM informed, Citizen, and I have already made my complaints to you in a letter of the 10th Prairial, that the law of the 10th Brumaire, which prohibits the introduction of Britifh merchandife, is not executed with all the feverity of its provifions: that it often happens that the delinquents have only to regret the feizure and confifcation of their merchandife, and that they themfelves efcape the perfonal punifhment to which they are liable.

By the article XV. of the laws, all contravention fubjects the perfon guilty of it to arreft and trial before the correctional tribunals. Condemnation involves in it the confifcation of the goods feized; the application of a fine, triple in value to that of the goods; and, finally, the penalty of imprifonment, which cannot be lefs than five days, nor more than three months.

It is only by a ftrict and rigorous execution of this article that we can hope to reprefs a fpecies of contraband trade, which effentially injures the developement of national induftry, and affords to our enemies refources againft ourfelves: it is, therefore, efpecially the duty of the commiffioners of the Directory to watch

over

over and prosecute those infractions which negligence, jobbing, and avarice, may be guilty of.

Very heavy charges have been made against some collectors of the customs: make it known to those who might merit them, that, by granting them a part of the merchandise seized, the legislature wished to encourage and recompense their zeal; and that they render themselves amenable to justice, if, contented with the seizure, they neglect any of the means proper to ensure the arrest of the delinquents. You will undoubtedly not confine yourself to simple warnings, in case of the collectors neglecting their duty: you will denounce them to their chiefs, and take measures to have them carried before the tribunals, in order to answer for their conduct.

It is not necessary for me to tell you, that in affairs carried before the tribunal in which you exercise your functions, you ought to make all necessary requisitions for the full exercise of the law, and that you will fail in discharging the duties of your office if you neglect to arm yourself each, in as far as it concerns you, with the method of appeal, or recourse to annulment, all the times that the law has been evaded in any of its dispositions. I rely upon your attachment to principle, and your eagerness to justify the confidence with which government honour you. Health and fraternity.

The Minister of Justice,

MERLIN.

Message of the Executive Directory to the Council of Five Hundred, 5th Fructidor (22d August).

Citizens Representatives,

THE Executive Directory hastens to reply to your message of the 24th of last Thermidor (11th August), relative to the English merchandise which has been run into France, and to the detailed information you desire in regard to the 3000 quintals, or thereabout, of woollens admitted, duty-free, into the ports of Rouen, Havre, and Dieppe.

The Executive Directory is not ignorant of the dreadful activity with which smuggling is carried on in the departments of Montblanc, Ain, and the *ci-devant* Dutch Flanders, by armed bands of two and three hundred men, who break open and plunder the custom-house magazines, carry off the goods seized and deposited there, and massacre the officers. The Directory carefully attends to this object; and the minister of finance is certainly concerting with the minister at war, with the generals, and the commissioners of the customs, such measures as appear most proper to check the further progress of the evil. One of the commissioners

miffioners of the cuftoms has proceeded into the departments of Montblanc and Ain, to adopt on the fpot the moft efficacious means for that purpofe; and another of his colleagues is at prefent engaged in a journey through Belgium, and on the coaft of Calais and Dunkirk, with the fame intention. No blame attaches to the cuftom-houfe officers, as they make frequent feizures: thofe of Axtel, and of fome neighbouring places, attended by detachments of the *gendarmerie* and chaffeurs, fucceeded lately, after an obftinate engagement, in which feveral men were killed, and a great number wounded, in feizing a convoy of thirty-four waggons of contraband goods, efcorted by about three hundred men; but thefe officers, when they are not fupported by the armed force, are obliged to yield to the fuperiority of numbers.

In regard to the information you wifh to obtain on the woollens, which have been admitted duty-free in different ports of the republic, the Executive Directory have authorifed at Rouen the importation of 187,247 ells of blue cloth for clothing the foldiers; 4,100 ells of blue cloth for regimentals; 11,500 ells fcarlet for facings, &c. and 359,500 ells of blue ferge and white fhalloons for lining. All thefe articles were imported in execution of a contract concluded between the commiffioner of the Executive Directory at Berlin, and Citizen Trefcow, a Pruffian merchant, who, on the fecurity of the diamonds of the republic, depofited with him, engaged to furnifh them, provided they were fuffered to be imported free from duty.

The houfe of Torena and Co. were alfo authorifed to import, duty-free, by the ports of Havre, Rouen, and Dunkirk, 220,000 ells of broad cloth, which they had engaged to furnifh for the troops, and for which they received in payment a bond for two millions of livres, being part of the contribution of a certain power in Germany, due twelve months after date.

Citizens Lubert and Duma, of Hamburgh, were likewife authorifed to import, duty free, and to depofit in the warehoufes of Citizens Romberg and Son, at Bruffels, charged in that commune with the clothing of the troops, 3,251 pieces of blue and white broad cloth, for which the above merchants likewife received in payment bills proceeding from the contribution of the fame power in Germany.

Citizens Caylus, Cofte, and Gevaudan, have alfo imported, duty-free, and depofited in the military magazines at Bruffels, 132 bales of foreign woollens, for which payment has been made by means of various money tranfactions paffed between them and the national treafury.

The impoffibility of obtaining in France, on credit, the neceffary cloth for the moft preffing clothing of the troops, and the opportunity which offered to procure it from abroad, for effects which French merchants would not have accepted, and partly for bills,

bills, making part of the contribution of a German power, the payment of which was by no means certain, induced the Directory to ſanction theſe tranſactions, truly advantageous for the republic, and without which both the land and ſea forces would have been expoſed to the utmoſt want. The importation of theſe articles, free from duty, has not been attended with any loſs to the national treaſury, becauſe, without this condition, it would have been neceſſary to pay a much higher price, and the contractors, who received bills in payment, would never have agreed to advance the duty.

This, Citizens Repreſentatives, is the explanation the Executive Directory gives you reſpecting the laſt part of your meſſage.

(Signed) CARNOT, Preſident.
LAGARDE, Sec. Gen.

Meſſage from the Directory of the 9th of Auguſt, to the Council of Five Hundred.

Citizens Repreſentatives,

THE Executive Directory tranſmits you the deciſion which it has juſt made reſpecting the urgency of the payments which are to take place during the 3d decade, the ſtate of the demands formed by the proper officers, and the report of the miniſter of the finances. It deſires you would inſpect theſe documents, and compare the preſent ſtate of things with the ſituation in which we have been at a ſimilar period, during the two preceding decades.

It requeſts, above all, that you would compare the urgency of the public wants, the evils reſulting from them, the anxiety which they diffuſe, and the apprehenſion which they inſpire on the ſubject of the common ſafety, with the advantages that could be enſured, were the reſources which are ſtill in the poſſeſſion of the republic made diſpoſable.

Take away, Citizens Repreſentatives, every thing that prevents you from enſuring the neceſſary returns for the maintenance of the military ſervice, the pay and ſubſiſtence of the troops, the payment of the public creditors, the ſalaries of the public functionaries, already ſeveral months in arrear, and the diſcharge of the expenſes which the government cannot poſtpone, without compromiſing the conduct which it ought to obſerve for the performance of its duty—the internal and external ſafety of the republic.

The reſources which can be brought into action are of two kinds. The one require ſome previous meaſure before they can be made diſpoſable; the other may ſerve as ſecurities for contracts, the execution of which would furniſh a ſufficient delay for the attainment of the firſt.

But they both call for an immediate determination; and if no ufe be made of them, they are of as little moment as if they never exifted. A proper ufe of them may, and can, extricate the finances from the dangerous crifis to which they are at prefent reduced. The peril is imminent; but if you enact the laws which have been demanded of you, which the public opinion calls for, and the commiffions charged with the examination of them have pronounced to be neceffary, the dangers with which we are threatened will difappear. Our enemies know that France, with her prefent conftitution, has only to exprefs a wifh to ameliorate her finances, that the means of courfe will follow, and that, if thefe means be well employed, they muft produce the defired effect. It is time, Citizens Reprefentatives, to juftify that opinion, by deliberations that will give validity to it. The fafety of the country is intimately connected with them. Let the fituation of our finances be once ameliorated, and peace will naturally find its way back to our territories. Under its aufpices all the French will reap the fruits of their glorious efforts in the caufe which they have made triumph.

The Executive Directory, Citizens Reprefentatives, renews its moft preffing invitations that you may take into your difcuffion the laws relative to the finances and the receipts, which may place the revenue on a par with the indifpenfable difburfements of the ftate.

(Signed) CARNOT, Prefident.
LAGARDE, Sec. Gen.

Speech of the Prefident of the Directory on the Fête of the 10th of Auguft.

Frenchmen,

ON this day, five years ago, the thunder deftroyed the throne; its brilliancy was difperfed, its foundation fapped; one *luftrum* has elapfed fince that grand epoch, and the rapidity of events has made a feparation of ages.

During this fhort interval, what memorable events have fucceeded each other! what triumphs! what tragic fcenes! what an union of energy and weaknefs! what prejudices deftroyed, what talents concentrated! what efforts combined to deftroy liberty in its infancy! what attempts againft national liberty! what cowardly means to annihilate the republic! what vipers ftifled in her gigantic arms!

Woe to him who fhould entertain the thought of re-eftablifhing the throne! What an abfurdity to believe that thofe who have reduced it to duft would labour to reftore it; that the founders of the republic, forgetting their glory, and running into the fnare, would

would ferve as vile inftruments to a liberticidal faction, which fhould deliver them up to the concentrated rage of thofe who wifh to deftroy it piecemeal!

And who is there among you, Citizens, who has not, if not co-operated actively in the deftruction of the monarchy, at leaft proclaimed openly in his circle the imprefcriptible rights of the people? Who is he who can act with kings; who, having conquered them when they were all-powerful, would humble himfelf before them, when they were conquered?

No, Frenchmen! you will not forget what it has coft you to become free; you will not rifk the fame cataftrophe, and greater ftill, to become flaves again.

Oh! fathom the abyfs into which the fenfelefs people are dragging you, who think of making a game of the return of royalty; have they reflected upon the punifhments that are prepared for them as a recompence? Do they know what blood is neceffary to fatiate the thirft of thofe barbarous mafters whom they are calling for? what confifcations would fatisfy their avarice, what degree of oppreffion would enfure them againft the fear of a new effort of the people? what cares would appear to them fufficient to extinguifh the laft fparks of that philofophy to which they attribute the firft impulfe of the French towards liberty?

It is wifhed to perfuade you that it is eafy to fubftitute hereditary and conftitutional government: and no mention is made either of the deathlike war which the juft refiftance of the defpairing republican would produce, nor of the difficulty of re-eftablifhing the inequality of condition, and the feudal inftitutions, which form the bafis of monarchies; nor of the difficulty of drawing the national property from the hands of thofe who have acquired it under the guarantee of the laws; nor of the fanguinary conteft that would arife between the pretenders. Who does not fee that an age would fcarcely end the fingle quarrel of the dynafties pretending to the throne? Who does not fee that a king could not be delivered from his uneafinefs until he had let out the laft drop of the blood of freemen? Have you filled any employment in the republic? You will be profcribed. Have you flown to the frontiers to defend it? You will be profcribed. Have you any information, any talent? You will be profcribed. Have you acquired any national property? You and your children will be profcribed. Yes, you will all perifh, except thofe who, plunged into abfolute ignorance, would be referved to cultivate the glebe of their lord under a rod of iron.

In vain, to obtain pardon from the new tyrant, would you produce a proof of fome cowardly fervices rendered in fecret to the monarchy, and of your treafons towards the republic: you would only die with greater ignominy. Your perfonal enemies would foon find crimes againft you: others would haften to de-

nounce

nounce you, in order to redeem themſelves. Such was, at all times, and in all countries, the frightful policy of baniſhed kings, who, by means of meanneſs and hypocriſy, were enabled to aſcend the throne: do you think they would become more humane?

Yes, we ſwear by the ſacred depoſit of the power which the conſtitution has placed for a time in our hands, that all attempts to deſtroy the republic ſhall be vain; and thoſe who labour for that purpoſe ſhall meet with that death which they are preparing for the republicans. The firſt magiſtrates of the republic may be divided in opinion upon ſome means of affirming it; but they will be always found united when it is neceſſary to defend it.

They will do more: every day they will endeavour to make it more beloved. They know that fear is the arm of deſpots, that love and confidence alone are the arm of popular governments.

Diſſenſions will ceaſe when a part ſhall no longer be diſquieted by the fear of royaliſm, when the reſt ſhall no longer be diſquieted by the menaces of anarchy. Peace will be realized when the enemies of the republic ſhall know that they will find no ſupport among us, when each of us ſhall be well convinced that the happineſs of the people conſiſts in the extinction of all parties; that they wiſh for tranquillity; that they are tired with being the ſport of the paſſions and of the vain promiſes of the factions, who have by turns miſled them. The people compare their condition to that in which they were twenty months ago; they feel how much it is ameliorated; that it will be better ſtill when we ſhall turn our attention excluſively to the means of proſperity, of political economy, of ideas almoſt wholly abſorbed by views at leaſt unſeaſonable: they conclude that the conſtitution which ſhowers its benefits upon them is good, and become wiſe at their expenſe; they reſpect the government which they have choſen; they hate thoſe who wiſh again to make them tear out their entrails with their own hands.

Ceaſe then, oh Frenchmen! to follow chimeras; let this day, the forerunner of that, upon which the republic was founded, diſſipate vain alarms. Recogniſe that you are under the ſame banners; that you defend a common cauſe; that you have no more favour to expect from thoſe whoſe tyranny you have deſtroyed; and do not diſunite when there only remains for you to enjoy the fruits of your labours, and the dignity of your deſtiny.

Speech

Speech in the Council of Five Hundred of the President Dumolard, upon the Anniversary of the 10th of August.

THE cannon of the 10th of Auguſt will reſound to future ages. It overthrew an ancient throne, together with the enfeebled conſtitution by which it was ſupported. It has opened to France a new deſtiny. It has been the prelude to that long train of memorable events which ſeem to accumulate many ages in a very limited period. Let us abandon to hiſtory the care of pourtraying the paſſions which have led to and followed the epoch, the memory of which we this day celebrate. Eſcaped, as by a miracle, from revolutionary fury, let us abjure our reſentments; let us ſacrifice, without murmuring, upon the altar of our country, our hatred and diviſions. You, who, on the 10th of Auguſt, deſired the republic, your wiſhes are ſatisfied! The republic is there crowned with the laurels of victory, diveſted of the horrors of anarchy! You, who deſired a tutelary and vigorous government, your wiſhes are accompliſhed! Such a government exiſts, and grows every day ſtronger by maintaining the reign of juſtice! You imprudent men, who, by the hope of an ideal amelioration, dared to lift your ſacrilegious hands againſt our conſtitution, think on the 10th of Auguſt, which will ſpeak to you more eloquently than I can. Dread a 2d of September, a 31ſt of May, a new Robeſpierre. The triumphant party would plunge us in another revolution, which we cannot think of without ſhuddering with horror. A plan of a new revolution had no other ſource than the mouth of calumny. It could not be conceived by any of us. To anſwer ſuch malevolence, it is ſufficient, Citizens Repreſentatives, to obſerve the ſame conduct you have hitherto adopted in the midſt of the hoſt of menaces with which you have been beſieged. Crime ſtalks abroad ſeeking for blood; but its guilty vigilance, its impious thirſt, ſhall be diſappointed. Hiſtory ſhall ſay, the legiſlative body did not deſire a mournful victory. The ſentiments of the army were known to it, they were enlightened by wiſe laws, and the expectations of Crime were confounded.

The enemy ſmiles with a ferocious joy at the appearance of our diviſions, and perhaps his perfidy foments them; but let him know that there are no longer any diviſions among us, ſince we here invoke the rights of the country. It is by our union that our ſtrength is eſtabliſhed, and that we ſhall arrive at that ſtate of peace which we are accuſed of rejecting, and which our wiſhes have ſo long and ſo ardently deſired. The 10th of Auguſt, 1792, ſaw the fall of a throne which had endured fourteen ages. Happy France! if the return of this epoch ſhould promote the union of our ſentiments, and ſhew to Europe the conſtituted authorities of the French government, upheld by confidence and juſtice!

Procla-

Proclamation to the Armies of the Republic, and to the Division of the Interior.

BRAVE armies and divisions—being called to the office of minister, I am anxious to inform you, that my most ardent wish is, to convince you of the solicitude I entertain on your account. A witness during the whole course of the war to your unconquerable valour, and to that generous self-denial in favour of our country, I imitate this self-denial in accepting the honourable, but laborious and difficult functions, to which I have been appointed. Intrepid soldiers, you have attained the height of heroism, and placed the French republic in the first rank of the empires of the world. Your constancy in the midst of want, which the enthusiasm of liberty alone could render tolerable, has thrown our enemies into a state of astonishment, mingled with fear, and has at the same time excited the highest affection in the bosoms of our fellow-citizens. Though, on some occasions, I can boast to have shared with you in your glorious labours, and though I know how to estimate the repeated sacrifices which you are making for your country, I shall not consider myself at the pinnacle of my wishes, nor reap the fruits of my labours, until I shall have made you partakers of the bounty which is at the disposal of government. Generals, officers, and soldiers, your ancient comrade is desirous of consecrating his latter days to the promotion of your happiness; let him among you who thinks he has reason to complain of injustice, address himself to me; just and impartial towards all, I will lay his complaints before government, who require, who command me to be just and equitable. Faithful to the principles which have always directed you, you will never cease to be as formidable to our enemies, as submissive to our laws; as proud in combat, as severe observers of military discipline. You have all sworn to be faithful to the constitution of the third year; as you have commanded victory to be faithful to your standards, let the words, " The constitution of the third year, and victory," be the rallying cry in the all republican ranks: you will thus lay the foundation for ages of glory and prosperity for France, and you will force astonished Europe at last to accept peace, which is the only object of your labours, and to respect the sovereignty of a republic, of which you and your illustrious chiefs are the founders and supporters.

(Signed) SCHERER, Minister of War.

Address of General Bernadotte's Division to the Executive Directory.

THE republican constitution seems menaced. Our feeling and generous souls are unwilling to believe it; but, if the fact is true—if the conspirators have formed the design to lay their sacri-

legious hands upon the government, which is the depofitory of the laws, and the fafeguard of the people, fpeak. To preferve a longer filence would be weaknefs, and would render our enemies more infolent. The fame arms which have fecured the national independence, the chiefs which have led on their legions, ftill exift. With fuch fupports, with fueh fafeguards, you have only to exprefs the wifh in order to erafe the confpirators from the lifts of the living. You are refponfible to us for the execution of the conftitution. You ought to protect our families, and to fecure us a tranquil and peaceable old age. What claims then have you not upon our obedience?

Follow the fignatures of the whole citizens compofing the divifion.

Addrefs of the French Divifion in ci-devant Lombardy, commanded by General Vignolle, to the Executive Directory.

THE troops in the French divifion in ci-devant Lombardy, no lefs penetrated with indignation than their brothers in arms of the other divifions, to learn the evils which are conftantly fpread over the country by the enemies of the republic, who, while they invoke the principles of humanity, daily belie their profeffors by the moft criminal intrigues; we haften, therefore, Citizens Directors, to affure you that we will never permit them to overthrow with impunity the conftitution which we have all fworn to maintain and defend at the rifk of our lives. We join to thefe fentiments this oath, engraved for ever upon our hearts: "Implacable war to the royalifts, to the anarchifts, and, without exception, to all the enemies of the republic."

Signed by the whole divifion.

Addrefs of Angereau's Divifion to their Brothers in Arms of the Army of the Interior.

MEN, covered with ignominy, thirfting for vengeance, and loaded with crimes, promote agitation, and devife plots in the midft of Paris, at the moment when we have triumphed at the gates of Vienna. They wifh to inundate the country with blood, to rend it with alarms, to facrifice again to the demon of civil war, and, marching by the fepulchral light of the torch of difcord and fanaticifm, to reach through mountains of afhes and of murdered carcafes, that liberty which they abhor, becaufe we are its defenders. Can we coolly behold the progrefs of their criminal intrigues? Ah! let them ceafe to indulge fuch hopes. Too long have we repreffed our indignation. We depended upon the

 laws,

laws, and the laws are silent. Who will speak now, if we do not break silence? The respect we owed them shuts our mouths; their danger compels us to speak. But who can calculate the infamy of the means employed by these infamous friends of royalty? Follow them through all their progress. With Machiavel in their hand, they ever shape their dark and lurking designs. Is the continuance of the war advantageous to us? They invoke peace. Their sensible and generous souls are melted into pity at our sufferings. Let us put a period, in plaintive accents, they exclaim, to the calamities of the world; and crocodile tears moisten their parched cheeks. Victory at length promises to bestow that peace so much desired; but it shall be glorious, it shall restore to their homes millions of austere and courageous republicans. We must protract that period, exclaim at this moment the conspirators of Clichy; and at one blow they endeavour to deprive the government of the respect with which it was invested by our victories, and of the means of our subsistence. Madmen! As if it were possible to reduce by famine five hundred thousand men with bayonets in their hands. Meanwhile, by corruption and by the poignard, they smooth the way to the throne for their ridiculous pretender. We have heard the groans of our companions, murdered by their execrable daggers; they resound in our hearts. Their manes wander through our mournful camps, and their piteous accents mingle with the shrieks of the birds of night, they summon us to arms, they torment us in our dreams, they haunt us when we awake Rest in peace, ye who have fallen by the cannon of despots, or perished on the scaffold of the factious, or by the poignards of the ferocious partisans of monarchy! Rest in peace, ye sacred victims. The clanging steel is ready to knell the hour of vengeance. Conspirators! is it true then, that you wish for war? You shall have it, scoundrels, you shall have it. But can you doubt a moment the lot that awaits you? What can you expect from an unequal contest? You have, we admit, the advantage of number. You are artful, cunning, perfidious. But you are still more dastardly than you are wicked; while we have on our side our swords, virtue, courage, the remembrance of our victories, and the irresistible enthusiasm of liberty; and you, contemptible instruments of the crimes of your masters! you, who in your frenzy dare to think yourselves forces, when you are only vile reptiles! you, who make it a crime in us to have protected your property, to have removed from your walls the scourge of war, to have saved our country! you, in fine, who have ascribed contempt, outrage, and death, to the defenders of the republic, tremble! From the Adige to the Rhine, and to the Seine, is but a step: tremble! Your iniquities are numbered, and the punishment is at the point of our bayonets. And you, government, you to which we are

united

united by the laws, and which we are willing to defend at the hazard of our lives, turn your eyes to the friends of their country! protect them, they are yours. They all wish to enjoy the constitution of the third year, which they have accepted, and have sworn to maintain in its integrity. They desire neither factions nor revolutions; nor troubles, nor calamities; founders of the republic, they who wish to be subject to its laws, to cherish, to defend them, and to die sooner than allow them to be violated. Comrades of the interior, we are carried away by the warmth which the subject inspires. We do not speak to you, we speak with you . . . The army of Italy is the sister of all the rest. It joins hands with them in spite of mountains, rivers; and if the constitution be menaced, if the royalists dare to accept the combat, think of the precious deposit which is entrusted to you. Defend the laws and the government. Consider that you are only the advanced guard of the phalanxes of liberty, and that we march behind you determined to conquer.

Signed by the whole division.

The Officers and Soldiers of the Army of the Rhine and the Moselle, to the Executive Directory of the French Republic.

Citizens Directors, 24 *Thermidor (August* 11).

PROFOUNDLY afflicted by the evils heaped upon the republic, and by the progress of royalism, the army of Italy has presented addresses, supplicating you to adopt the proper measures for consolidating the constitution, which is now shaken to its basis. Witnesses, and, in a manner the victims of the assassinations committed by the murderers of the south, the conquerors of Lodi and Arcola besought you to protect their relations, daily immolated by the daggers of those atrocious ruffians who are armed by the priests and the supporters of the ancient tyranny.

More patient, the army of the Rhine and the Moselle has not hitherto communicated to you the grief which it has felt. But, Citizens Directors, there is a time for every thing, and the measure is now full. We have heard the appeal which the divisions of Angereau, Joubert, &c. have made to you—we suffer like them. If, deeply interested by the dangers of their country, they be ready to march into the heart of the republic, to stop the effusion of the blood that inundates it, you may be assured that we shall not remain indolent spectators of their labours.

With the respect which is due to the first magistrates of a free people, we supplicate you to do justice to our claims, to make them known to the patriotic members of both councils, that, in concert with you, they may consider of some remedy which may be instantly applied.

Having conquered two-thirds of military Europe, how could it be conceived that our enemies ſhould dare to imagine they had gained their cauſe? They have, however, obtained a great part of what they demanded. In a ſhort time, the monarchy would have been eſtabliſhed. What a dreadful proſpect is preſented to us by the firſt proceedings of the preſent legiſlature!

Citizens Directors, notwithſtanding your ſolicitudes, the children of the republic, its ſupporters, are vilified in the interior, and are deſtitute of every thing upon the frontiers which their courage alone has given to their country. The objects which ought chiefly to have fixed the attention of our legiſlators have been put aſide; and, far from following the line of conduct which the happineſs of the people preſcribed to them, they have dwelt upon the moſt frivolous topics. Many of them have been excluſively employed in gratifying the moſt odious paſſions. The public good, which ought to be the order of the day, has been replaced by a thirſt of vengeance. All that love of liberty that characteriſed the former aſſemblies of the republic, is extinguiſhed. The conſtitution, and the ſacred rights of the people, are no longer reſpected.—Who knows but, one of theſe days, they will order us to go to maſs?—they have already made us faſt!

Our finances, ſo much miſmanaged, were almoſt exhauſted. A civil war was ſcarcely terminated in the weſt, when another recommenced in the ſouth. Foreign agents endeavoured every where to miſlead the public mind. What has been done to remedy theſe evils? More than twenty ſittings of the council of Five Hundred have been employed in hearing reports on prieſts, on bells, and on emigrants! Emigrants and prieſts! Thoſe who delivered Toulon to the Engliſh, and Alſace to the Imperialiſts; thoſe who have involved us in war, and all its miſeries, have been recalled by a decree, welcomed, and honoured. The bells muſt be re-eſtabliſhed, while no plan of finance is adopted, and though the defenders of the country ſhould want every neceſſary. The pay of all the armies is ſeveral months in arrear, and no clothes are delivered to them. The hoſpitals are not attended to, and our ſick and wounded brethren die for want of proper ſupport and aſſiſtance. Are the civil hoſpitals better ſupplied? What are the bells to us?

The conquerors are naked, and defeat has been profitable only to the vanquiſhed. In ſeveral quarters, proviſions have conſtantly and totally failed. If the troops have ſubſiſted, it was only by depriving the inhabitants of the countries, in which they were, of ſome of the articles neceſſary to their exiſtence. What would be thought, then, if we ſhould ſpeak of the milliard, which was promiſed us with ſo much earneſtneſs when our ſervices were wanted? None of us can any longer rely on the payment of it; and

it even appears, that the only reward they reserve for us is shame and contempt.

But private interest would still be silent, were not the honour of the country concerned. How have the defenders of the country been treated in the interior? Worse, even than the soldiers of Condé, whom they have beaten. They have been vilified in one place, proscribed or assassinated in another, and every where insulted, when they appeared in the most respectable of uniforms. No, Citizens Directors! we have not renounced the honour of being French citizens: we know what is due to us—degradation belongs not to our character. But even the legislative body, in debating for five days upon the march of the troops which passed within twelve leagues of them, have proved that they viewed us only with terror, we may even say with horror! Are we, then, foreign troops, or enemies of public liberty, that they treat us with so much severity? We founded and we maintained that liberty, and no power in the universe shall tear it from us. Ought we not to be astonished when we are declaimed against in the national tribunal by emigrants, the pretended representatives of the people whom they detest?

Royal terror has been substituted to an anarchical terror, of which we are equally the enemies. Such are its effects, that the tribunals every where acquit assassins and conspirators, while they strike without pity all who are suspected of patriotism, of being purchasers of national property, or merely of being moderate friends of the constitution. In support of what we advance, we refer to the judgment pronounced in favour of the conspirators Brottier, Dunan, and Lavileheurnois, the known agents of Louis XVIII. and that in favour of the priest Poule, who attempted the life of the representative of the people Syeyes. The purchasers of national estates are every where plundered, and excluded from offices of trust; while the emigrants, recalled by new laws, exercise almost every public function. So great indeed is the effect of this royal terror, that when the law upon political and literary assemblies was presented to the council of Five Hundred, it was passed without the necessary forms being observed. One member only offered to speak against that violation of the liberty of the people, but he was not heard! It belongs to the present period alone to have produced such examples.

Ten thousand officers, who have no reward for their services but the wounds with which they are covered, languish in the interior, without support and without succour.

What fate, then, awaits those whose zeal has so long detained and still detains them under the standard of liberty? We know already, that several officers have been replaced by men who are not known in the republican armies;—others will soon be replaced by those emigrants whom they have combated. Our enemies no longer disguise

disguise this plan, which they have begun to carry into effect; In the debate upon the gendarmerie, did not several members of the council of Five Hundred declare, that it was necessary to place at the head of that corps all the officers who had served in it before the revolution, whatever might be their opinions? We are then about to see the aristocrats and the royalists restored to their commands—all those who fled to the different courts of Europe, asking alms of the enemies of their country—those, in fine, whom we have for six years combated. It has been said in the tribune of the council of Ancients, that all those who possessed virtue and talents waited only for the propitious moment in which they might return to the service of their country.—What, then, do we possess?—wounds! If, then, we boast no titled ancestry—if we have neither gold, nor affection for kings—it is not for us to enjoy the blessings of peace! Noble scoundrels, who concealed themselves during the war, are about to replace us!

We had reason to expect, from the French blood that has been every where shed, and the innumerable sacrifices that we have made to our country, a solid and glorious peace: but what enemy will treat with us while they see us agitated by a powerful faction, which they are convinced will deprive us of all means of continuing the war, which disgraces us, and would even deliver our frontiers to their cohorts, when henceforth no plan can be formed until the utility of it is discussed at the tribune? No! under these circumstances we cannot have peace.

These gentlemen, we doubt not, wish that the last of us should remain upon the frontiers, and expiate, by our death, the crime of having vanquished the kings, their protectors. O country! O defenders of the country! you are then about to be delivered by those detestable beings to the satellites of tyranny. The despots whom you have so often humbled, are about to put their yoke of iron over those brave heads which have been covered with so many laurels. Perfidious wretches! they speak of their attachment to the constitution, which they undermine—which they tear leaf by leaf, while they continue to invoke it. No, Citizens Directors! we will not endure this. We require other pledges than hypocritical protestations—we are fatigued with vain promises!

Followed by the signatures.

GENERAL ORDERS.

Augereau, Commander in Chief of the 17th Divifion, to the Officers and Soldiers of that Divifion.

Citizens,

THE love of order and attention to your duties, were a fufficient guarantee to me, that you would never have been deaf to the voice of your fuperiors, whom the law directs you to refpect, and to whom you owe obedience in every thing that relates to military difcipline, and to the welfare of the public fervice. Neverthelefs fome complaints have reached me, againft fome of the military ftationed at Paris: they are a proof of the difregard of principle on the part of fome individuals who make a part of the armed force.

Liften, fellow-foldiers, to what my known duty and attachment to you direct me to fay. The armed force fhould give protection to all perfons, and caufe property to be refpected. Such is the end of its inftitution; it is the foundation of the focial compact, to which, as citizens, you are ftrongly attached; and which, as defenders of liberty, you have fworn to maintain: it is the language of a true and fincere friend to order and the laws; it is the expreffion of the general who has the honour to command freemen, and men worthy of being fo. Recollect that honour, the faithful and only guide of the French foldier, would lofe its value, if thefe principles were not the rule of your conduct: it would not belong exclufively to you, if you fuffered among you men who would allow themfelves to be guided by wicked perfons, who are only anxious to oppofe you to the peaceable citizens, for the purpofe of creating diffenfions fatal to liberty and public fafety. The mifconduct or error of one individual might involve in it the honour of a demi-brigade, of a regiment, might incur difgrace, and produce much prejudice againft the military profeffion. You are not ignorant that fome rafcals have affumed a military drefs, in order to commit crimes that malevolence has wickedly attributed to the foldiers.

In order, therefore, that no foldier may hereafter be accufed through pique or paffion, and in order to leave to the confpirators that fhame attendant on crime, and the want of fuccefs in their plots, it is ordered that the commanders of corps fhould caufe a roll-call to be made in the refpective quarters by the officers and fubalterns, to caufe the ftricteft vigilance to be obferved, and to fee themfelves that the military difcipline be rigoroufly attended to. Thofe foldiers who, after the drum has beaten to quarters, fhall be miffing at the time of roll-call, or be abfent from quarters or barracks, fhall immediately be arrefted, fent to prifon, and be brought before the military council of the divifion, in order to be judged conformably to law.

The

The commanders of corps are perſonally reſponſible for the execution of the preſent order.

The General and Commander in chief,

(Signed) ANGEREAU.

General Hoche to the Editors of the Journal de Paris.

Wetzlaer, 25 Thermidor (Auguſt 12).

YOU have given an account of a ſitting of the council of Five Hundred, in which a citizen Delarue has ſaid many things reſpecting me, which he knows to be falſe. I beg of you—I demand it even, in the name of impartiality, that you inſert the following letter in the next number of your paper.

L. HOCHE.

General Hoche to the American Citizen B——, at Paris.

Wetzlaer, 24 Thermidor (Auguſt 11).

I BLUSH, Sir, at the queſtion you put to me, in your letter of the 18th current. The aſylum you offer me in the boſom of your family, is a ſtrong pledge of your friendſhip; but I prefer remaining with my own. Had I been one moment criminal, the next ſhould have ſeen my puniſhment. Remember, that a Frenchman would not have had ſo prompt an explanation from me. I reply to your letter, while the departure of the courier preſſes me for time.

1ſt, When an officer would march to a town, he takes the moſt direct road; he does not ſeparate from his troops; he remains with them.

2d, I directed the troops (in conſequence of the orders of government, for doubtleſs I was not required to embark alone) to march to Breſt, Alençon, and Chartres. The miniſter at war was informed of the movements—I defy any perſon to maintain the contrary before the tribunals.

3d, I no more thought of ſending the troops to St. Denys or Etampes, than citizen Delarue. I defy any one to ſhew an order of mine, for marching them towards either of theſe towns.

4th, Extravagant expenſes have ſo exhauſted the funds of the departments, that no part of the pay has been paid. Two months remain due to the army.

5th, With regard to the contributions, the accounts relative to them have been ſent to be printed: they will appear immediately after the orders for marching are given to the troops.

6th, I left you on the 8th, in the morning; and I wrote to you on the 12th from Cologne.

7th,

7th, On the ſame day (the 8th) the Directory paſſed an arret, approving my conduct. I ſtopped the troops in the frontier departments. I challenge any one to produce an order of the Directory, not merely for making them withdraw, but ſimply for ſtopping them.

8th, Were you a military man, or were you even a Frenchman, I ſhould laugh at your queſtions. Our regiments of dragoons, when complete, have nine hundred men.

Four regiments, then, form three thouſand ſix hundred men; ut after ſix years war, the number of horſes amount only to one houſand eight hundred.

Four half brigades form a total of ſeven or eight hundred men.

Five hundred gunners on foot do not make ſix.

Three companies of horſe artillery make a total of one hundred nd forty-five men at moſt.

Do all theſe form a body of twenty-ſeven thouſand men? My rave enemies ought to be more conſiſtent.

9th, The army of the Sambre and Meuſe is diſbanded! French oldiers, united, do not form a banditti; they quit their ranks only y order of government. The army diſbanded!

10th, Would to God that the etat-major of the army had ſix undred thouſand livres at his diſpoſal. The officers who compoſe it would then have horſes, and would not be obliged to contract debts to ſerve an ungrateful country.

11th, When one is ſo well ſituated in France, why go to witzerland? Moreover, I have demanded a trial; and I hope at the French nation is about to be made acquainted with its al enemies. I am going to point out the impoſtors: to ſhew hy attempts are now made to alarm the people; and from whence, nd from whom, they are to expect ſupport.

12th, I do not reply to your laſt queſtion. The army I command is republican.

Adieu, my dear B——. I am in good health. I continue my bours; I reſpect my friends, and I care as little for the noiſe ade by ſome wretched fools, as if they did not exiſt. My reſpects your ſpouſe.

L. Hoche.

Meſſage from the Directory to the Council of Five Hundred on the 10th Auguſt, in Anſwer to the Reſolution of the Council, reſpecting the March of the Troops within the conſtitutional Limits.

Citizens Repreſentatives,

THE Executive Directory delayed replying to your meſſage of the 17th of this month, relative to the marching orders given four regiments of chaſſeurs, which were to paſs by Ferte-Alais,

in the expectation that the report of the committee of inspectors, upon which that message had been adopted, would be printed. It is not yet printed; but the Directory, who in the mean time have been collecting the documents they were desirous of procuring respecting the route of these troops, consider it their duty to transmit to you such information as has reached them.

Citizen Lesage, commissary of war, has made the following declaration upon this subject:

"Citizen Lesage, commissary of war for the army of the Sambre and the Meuse, charged with the police of the division of chasseurs commanded by General Richepause, certifies, that after the said general had given to him, at Durenne, the itinerary of the route which this division was to observe in going to Chartres (an itinerary which was entirely written by General Richepause, but not signed by him), he received, at Aix-la-Chapelle, the order of proceeding in that destination, and preparing, beforehand, at the places pointed out, the necessary provisions and quarters for four regiments which composed that division, but which were only to arrive in succession at three resting-places; that, without examining the itinerary which had been given to him, or knowing that Ferte-Alais was within the constitutional limits of Paris, he expedited the order for the route, in consequence of which the troops were to march—that he followed the route to Rheims—that, being there assured that the letters he had written to Charleville, with directions to the municipalities of the places through which the troops were to pass, had been duly received, and having no further precautions to take, as the municipal administrations were charged with quartering and providing for the troops, he yielded to the desire of seeing his family, who reside at Chartres, and left the route of the division to take the shorter one by Soissons.

He further certifies, that neither the General Richepause, nor any other staff officer, gave him any other marching order than the above, the itinerary of which was transmitted to him at Durenne; —that, during the course of the march, he did not hear any of the troops speak of their destination; that he only heard, at Bonn, and Durenne, persons, who did not belong to the army, say that the division was to embark at Brest."

General Richepause states, on his part, that he received an order from General Hoche, dated Cologne, the 15th Messidor, in the following terms:

"General Richepause, commanding the division of horse chasseurs, is hereby ordered to proceed, with the four regiments under his command, to Brest, by the way of Chartres and Alençon.

(Signed) "Hoche."

General Richepause has besides made the following declaration, which he subscribed before the Directory on the 22d of Thermidor:

"I cer-

"I certify, that it was in consequence of the order of the general in chief Hoche, dated the 15th Messidor, directing me to proceed with the four regiments under my command to Brest, by the way of Chartres and Alençon, that I traced the route by which the division I commanded was to proceed to Chartres; that I was totally ignorant of the existence of any law which required that the troops should not come within twelve leagues of Paris;—that I even was inclined to have made them pass through Paris; and that the difficulty of maintaining order among troops quartered in a large city, was the only reason which determined me not to adopt that route; that my intention was evidently pure; for, if it had not, I would not have ordered a commissary of war to have preceded me, who was six days before the van of the troops, which was the head of the column commanded by me.

(Signed) "RICHEPAUSE."

Such is the information which the Directory has procured respecting the marching order given to the four regiments of chasseurs drawn from the army of the Sambre and Meuse, and which were to pass by Ferte-Alais to Brest.

While the Directory confine their answer to this point, they consider it necessary to direct your attention to a statement which appears to have been contained in the report upon which your message was founded.

All the journals agree in stating, that you were informed that arms and ammunition had recently been distributed at Chartres to five hundred ruffians, for the purpose of suppressing or of threatening the freedom of the legislative body. This statement is completely disproved by the municipality of the place: the proces-verbal of the municipality has been addressed to you; so that you must already be convinced that the enemies of the country have led the members of your committee into an error upon this subject.

We now come, Citizens Representatives, to the second part of your message.

The Executive Directory did not, till the day before yesterday, receive the originals of the addresses of the defenders of the country from the different divisions that compose the army of Italy. They were all destined for the Executive Directory, with the exception of two only; and these were addressed to the defenders of the country composing the other armies.

Though the meaning and sense of the word *deliberer* (to deliberate) has not been so accurately defined as to be clearly applied to the act by which, after having expressed their fears and their hopes to the Executive Directory and to their brethren in arms, the defenders of the country have only stated the wishes they had formed, and the sentiments that animated them, the Executive Directory have nevertheless resolved to prevent its circulation.

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culation. They have alſo written to the general in chief, deploring the circumſtances which had induced the brave republican ſoldiers to commit thoſe acts which might be conſidered irregular, and inviting them carefully to avoid every thing which may in the leaſt degree tend to the infraction or violation of the conſtitution. The Directory has not ſtopped there: they have thought it their duty to go back to the cauſes, and to point them out, perſuaded that you will, in your wiſdom, adopt ſuch meaſures as ſhall make them ceaſe to exiſt.

The cauſe of theſe proceedings on the part of the defenders of the country, is to be attributed to the general alarm and inquietude which, for ſome months paſt, having taken poſſeſſion of all perſons, has ſucceeded the profound tranquillity that reigned, and the general confidence which every where prevailed. It is to be attributed to the defalcation in the revenue, which leaves all parts of the adminiſtration in the moſt deplorable ſituation, and deprives, often, of their pay and their ſubſiſtence, the men who, for years paſt, have ſhed their blood and ſacrificed their health to ſerve the republic. It is to be attributed to the perſecution and aſſaſſination of the purchaſers of national property, of the public functionaries, of the defenders of the country—in ſhort, of all thoſe who have dared to ſhew themſelves the friends of the republic. It is to be attributed to the want of firmneſs and vigour in the puniſhment of criminals, and to the partiality of the public tribunals.—It is to be attributed to the inſolence of the emigrants and the refractory prieſts, who, recalled, and openly favoured, appear every where, keep alive the flame of diſcord, and inſpire a contempt for the laws.—It is to be aſcribed to the multitude of journals with which the armies, like the interior, are inundated—journals which threaten death to the ſupporters of liberty, which vilify all the republican inſtitutions, which openly and ſhameleſsly deſire the return of royalty, and all the oppreſſive and vexatious inſtitutions which equally torment and humiliate the merchant, the artiſan, and the labourer, and even the rich proprietor who is untitled. It is to be found in the intereſt, always ill-diſſembled, and frequently openly manifeſted, which the enemies of their country take in the glory and the proſperity of the Engliſh government and the Auſtrian court; while they endeavour, on the contrary, to diminiſh the true renown of our warriors, and ſpeak with an ill-diſguiſed contempt of the high deſtiny held out to France, and of the eminent degree of glory and of happineſs which ſhe was about to reach. It is owing to the blame which has been thrown upon the moſt glorious and uſeful conſequences of the victories of our defenders—to the plan, openly declared, of calumniating and ruining the reputation of our republican generals, and particularly thoſe who, to the glory of the moſt brilliant triumphs and the moſt ſkilful campaigns, have added, one in the weſt of France, the other

other in Italy, the immortal honour of a political conduct, which will procure to their philosophy and their humanity as much praise as has already been bestowed on their military genius.

Finally, the cause is to be found in the despair to which all true citizens, and particularly the defenders of the country, are reduced, in seeing at the moment of its conclusion, and after they had purchased it with so much blood and so many sufferings, the definitive peace, solicited by the chiefs of the vanquished coalition, placed at a distance—that peace which a government, the friend of humanity, seeks still with the greatest earnestness to conclude. But, all at once reanimating their hopes, and reckoning upon the dissolution of the republican government in consequence of the exhausted state of our finances, upon the death or the exile of our bravest generals, and on the dispersion and destruction of our armies, these same coalesced powers have exhibited as much tardiness in the progress of their negotiations as they at first testified ardour to terminate them.

Such, Citizens Representatives, are the causes which have agitated the minds of the soldiers of the republic, and induced them to express their fears and their resolutions. The Executive Directory repeats, that they shall do what they ought to do, in recommending to the troops to avoid all irregular proceedings which are contrary to that discipline which is the soul of armies, and opposite to the laws which are the support of the state: but they owe to you, in the mean time, a frank and faithful declaration of their sentiments.

The government still confidently hopes to save France from the dissolution to which it is precipitately hurried; to extinguish the torches of civil war which are lighted up with fury; and to protect persons and property from the danger of a new revolution. This resolution the Directory will pursue with perseverance and with courage, and will not be turned aside by any fears, or by any influence. They will not, however, consent to inspire a false security, either in their fellow-citizens of the interior, or in those who defend the country without. They should consider themselves guilty of treason towards their country, if they concealed the atrocious attempts that are unremittingly made to lead us into all the horrors of a second revolution, by overthrowing the present government, either by treason or by force.

(Signed) CARNOT, President.
LAGARDE, Sec. Gen.

The council ordered the message to be printed, sent to the council of Ancients, and referred to a committee.

Report of the Council of Five Hundred on the 4th Fructidor (August 21), by Thibaudeau, relative to the March of the Troops.

YOU have ordered your committee to preſent to you legiſlative plans upon the different topics contained in the meſſage which was tranſmitted to you on the 22d Thermidor laſt. The committee, in the firſt place, conſider it their duty to direct your attention to our preſent ſituation. The republic lately advanced towards peace; public confidence was revived; the conſtitution began to be conſolidated; every thing preſaged to us happy and peaceful deſtinies. What evil genius has reanimated our paſſions, rekindled our animoſities, created diviſions between the different branches of government, and planted terror in the breaſts of all good citizens? It is time to recall ſecurity, to give confidence to good citizens, to repreſs the bad, to reſtore public credit, and to ſupport the legiſlative body in the rank in which the conſtitution has placed it. To attain this object you muſt re-eſtabliſh your communications with the people. Never let your voice be unknown to them. From this tribune reaſon and juſtice ought always to be heard with that ſpirit of peace and impartiality in which true dignity conſiſts. Your committee has proceeded to the examination of the meſſage of the Directory.

An unexpected change in the miniſtry, and the march of the troops, had fixed the attention of the legiſlative body, and merited its ſolicitude. In expreſſing our regret on account of the diſmiſſal of the miniſters, and our alarms reſpecting the march of the troops, we did not conteſt with the Directory the right of changing their miniſters, and diſpoſing of the armed force; but the legiſlative body had undoubtedly the right of demanding information reſpecting the violation of the conſtitutional limits. The Directory replied, that it was to be attributed to an error in the marching orders. You referred this meſſage to a committee, which occupied itſelf, as it was wiſely ſaid by the reporter (Pichegru), leſs in proving the crime than in endeavouring to prevent it from being committed hereafter. This committee preſented to you the plan of a reſolution for aſcertaining the conſtitutional limits.

We ſhall not at preſent inquire into the cauſe of the marching of the troops. Perhaps we ſhall one day be made acquainted with it: we have as yet learned only that the conſtitutional limits have been violated. General Richepauſe declares, that having been four years on the frontiers, he knew not of the diſpoſitions of the conſtitution relative to this object. An excuſe of this nature would not be admitted in the courts of juſtice; but the teſtimonials

nials we have had of the moral character of the general, induce us to think that there has been no evil intention on his part.

I proceed to a more important object, the addresses of the army of Italy. What would become of the republic, if those who have received arms only for her defence were to interpose in civil discussions? You are acquainted with the volume of addresses which have been drawn up by this army. They are marked by an ardent expression of love for liberty; but they hold forth absurd claims, extravagant opinions, and criminal projects. The first sentiments belong to our generous defenders, the others to some factious men who wish to see the bosom of their country torn even by those who are charged with its defence. No, it is not our warriors, but some ferocious monsters, who have conceived the project of delivering to the enemy the conquests acquired by the valour and the blood of our troops, and to lead them back to their families under the standard of rebellion. Have you been able to read without indignation one of those addresses, which asserts that the system of royalism is unceasingly pursued in the legislature? Does the audacious rebel who penned this impious phrase yet exist? Does he exist, and are you free? Does the government slumber, that it has not proceeded with vigour against him? These addresses are at present directed against the legislature—Directors of the republic, they will soon be directed against you! Wretched! wretched is the authority which is supported by bayonets! They always conclude by annihilating the power which they have established. The addresses have been certified by the chief of the etat-majors of the army. They have been officially transmitted to several administrations: they were destined to other corps of troops; and yet this, it is said, was not a deliberation. Doubtless it was not; for had these addresses been deliberated upon, they would have been published in a camp of citizen soldiers, who would have caused the voice of the constitution to be heard. If the soldiers have not read them, they do not speak the sentiments of the army. The constitution prohibits addresses in the collective name of an armed body, and will a general be permitted to violate it? The more services your generals and soldiers have rendered to the country, the more you ought to guard against all attempts upon the constitution. In a rising republic do not permit the troops to act as if they had conquered only for themselves, unless you would see, as once was the case in the Roman empire, your soldiers obey only their generals, and never their country. It has been attempted to persuade the conquerors of Italy that a system of proscription exists against them. Proscribe them! Who would dare to attempt it? who would desire it? what Frenchman here does not palpitate upon the recital of their heroic actions, which command the gratitude of their country, and cover with a veil of glory the dreadful events which have

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tarnifhed the revolution? They were citizens before they were foldiers—they muft ceafe to be foldiers to become again citizens.

The Directory inform you that they have put a ftop to the circulation of thefe addreffes, and that they have written to the commanders in chief, deploring the circumftances which had led to this violation of the conftitutional act. *Your committee confider it their duty to declare openly to you, that the anfwer of the Directory has appeared to them unworthy of its power, and the rank in which the conftitution has placed that body.*

Confider what progrefs has been made in confequence of thefe dangerous examples. The fpirit of faction has already introduced the language of anarchy into the camps. It has infinuated itfelf even into the honourable retreat of our wounded warriors, for the fabrication of addreffes. It heats the minds of men. It proclaims every where diffolution and death—Yet the government fleeps! Awaken, legiflators! watch for yourfelves and for the people. The conftitutional limits are traced. Directors, generals, and foldiers, bow yourfelves before the will of the people. The legiflative body will never balance with its duty. It is inacceffible to fear, and will never fubmit to menace.

Your committee will not humble itfelf in replying to the calumnies propagated by your enemies. A legiflative body which is not accufable, ought not to juftify itfelf. By its acts it muft be judged. We fhall fpeak the truth to the Directory—we fhall fpeak the truth to the people.

The infolence of priefts and emigrants is denounced to you. As to the priefts, is their profcription in a mafs to be regretted? Liberty of confcience, liberty of worfhip, and fubmiffion to the laws—fuch are the principles maintained by all philofophers—fuch are the principles confecrated by the conftitution and the laws, in oppofition to the claims of a religion which wifhed to be exclufively eftablifhed. As to the emigrants, who favours them? Do not the laws refpecting the emigrants exift? Do they not place in the hands of the Directory the moft active, the moft powerful, and the moft arbitrary means? The return of noted emigrants is announced. The houfe in which they affemble is even mentioned: but what then is the duty of the police? Why thofe erafements, the traffic of which is publicly reported? It belongs to us to require from the Directory an account of thefe monftrous abufes.

The Directory tell you that affaffinations are committed, and that partiality is difplayed by the tribunals. It is neceffary to inform them that they have overftepped their duty, and we do them fervice in recalling them to it. It is true that blood flows in feveral departments; but there are laws againft affaffination, and the Directory ought to execute them. If there be partiality in the tribunals, there is a law to punifh them, and the Directory

 ought

ought to denounce the guilty. In all cafes crimes cannot make us defpair of juftice, and we ought to demand of the Directory an account of the meafures they have taken to reprefs the crimes of which they complain. We do not underftand the protection they claim for the purchafers of national property. Their perfons and their property are under the fafeguard of the conftitution, and you have given a proof of your refpect for them by your refolution refpecting the *prefbyteres*.

The Directory inform you that there are journals which breathe only murder and the return of royalty. It is certain that the exceffes of a multitude of pamphlets and journals leave no citizen the power of repofing his mind amidft an ocean of extravagant and factious opinions; but you have manifefted your defire for repreffing this abufe; and there is only required a law which fhall prevent it, without injuring the rights of citizens: all the elements of this law are ready, and the committee you named for preparing it will foon make their report.

The deficiency in the public revenue, it is added, deprives our armies of their pay. We will not deny that negligence on the part of the receivers, and the want of order and economy, have thrown our finances into diforder; but have the armies any reafon to reproach the legiflative body? At what period have you refufed them funds? Your refolutions on this fubject have always been voted with *urgence*. The payment of the troops has always been attended to in preference to every other expenfe. Is it then in vain that the unfortunate *rentier* divides with them his bread? Have, then, the forced loan, the affignats, the mandats, the contributions in the conquered countries, the national eftates, been found infufficient? Let us rather fay that our refources, being diftributed through fuch a variety of channels, have been exhaufted; but that if they had been more prudently employed, the moft important part of the public fervice would not be in fuch a deplorable ftate.

Let the finances, then, alone occupy all your folicitude. I know that every day your attention is taken up with this fubject. But the time is arrived when you muft difregard the prejudices againft *direct* contributions. *Peace! Peace!* This is the mean of extricating us from our embarraffment. How very criminal would thofe be who would wifh to place it ftill at a diftance! Doubtlefs there are men who ftill preferve the criminal hope of overturning the republic. Traitors exift, we are told—why are they not detected? There are confpirators—why are they not punifhed? We have laws—why are they not executed? No! the defenders of the country will never be made to believe that the legiflative body oppofes a peace. Who has appeared more defirous than ourfelves to obtain it? Hiftory will examine whether the events which have lately taken place in Italy have not contri-

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buted to retard the conclusion of it; but can France blame its generals for giving liberty to millions of men? And, when they have gained their liberty, can France refuse to them its friendship and its alliance? Your committee, however, does not wish to propose that you should approve or even be *silent* upon these events.

The Directory has gone beyond its powers. If war had been declared against the Italian states, who had the right to declare it without your consent? If treaties of commerce or subsidies have been made, who could make them without your approbation? The states of Italy cannot be the allies of France without a decree from you. Their government will be equivocal, their liberty without support, as long as the treaties shall not have been approved by us.

Fears have been entertained that the Directory would be accused, and that the legislative body would be attacked. The legislative body has a right to accuse the Directory; and if there existed any reasons for accusation, it would, without fear, without hesitation, accuse them. But an attack on the legislative body! who would make it? A few *brigands?* The recollection of their past defeats will serve them as a lesson. The soldiers? Never will they be seen marching under the colours of assassins. The Directory? Such an idea cannot occupy our attention for a moment; its own interest is in opposition to it.

To conclude—you will find in your own courage and your own prudence extraordinary resources.

[Here Thibaudeau implored all the members of the government to act in union and concord. He invited the representatives and directors to be upon their guard against the exaggerations of parties, who sought only to heighten their animosities, that they might be hurried to a catastrophe which would destroy them all.]

In examining, he added, this message of the Directory, its exaggerations, and the bitterness of its style, we have avoided giving new aliment to the factious. Legislators ought not to be guided by passion. In vain our common enemies meditate the ruin of the republic. The republic is deeply rooted; it has ripened in the midst of storms, and it belongs not alone to the present generation. The new dangers which threaten it serve only to display once more its strength. Each power shall return to its proper limits; and if some men have wished to overstep them, they shall be recalled, and confined to their proper station.

Citizen soldiers? you whom we must censure to-day, but whom we must always admire, believe that liberty is here defended by your friends. The legislature is the citadel of the constitution: it is your duty to die for it, and you are about to besiege it. Let its voice be always heard among you; and when

 you

you return to your fire-sides, you will find it cemented by your blood, and covered with your triumphs.

Thibaudeau concluded by presenting the plan of two resolutions.

The first declared, that all conspiracies or crimes against the constitution, the legislative body, and the Directory, came under the jurisdiction of the criminal tribunal of the place where the legislature sits; that all persons accused should be denounced at the office of the public accuser; but that they should have the power of appealing from that tribunal, and in this case they should be carried before a court pointed out by the tribunal of cassation.

The second declared every assembly of soldiers, for the purpose of deliberating in other circumstances than those determined by the law, a crime; that any communication under the title of addresses from one armed body to another, or to the civil authorities, should be punished as a seditious act; and determined the punishments to be inflicted upon the promoters of such assemblies, and the subscribers of addresses, according to the nature of the case.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs to Citizen Noel, Ambassador to the Batavian Republic.

Citizen, *Paris, 15th Thermidor (August 2).*

IT is with great satisfaction I have perused the note, which, pursuant to the desire of the Directory, you presented to the Batavian national convention, to manifest their concern in the speedy termination of the proceedings relative to the new constitution, and to testify their wish that the plan of this new constitution, which, according to the opinion of all well-informed men, appears fully qualified to secure the prosperity of the nation, may be approved of and converted into a fundamental law of the Batavian republic. They who can never forget nor forgive the French republic for having encouraged the triumph of liberty in Holland, can alone find it astonishing that the French government has communicated to the Batavian constituent assembly a friendly declaration of their sentiments and wishes. I once more desire you not to omit any occasion to express the lively interest which the Directory take in the acceptance of the new constitution. We only wish and desire that the Batavian republic may obtain a form of government which may enable her to resume a proper station among the European powers, and to blend with the advantages of reconquered liberty those of a flourishing and extensive trade.

(Signed) CH. MAN. TALLEYRAND.

Meſſage from the Directory to the Councils of Five Hundred and Elders, dated 18 Fructidor (September 4).

Citizens Repreſentatives,

THE Executive Directory haſtens to communicate to you the meaſures it has been forced to take for the ſafety of the country, and the maintenance of the conſtitution. With this view it tranſmits to you all the papers it has collected, as well as thoſe it publiſhed before you were aſſembled. If it had withheld itſelf from action one day more, the republic would have been delivered up to its enemies. The halls themſelves, in which you meet, were the points of union of the conſpirators; it was from thence that they yeſterday emitted their cards and certificates for the delivery of arms; it was from thence that they correſponded with their accomplices laſt night; and, finally, it is there, or in the environs, that they ſtill endeavour to make ſeditious and clandeſtine aſſemblages, which the police is now employed in diſperſing. It would have been to commit the public ſecurity, and that of the faithful repreſentatives, to have allowed them to be confounded with the other enemies of the country. You ſee, Citizens Repreſentatives, that the conduct of the Directory was marked out by the inſtant neceſſity of being beforehand with theſe conſpirators, who were deſtroying the government, and who wiſhed to deprive the French of the fruit of their triumphs, and to make this magnanimous nation bow at the feet of the kings it has ſubdued. In affairs of ſtate extreme meaſures can be eſtimated by circumſtances alone; you will form a judgment of thoſe which have determined the Executive Directory, and which have produced the happieſt conſequences.

The 18th Fructidor (September 4th) will be a celebrated day in the annals of France: it is the more memorable, becauſe it enables you to fix for ever the deſtinies of the republic. Lay hold of this occaſion, Citizens Repreſentatives; convert it into a great epoch; reanimate patriotiſm; revive public ſpirit; and haſten to cloſe up the abyſs in which the friends of kings had flattered themſelves they would bury even the remembrance of our liberty.

P. S. The Executive Directory will tranſmit to you, without delay, other papers, from which it reſults that Imbert Colomes, one of the new third of the council of Five Hundred, was the principal agent of the *ſoi-diſant* Louis XVIII. at Lyons.

Report of Boullay, of La Meurthe, in the Name of the Committee of Public Safety.

WE ought to act with vigour (said he), but with wisdom. The great movement which has just been effected has compelled the Directory to change the place of your sittings. This movement is the signal for Frenchmen to rouse themselves. They are already alert: they expect a result which may secure their tranquillity and their happiness. Consider, Citizens Representatives, the posture in which the public affairs are placed. Peace seemed lately about to come, to complete all our wishes, and to crown our long and severe labours. Every Frenchman repeated this dear and consoling word, *Peace*. Commerce was reanimated, every kind of industry revived. Every where the armies were victorious. At this very moment every thing is changed and overthrown. Peace is placed at a greater distance than ever, and every mind plunged into alarm and agitation: every symptom seemed to indicate a civil war. A war does exist; it is that of the enemies of the republic against its true friends, its faithful defenders, whom all Europe contemplates with admiration. The latter are determined, at the risk of their lives and their blood, to maintain the present government; the others contend for the re-establishment of the throne, the recall of the clergy and the nobility. Doubtless, if an ordinary tribunal were to pronounce upon the conspiracy which existed against you and the republic, it could not fail to declare it real, and to punish its authors. Do not conceal it from yourselves, Representatives, that the threads of this conspiracy were extended throughout the whole republic, and its principal point was in the heart of the legislative body; not in that sound majority which ought to constitute the happiness of the French people, but in a small minority, which, by menaces and revolutionary principles, stole from you unconstitutional decrees, and infallibly carried you back to a counter-revolution. You will remember, Citizens Representatives, that the measures which have been so often proposed to you, tended to nothing less than to paralyse the government, and to deprive it of the means of directing the machine. A moment longer, and the republic would have been undone; and we owe its preservation to the wisdom and activity of the government. Let us declare to all France, that the triumph of the republic will not cause a single drop of blood to be shed, nor scaffolds of terror to be renewed. (*Bravo, bravo!* was heard from every quarter: the applause was unanimous and long.) Our object is to prevent a civil war, and a new Vendée, from being raised up in the heart of the republic. The means of preventing these evils have been to cause the agents of the conspirators to be arrested; and the conduct to be followed, and

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which the committee thought it its duty to point out, is to transport the one, and to remove the other from the legiſlative body. Accordingly the committee has ordered me to preſent you with the following project of a reſolution, which was paſſed into a law.

The council of Five Hundred, conſidering that the enemies of the republic have conſtantly followed up the plan traced out to them in the inſtructions found upon Brotier, Berthelot, Lavilleheurnois, and Duverne de Preſſe, ſeconded by a crowd of royaliſt emiſſaries ſcattered through every part of France—conſidering that it was ſpecially recommended to theſe agents to direct the operations and the choices of the laſt aſſemblies, primary, communal, and electoral, and to fix all the elections on the partiſans of royalty; that with the exception of a ſmall number of departments, where the energy of the republic deſtroyed their efforts, the elections had introduced into the public functionaries, and even into the legiſlative body, notorious emigrants, chiefs of rebels, and royaliſts—conſidering that the conſtitution being attacked by a part of thoſe whom it had particularly appointed for its defence, and againſt whom it had taken no precaution, it would be impoſſible to maintain it without recurring to extraordinary meaſures—conſidering, in a word, that in order to extinguiſh the exiſting conſpiracy, to prevent a civil war, and the general effuſion of blood, which would have been the inevitable conſequence of it; nothing can be more urgent than to repair the wounds inflicted on the conſtitution ſince the 1ſt Prairial laſt, and to take the neceſſary meaſures to prevent the liberty, the repoſe, and happineſs of the people, from being in future expoſed to danger: the council, after declaring urgence, adopts the following reſolution:

I. The operations of the primary, communal, and electoral aſſemblies in the departments of Ain, l'Ardeche, l'Arriege, l'Aube, l'Aveyron, Bouches du Rhone, Calvados, Charente, Cher, Cote d'Or, Cotes du Nord, Dordogne, l'Eure, l'Eure and Loire, Gironde, Herault, Ille and Villane, Indre and Loire, Loire, Haute Loire, Loire Inferieure, Loiret, Manche, Marne, Mayenne, Mont-Blanc, Morbihan, Mozelle, les Deux-Nethes, Nord, Oiſe, Orne, Pas-de-Calais, Puy-de-Dome, Lower Rhine, Upper Rhine, Rhode, Haute Saone, Saone and Loire, Sarthe, Seine, Lower Seine, Seine and Marne, Seine and Oiſe, Somme, Tarn, Var, Vaucluſe, Yonne, are declared null and illegal.

II. Thoſe of the electoral aſſembly of the department of Gers are declared legal and valid. In conſequence, Citizen Duffau is admitted into the council of Elders, and citizens Carriere, Lagarriere, and Sauran, into the council of Five Hundred. The adminiſtrators, judges, grand jury, &c. appointed by this aſſembly, ſhall enter upon the exerciſe of their reſpective functions.

III. The

III. The elections for the department of Lot are in the ſame manner judged valid, contrary to a former deciſion, and the citizens choſen, Lachiere for the Elders, and Poncet and Debrel for the Five Hundred, ſhall take their ſeats.

IV. The individuals appointed to public functions by the primary, communal, or electoral aſſemblies, without exception of thoſe appointed to the legiſlative body, by the departments above mentioned, ſhall, on the publication of this law, ceaſe to exerciſe all their functions, under the penalties contained in the 6th article of the 5th title of the penal code.

V. The Executive Directory is required to fill up the vacancies in the tribunals in virtue of the preceding articles, as well as thoſe which ſhall become vacant by reſignation, or otherwiſe, before the election in the month of Germinal, 6th year.

VI. The nominations made by the Directory, in virtue of the preceding article, ſhall in every reſpect have the ſame effect, and the ſame duration, as if they had been made by the primary and electoral aſſemblies.

VII. The law of the 1ſt Prairial laſt, which, in contravention of the 78th article of the conſtitutional act, admits into the legiſlative body the Citizens Job Ayme, Merſan, Terrand-Vaillant, Garr, and Poliſſart, is repealed.

VIII. The firſt article of the law of the 8th Meſſidor laſt, bearing, in contempt of the ſame article of the conſtitutional act, the recall of the 1ſt, 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th, and 6th articles of the law of 3d Brumaire, 4th year, relative to the relations of emigrants, is likewiſe repealed.

IX. The 1ſt, 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th, and 6th articles of the ſaid law of the 3d Brumaire, 4th year, are re-eſtabliſhed, and ſhall remain in vigour till four years ſubſequent to the proclamation of a general peace.

X. No perſon, the relation or connexion of an emigrant, within the degrees preſcribed by the ſecond article of the ſaid law, ſhall be admitted for the ſame ſpace to vote in the primary aſſemblies, and cannot be appointed elector if he is not comprehended in one of the exceptions ſpecified by the 4th article of the ſame law.

XI. No man can be admitted to vote in the primary and electoral aſſemblies, till he has previouſly taken, in preſence of the aſſembly of which he is member, and depoſited in the hands of the preſident, the individual oath of hatred to royalty and to anarchy, of fidelity and attachment to the republic and the conſtitution of the 3d year.

XII. The 2d article of the law of the 9th Meſſidor laſt is repealed, in ſo far as it concerns the chiefs of the rebels of La Vendée, and the Chouans, to whom, of conſequence, the proviſion of the article of the preſent law remains common. Thoſe

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are deemed chiefs of the rebels of La Vendée, and of the Chouans, who are pointed out as ſuch by the law of the 5th July, 1795.

XIII. The individuals after named, viz. Aubry, Job Ayms, Bayard, Blain of the Mouths of the Rhone, Boiſſy d'Anglas, Borne, Bourdon of Oiſe, Cadroi, Concherry, Delahaye of the Lower Seine, Delarue, Doumere, Dumolard, Duplantier, Duprat, Gilbert Deſmolieres, Henry Lariviere, Imbert Colomes, Camille Jordan, Jourdan of the Mouths of the Rhine, Gau Lacarriere, Le Marchant-Gommecourt, Lemerer, Merzan, Madier, Millard, Noalles, Andre of La Lozere, Mac Curtain, Pavie, Paſtoret, Pichegru, Poliſſart, Praire, Montaud, Quatremere of Quincy, Salidin, Simeon, Vauvilliers, Vienot-Vaublanc, Villaret Joyeuſe, Willot, all members of the council of Five Hundred; Barbe-Marbois, Dumas, Ferrant-Vaillant, Laffont-Ladebat, Laumont, Mauraire, Murinais, Paradis, Portalis, Rovere, Troncon Ducoudray, all members of the council of Elders; Carnot, Barthelemy, Directors; Brottier, ex-abbé; Laville-Heurnois, ex-magiſtrate; Duverne de Preſle, called Dunan; Cochon, ex-miniſter of police; Duſſonville, ex-clerk in the police; Miranda, Morgan, ex-generals; Suard, journaliſt; Mailhe, ex-conventionaliſt; Ramel, commandant of the guard of the legiſlative body; ſhall, without delay, be tranſported to the place which the Directory ſhall determine. Their property ſhall be ſequeſtered after the publication of the preſent law; and they ſhall not be allowed to interfere with it till after an authentic return of their arrival at the place of their tranſportation.

XIV. The Executive Directory is authorized to produce for them proviſionally out of their effects, the means of ſupplying their moſt urgent wants.

XV. All the individuals inſcribed upon the liſt of emigrants, and not definitively eraſed, ſhall be obliged to quit the territory of the republic, that is to ſay, Paris, and every other commune, of which the population is twenty thouſand inhabitants, and upwards, in twenty-four hours after the publication of the preſent law, and in fifteen days ſhall depart from every other part of the republic.

XVI. After the delay allowed by the preceding article, every individual inſcribed upon the liſt of emigrants, and not definitively eraſed, who ſhall be arreſted within the republic, ſhall be proſecuted before a military committee, in order to be tried within twenty-four hours, according to the 2d article of the 4th title of the law of 25 Brumaire, 3d year, relative to the emigrants.

XVII. The commiſſion ſhall be compoſed of ſeven members, who ſhall be named by the general commanding the military diviſion within which the individual inſcribed upon the liſt of emigrants, and not definitively eraſed, ſhall have been arreſted. The ſentences ſhall not be attached by reference to any other tribunal, and ſhall be executed in twenty-four hours after their being pronounced.

XVIII.

XVIII. The above diſpoſitions are applicable to individuals who, having emigrated, have returned to France, although they be not inſcribed upon any liſt of emigrants.

XIX. The emigrants at preſent detained ſhall be tranſported, and ſuch among them as ſhall remain in France, ſhall be tried and puniſhed in the manner preſcribed by the articles 16 and 17 of the preſent reſolution.

XX. The individuals inſcribed upon the liſt of emigrants, and not definitively eraſed, who have appealed againſt their being inſcribed before the 26th Floreal, 3d year, ſhall correſpond from foreign countries with their relations, friends, or perſons having powers of attorney from them reſident in France, but ſolely upon what concerns their demand of definitive eraſure.

XXI. All correſpondence upon other ſubjects, whatever they may be, with individuals inſcribed upon the liſt of emigrants, is forbidden: and every individual domiciliated, or ſojourning in the territory of the republic, who ſhall be convicted of it, ſhall be, as accomplice of an emigrant, puniſhed with the penalties mentioned in the article 6 of the title 4 of the law of the 25th Brumaire, 3d year.

XXII. The laws of the 22d and 30th of Prairial laſt, which eraſe definitively from the liſt of emigrants the names of François Gregoire de Rumaire, and Jacques Imbert Colomes, are repealed.

XXIII. The law of the 7th of this month, which recalls the baniſhed prieſts, is revoked.

XXIV. The Executive Directory is inveſted with the power of tranſporting, by individual arrets, the prieſts who may diſturb the public tranquillity in the interior.

XXV. The law of the 7th Vendemiaire, 4th year, upon the police of worſhip, ſhall continue to be executed, as far as concerns the eccleſiaſtics authorized to remain in the territory of the republic, except that inſtead of the declaration preſcribed by the 6th article of the ſaid law, they ſhall be required to take the oath of hatred to royalty and anarchy, of attachment and fidelity to the republic and the conſtitution of the 3d year.

XXVI. Every adminiſtrator, officer of judicial police, public accuſer, judge, commiſſary of the Executive Directory, officer or member of the national gendarmerie, who ſhall not cauſe to be executed punctually, as far as concerns him, the above diſpoſitions relative to the emigrants and miniſters of worſhip, or who ſhall prevent or check the execution of them; ſhall be puniſhed with two years impriſonment in irons; in order to effect which, the Executive Directory is authorized to iſſue every neceſſary mandate of arreſt.

XXVII. The diſpoſitions of the laws of the 2d Vendemiaire, and 24th Meſſidor, 4th year, which prolong the functions of the

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members of the tribunal of annulment, elected for four years only, in 1791, are repealed. In consequence, each member of the tribunal of annulment, elected in 1791, shall cease his functions as soon as he shall be replaced.

XXVIII. The Executive Directory is charged to appoint the persons to replace them.

XXIX. The ten judges who, in consequence of the article 259 of the constitutional act, are to go out every year from the tribunal of annulment, shall be taken in the month of Prairial, 6th year, from among the judges appointed in Vendemiaire, 4th year.

XXX. The fifth going out in Prairial, in the 7th year, shall be composed of the remainder of the members elected in Vendemiaire, 4th year, and supplementarily of the members appointed by the Directory in execution of the present law.

XXXI. The fifth going out in Prairial, in the 8th year, shall be taken from among the members named by the Directory in execution of the present law, and so in succession from year to year until they be all gone out.

XXXII. No ordinary jury, special or high jury, shall exercise their functions before they have taken the oath of hatred to royalty and anarchy, of fidelity and attachment to the republic and the constitution of the 3d year.

XXXIII. Juries shall not, in the twenty-four hours after their meeting, vote for or against, without being unanimous: they shall, during that time, be excluded from all exterior communication. If, after that period, they declare that they cannot agree in giving an unanimous decision, they shall meet again, and the declaration shall be made according to the absolute majority.

XXXIV. The decrees of the 1st of August, and 17th September, 1793, and 21 Prairial, 3d year, which authorize the banishment of the Bourbons, including the widow of Orleans, and the confiscation of their effects, shall be executed, and all contrary provisions shall be of no avail. The Directory shall be authorized to determine the place of their transportation, and allow them, out of their estates, the necessary means of subsistence.

XXXV. The journals, and other public papers, and the presses in which they are printed, are to be placed for a year under the inspection of the police, which may prohibit them in terms of the 335th article of the conventional act.

XXXVI. The law of 7th Thermidor last, relative to private societies discussing political subjects, is repealed.

XXXVII. Every private society discussing political questions, in which principles hostile to the constitution of the 3d year, accepted by the French people, are professed, shall be shut up, and

and thofe of its members who fhall have profeffed fuch principles, fhall be profecuted agreeably to the law of the 27th Germinal, 4th year.

XXXVIII. The laws of the 25th Thermidor laft, and 13th Fructidor, prefent month, relative to the eftablifhment and organization of the national guard, are repealed.

XXXIX. The power of putting a commune in a ftate of fiege is reftored to the Directory.

XL. The prefent refolution fhall be printed and fent to the council of Elders.

Meffage from the Directory to the Council of Five Hundred, on the 5th of September.

Citizens Legiflators,

THE embarraffment of the finances was the moft inveterate wound of the ftate: the enemies of the republic and the friends of kings fought to render it incurable. By this they have injured the public fervice, irritated the defenders of their country, and drove the public annuitants to defpair. To-day your fhackles are broken, which will infpire thofe with confidence whom circumftances have alarmed. Will you reftore peace at home, and dictate it abroad to announce your intentions upon the finances? That is the object of the Directory's folicitude. They hope that, convinced of the urgency of the occafion, you will give them all the neceffary power, in order that the public fervice may not be impeded.

France can only be faved by the legiflative body's occupying itfelf about the finances. It is neceffary for you immediately to make fome regulations in the direct taxes of the fifth year; one of the moft certain means for haftening the receipt of the money arifing from them, would be to receive from the receivers general an account of the payments they have to make.

It will alfo be neceffary to make regulations in the carriage of articles by land and water; to fupprefs franking and free letters; to re-eftablifh the national lottery, and the right of enregiftering; and to eftablifh a duty of one per cent. upon pafteboard and paper; and to fet the public debt afloat by creating bons, by the aid of which the payment of national debts may be made.

Message from the Directory to the Council of Five Hundred, on the 6th of September.

THE measures adopted for the safety and repose of the republic have left in our bosom two vacancies to fill. The constitution requires them to be filled within ten days. The Directory, when it reminds you of this circumstance, will lay no stress on its importance: they are persuaded that you know the extent of it, and that you will immediately employ yourselves on it in order to reassure public confidence, and to impose silence on all parties.

Message from the Directory, on the same Day.

THE Directory transmit to you the papers mentioned in its report of yesterday, for the purpose of proving that Imbert Colomes was at Lyons the principal agent of him whom the emigrants and their infamous agents call the king. These papers were a part of those which were seized in November of the 4th year, on the frontiers of Ain, and which the Marquis of Besignan had sent into France by a child, whom he followed at fifty paces.

You will remark that Imbert Colomes is in them called by the name of Mr. Imbert; but as a proof that it applies to Colomes, there was found in the port-feuille which contained these papers, a note designating the former bailiff of Mr. Imbert, with whom Mr. de Besignan sought to re-establish his former connexions.

Imbert Colomes was in fact formerly bailiff of Lyons, and no other person of that name was ever in that situation. The Directory think it right to add to these papers, a letter written to Besignan, in which is inserted another from the emigrant Flacklanden, addressed to the same, dated the 10th August, 1795. This paper is remarkable, as it shews the plan then conceived by the royalists, to direct all their manoeuvres to the corruption of public spirit.

Message from the Directory to the Council of Ancients, on the 5th of September.

Citizens Representatives,

THE 18th Fructidor (Sept. 4) is destined to be the salvation both of the republic and of yourselves. The people expect this. You witnessed yesterday their tranquillity and their joy. This day is the 19th Fructidor (Sept. 5), and the people ask of you where the republic is, and what you have done for its consolidation? The eye of the country, Citizens Representatives, looks towards you. The moment is decisive: if you allow it to

pass

pafs by, if you hefitate on the meafures which are to be taken, if you put off your decifion for a moment, all will be loft, both you and the republic. The confpirators have been on the watch. Your filence has given them courage and audacity: they are intriguing afrefh, and are mifleading public opinion by infamous libels. The journalifts of Blankenbourg and London continue to diffeminate their poifon. The confpirators do not attempt to conceal the fact, that their plot extends to the legiflative body itfelf. They already fpeak of punifhing the republicans for the commencement of the triumph they think they have obtained. Is it poffible to hefitate ftill, as to the meafure of purging the foil of the very few known and avowed chiefs of the royalift confpirators, who wait for the convenient opportunity to deftroy the republic, and to devour yourfelves? You are at the brink of the volcano! it is about to fwallow you up: you may clofe it; and can you hefitate? To-morrow it will be too late.—The leaft hefitation is the death of the republic. You will be told of principles, forms will be reforted to, excufes will be invented; delays will be called for, time will be gained, and the conftitution will be affaffinated, under pretext of keeping within its limits. This commiferation, implored in favour of certain men, to what will it lead you? To fee thefe very men take out of your hands the thread of their criminal confpiracies, and collect in your bofom the horrible firebrands of civil war, to fet fire to the country. What a mifconceived pity, what a fatal fentiment, what limited views would, in that cafe, draw the attention of the councils towards a few men, between whofe fate and that of the republic they would hefitate! The Executive Directory has applied itfelf to point out to you the means of faving France, but it has to expect that you will avail yourfelves of them.—The Directory has felt a perfuafion that you are fincerely attached to liberty and the republic, and that the confequences of this firft liberty ought not to terrify you. It lays them before you; and is obliged to tell you that you are placed in an unprecedented predicament, and that ordinary rules cannot apply to an extraordinary cafe, unlefs you are defirous to furrender yourfelves to your enemies. If the friends of kings find friends among you—if flaves can meet with protectors in you—if you wait an inftant, the fafety of France muft be defpaired of; the conftitution will ceafe to be in force; and the patriots may be told, that the hour of royalty is proclaimed throughout the republic. But if, as the Executive Directory is fully perfuaded, this terrible idea afflicts and ftrikes you, appreciate the value of the moment, and embrace it; be the deliverers of your country, and lay the eternal foundations of its happinefs and glory.

(Signed) LAREVEILLIERE-LEPAUX, Prefident.
LAGARDE, Secretary.

Proclamation of the Executive Directory to the French People, 18 Fructidor, (September 4).

Citizens,

THE Executive Directory submits to your view a few of the papers relative to the royalist conspiracy. These papers, the authenticity of which is incontestable, detail the plots, name the conspirators, and develope the thread of the treasons. These texts are too positive and clear to need any comments. It is sufficient that the Directory should retrace to you, in a few words, the events to which these papers refer. There are facts so palpable, that no imposture can disguise them in the eyes of nations: such was the conspiracy of Vendemiaire. It was in vain that tribunals, which in the first instance did not deny its existence, declared afterwards that there was neither revolt nor sedition: royalism itself blushed at this lie. All the circumstances of that event too clearly proclaimed its aim, nature, and characteristics; and the opinion of Europe would have been invariably fixed on this head, provided even no discovery had been made by the correspondence of Lemaitre, by the papers of the emigrant Gelin, and by the palpable and convincing proofs of the intercourse which the principal agitators, the plotters and the libelists of Vendemiaire, kept up with the exterior royalists. An important circumstance, however, of that epoch was long concealed from us; and in laying it before you, we fulfil a painful duty, since we have to denounce to you a traitor in the person of a man who sometimes led your defenders to victory. While the dissolution of the national convention was plotting in Paris, and the faction endeavouring to seize on the supreme authority, Pichegru, stationed on the bank of the Rhine, received the propositions of Condé, and replied to them by plans of invasion and royalism. If the white flag was not displayed in the French camp; if the Rhine was not crossed by the hostile army; if your strong holds were not delivered up and taken possession of, in the king's name, by Imperial troops; if Pichegru did not march to Paris; if he did not come hither in the space of a fortnight; citizens, it is dreadful to have to state to you, that it was Condé who refused to put in execution Pichegru's plan. This plan would not, however, have succeeded: the brave soldiers whom the general dared to insult, would not have permitted it to be carried into effect. They were calculated to obey the voice of patriotism alone; and would have repulsed and overcome the treason.

"I shall leave nothing unfinished," said Pichegru; "I do not wish to be the new third volume of La Fayette and Dumourier." He was desirous to resemble them in perfidy; but he wished also to surpass them in success, and in the completion of his guilt. Behold then the secret of that favour which royalism constantly after-

afterwards granted to Pichegru. This is the reafon why he was the firft to be chofen prefident of the council of Five Hundred, after the entry of the third. And this explains the calumnies which were heaped on the Executive Directory, when it merely, however, accepted of the refignation of that general, whofe infidelity it fcarcely began to fee through and fufpect. Subdued on the 13th Vendemiaire, royalifm for a moment yielded to the ftorm: for feveral months after it difplayed itfelf under the hideous features of terrorifm alone, perfectly certain of profiting almoft equally, either by the fuccefs or defeat of this new kind of manœuvre. Such, citizens, is the danger of anarchy, that if it triumphs, it leads to royalty through calamities and crimes, and can only be fubdued by caufing the public authorities to affume a carriage invariably more or lefs favourable to the partifans of defpotifm. This laft maxim has been but too much verified during fifteen months paft; and royalifm, ftrengthened by the defeat of a few brigands, whofe rage it had itfelf organized, and whofe attempts it had directed, would fince the commencement of that period have made a progrefs, if not more extenfive, at leaft more rapid, provided one of its orators had not been in too much hafte to point out the aim it had in view. This orator, named Lemerer, has been, as well as Merfan, acknowledged by Duverne de Prefle to be the known and eftablifhed intermediary agent between a part of the legiflative body and the agents of the pretender. When, in the month of Fructidor of the 4th year, Lemerer undertook, in one of the national tribunes, to point out the conftitution of 1791 as the object of the regret of his party; when he rafhly infulted the triumph which liberty obtained on the 10th of Auguft, 1792, the eyes of all the faithful deputies were inftantly opened, and, from that time to the 1ft of Prairial laft, they conftantly oppofed to every counter-revolutionary propofition, their zeal, their energies, and their votes. Obliged to adjourn, on the 1ft Prairial, the epoch of its legiflative fway, royalifm gave a new direction to its efforts. It encircled the feat of government more clofely than ever; and by eftablifhing agents, guards and emiffaries on all fides; by organizing their connections, their fubordination, and their correfpondence; by, in fome meafure, fetting up a counter-revolution in each department and in each commune, it fought at once to pave the way for the elections, and to fecure a military force which it might bring into action at its pleafure. Such, citizens, from the month of Pluviofe, was the power of royalifm, that the difcovery of the confpiracy of Brottier, Dunan, and Villeurnois, merely augmented its audacity, and fortified its means even by their manifeftation. Never did confpirators, fo fully convicted by their writings and confeffions, find more apologifts, fupporters, and protectors, who did not hefitate to manifeft the lively intereft they took in their caufe.

caufe. In ferving them, it was found to be more ufeful than dangerous to difplay the full extent of the different refources of the party under which they acted. It cannot be doubted, citizens, but that in the majority of the departments the elections were the work of this party. In proof of this you have only to refer to the debates of the military tribunal; to the two declarations which Duverne de Prefle has placed in our hands, and which we publifh this day; and, finally, to the fentiments and conduct of the new deputies, whom corruption and intrigue gave to the republic. Emigrants inundating Paris and the departments more and more; republicans either butchered or forced to fly from their homes; fuperftition and fanaticifm recalled by thofe even who, under the monarchy, contributed the moft effectually to profcribe them; the patriotic inftitutions abandoned and infulted; the fymbols of royalifm difplayed audacioufly; the licentioufnefs of the prefs carried to an unexampled excefs; the purchafers of national domains menaced, and even ftripped of their property; public credit almoft annihilated; commerce paralyzed; induftry precarious; private tranfactions without either rule or pledge; the national treafury left without refources in the midft of numberlefs and urgent wants; difcontents of every defcription at their greateft height; difcords rekindled; the defenders of the country rewarded for their triumphs, facrifices, and wounds, by infults and profcriptions; and, finally, external peace retarded by a declaration of new innovations: fuch, citizens, is the picture which the republic prefents; and it is thus that the hope of the eftablifhment of the conftitutional act, which had been increafing for fome months, has been daily diffipated. No, it is not to return to fo much wretchednefs and difgrace that you have encountered the perils of a revolution. Your children, your brothers, your friends, fhall not in vain have difperfed the armies of kings, and acquired the admiration of nations. The factious will not be allowed to overthrow the work of the national will. The conftitution of the third year fhall not be wrefted from us. Some of the reprefentatives of Blankenbourg, ufurping the title of the chofen reprefentatives of the people, emigrants, chiefs of Chouans, heads of confpirators, men who have conftantly betrayed their duty in the moft eminent functions, fhall deprive you of the fruits of your labours. The legiflative body will doubtlefs make a wife diftinction. It is upon its patriotifm and its talents that you ought to rely for the accomplifhment of this great act of juftice and neceffity.—Confide in the legiflative body, and give the law its courfe, without which your generous impulfe, affuming an irregular and improper direction, and proceeding in the midft of tumult towards an object but faintly recognized, you will lofe the whole fruit of your exertion, if you do not experience the fatal effect of fuch

conduct,

conduct, as you already have so often experienced them. Never forget, citizens, that we are placed between two dangers equally great, that of leaving behind the germs of an evil which infallibly would produce new shocks, and that of perishing by the too violent effect of the remedy.

(Signed) LAREVEILLIERE LEPAUX, President.
LAGARDE, Secretary.

The Executive Directory to the Citizens of Paris.

Citizens,

ROYALTY has just threatened the constitution by a new attack. After having, for a whole year, shaken by their dark manœuvres all the foundations of the republic, they thought that they were sufficiently powerful to consummate its destruction. They thought themselves sufficiently protected to venture to aim its first attacks against the supreme depositaries of the executive authority. Arms were daily distributed to the conspirators; and all Paris knows, that one of the distributers was arrested with a large quantity of bonds, upon which he had already delivered a great number of firelocks. Cards stamped Legislative Body, and marked with an R, were circulated, in order to serve as rallying signs to the conspirators, charged with the office of massacring the Directory, and the deputies faithful to the cause of the people.

A great number of emigrants, cut-throats of Lyons, and brigands of La Vendée, attracted hither by the intrigues of royalism, and the tender interest publicly lavished upon them without fear, attacked the posts which surrounded the Executive Directory; but the vigilance of the government, and the chiefs of the armed force, frustrated their criminal efforts.

The Executive Directory is about to lay before the nation the authentic documents which it has collected concerning the manœuvres of the royalists. You will shudder with horror, citizens, at the plots entered into against the safety of every one of you, against your property, against your dearest rights, against your most sacred possessions; and you may calculate the extent of the calamities from which in future you can alone be preserved by the maintenance of the constitution. Various triumphs had already crowned the establishment of this constitution. Your generals and your intrepid defenders had surrounded it with their immortal trophies. At the fame of their victories, agriculture and commerce resumed their activity, public credit by degrees recovered, confidence and security began to spring up in every heart; and this is the moment which has been pitched upon to re-kindle your animosities, to propagate superstition, to re-organize the power of

of fanaticiſm, to ſow doubts and alarms in every breaſt, by opening new avenues for the return of emigrants, to ſhake the guarantee of public contracts, to give the ſignal of civil war, and to retard, by the hopes with which foreign nations were inſpired, the ſo much wiſhed concluſion of peace with our external foes, honourable and ſolid, worthy of the triumphs of the French people and of their generoſity. No, you will not loſe the fruits of your long ſacrifices, you will riſe indignantly againſt thoſe baſe emigrants, the authors of our calamities, of all our agitations, of all our ſufferings. You will arm yourſelves to ſtop their deſigns, and to defend againſt their attacks your perſons, your property, and your rights. But beware of agitations. Do not diſgrace the moſt glorious of cauſes by the exceſſes of an anarchy juſtly abhorred. Reſpect property. Let not an ill-directed patriotic impulſe throw you into a fatal confuſion. Obey no voice but that of the avowed chiefs appointed by the government. Rely upon the vigilance of your magiſtrates, and upon the exertions of your legiſlators, who have remained faithful to the cauſe of the people. Patriotiſm will reſume all its energy, the conſtitution all its force, the nation all its glory; and every citizen will enjoy, in their fulleſt extent, liberty, happineſs, and tranquillity.

Proclamation of 18 *Fructidor, September* 4.

Article 1. EVERY perſon who ſhall propoſe the reſtoration of royalty, the eſtabliſhment of the conſtitution of 1793, or to place any of the family of Orleans upon the throne, ſhall be inſtantly ſhot.

2. Perſons and property ſhall be protected; every perſon who ſhall commit any act of pillage, ſhall be put to death immediately upon detection.

3. The general commanding the 17th diviſion is entruſted with the ſtrict execution of this decree, which ſhall be publiſhed in the form of a proclamation, printed and ſtuck up in Paris.

Decree of 18 *Fructidor, September* 4.

THE Executive Directory, conſidering the motives which for a moment prevent the members of the two councils from repairing to the ordinary halls of their ſittings, and conſidering the urgent neceſſity which requires that their labours ſhould experience no interruption, decrees as follows:

1. Thoſe who occupy the Hall of the Odeon, and School of Health, are required, under pain of rebellion, inſtantly to give them up for the uſe of the repreſentatives of the people, under reſerve of an indemnification.

2. The miniſter of the interior ſhall take meaſures for the execution of this decree.

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The Executive Directory, apprifed that the malcontents are attempting to form a point of union in the adminiftrations at prefent eftablifhed at Paris, decrees the following, in virtue of the 196th article of the conftitution:

1. The members of the central adminiftration of the department of the Seine, and thofe of the municipal adminiftrations of the twelve circles of Paris, are provifionally fufpended from all their functions.

2. Till the fufpenfion is taken off, they are prohibited to affemble, under the penalties enacted by the 6th article of the 5th fection of the fecond part of the penal code.

3. The central bureau alone remains in the exercife of its functions.

4. The commiffioners of the Directory to thefe adminiftrations fhall fuperintend the execution of this decree, which fhall be immediately notified and publifhed.

Mandate of the Executive Directory, dated 18 *Fructidor, September* 4.

THE Executive Directory refolves, that, by virtue of the 145th article of the conftitutional act, an order be iffued for all the executors of the decrees of juftice to carry into the prifon of La Force the editors and printers of the thirty-two journals, called,

Courier des Departemens; Courier Republicain; Mercure Univerfelle; Cenfeur des Journaux; L'Auditeur National; Le Meffager du Soir; L'Eclair; Journal de Perlet; Quotidienne; Gazette Françaife; Gazette Univerfelle; Veridique; Poftillon des Armées; Precurfeur; Journal General de France; L'Accufateur Public; Les Rapfodies; La Tribune, ou Journal des Elections; Le Grondeur; Journal des Colonies; Journal des Spectacles; Le Dejeuner; L'Europe Litteraire; Journal de la Correfpondence; Le Thé; Le Memorial; Les Annales Univerfelles; Le Miroir; Les Nouvelles Politiques; Les Actes des Apoftres; L'Aurora; and L'Etoile:

All of them accufed of a confpiracy againft the interior and exterior fafety of the republic, and particularly of an application for the re-eftablifhment of royalty, and the diffolution of the republican government, in order to their being apprehended and brought to trial as fuch, conformable to the law of the 23d Germinal, 4th year. They order the keeper of the prifon La Force to receive them all, conformably to the law of the 23d Germinal, 4th year; and all the depofitaries of public force to whom the prefent mandate of arreft fhall be notified, to ufe force, if neceffary, for its execution.

The miniſters of general police and of juſtice, are commiſſioned each of them, as far as concerns them, to execute the preſent order, which ſhall be inſerted in the bulletin of laws, and placarded in the commune of Paſis.

(Signed) The Preſident of the Executive Directory,
LAREVEILLIERE LEPAUX.

By the Executive Directory,
The Secretary General, LAGARDE.

Decree of the 18th Fructidor.

THE Executive Directory, extremely well ſatisfied with the manner in which the grenadiers of the legiſlative body have conducted themſelves on this important day, for the welfare of the republic, and deſirous inſtantly to give them a teſtimony of their confidence, appriſe them that the halls of the Odeon and the School of Health are proviſionally deſtined for the reception of the legiſlative body, and invites them to repair thither to continue their ſervice.

The general in chief is appointed to tranſmit them this decree.

(Signed) LAREVEILLIERE LEPAUX, Preſident.
LAGARDE, Secretary.

Document found at Venice in the Port-Folio of M. d'Antraigues, and entirely written with his own Hand.

MY converſation * with the Count Montgaillard, the 4th of December, 1796, from ſix o'clock in the afternoon until midnight.

The Count Montgaillard has been at Venice ſince the month of September; I knew it by public report, but without having ever ſeen him, though I had heard much talk of him. The Abbé Dumontel, his friend, came to my houſe to excuſe himſelf, on account of the weighty reaſons which had prevented him from ſeeing me, and which he explained to me the moment he was able.

The * I received a letter from Fauche Borel, of Neufchatel, which requeſted me to remit 600 livres to the Count Montgaillard, and to engage to meet him immediately at Baſle.

I informed the Count Montgaillard of it; he ſent the Abbé

* It is d'Antraigues who writes. All the aſteriſms in this document point out the illegible words.

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Dumontel to me—refuſed at firſt the ſix hundred livres, but fifteen days after ſent to requeſt them: he deſired a meeting on the 1ſt of December, afterwards he poſtponed it to the 4th, and at length he came yeſterday, at four o'clock in the evening, with the Abbé Dumontel.

After having diſcourſed minutely concerning his eſcape, his journey to England, his return to , his quarrels with the lower ſort of the emigrants, who, in whatever country they were, would neither act nor let others act, and who, in their miſery, retained more Jacobin democracy than the club of Jacobins in the midſt of their triumph:

After having ſpoken upon that ſubject, I ſaid to him, But what do you do at preſent? It is, ſaid he, for the purpoſe of inſtructing you that I am come to your houſe; but we muſt take matters up a little further back. In the month of Auguſt, 1795, I was at Baſle.

I had previouſly quitted Holland, after having received orders to depart, and the offer of Lord St. Helen's to remain there, if I would promiſe not to write, which I refuſed. I had before had a converſation with the miniſter of Denmark. He aſked me what I thought of the revolution? I replied generally, when he interrupted me * to tell me, he wiſhed to ſpeak more freely to me; he ſaid, I look upon the coaleſced Kings as thieves, who pick our pockets, while we are leading them on to power.

It was after my voyage to the Hague that I firſt went to Neufchatel, and afterwards to Baſle.

The Prince of Condé called me to Mulheim, and knowing all the relations I had in France, propoſed to me to ſound General Pichegru, whoſe head-quarters were at Alterkirken.

General Pichegru was then accompanied by four conventional repreſentatives.

I repaired with four or five hundred louis to Neufchatel. I ſought to make the firſt overtures to Fauche Borel, the King's printer, at Neufchatel, your printer alſo as well as mine, a fanatic in the cauſe of royalty, replete with courage, zeal, and enthuſiaſm; with a little mind, but the want of it ſupplied by ſteadineſs and probity. I aſſociated M. Courant with him, who, for fourteen years, had been in the ſervice of Frederick the Great, as his active agent , of reſources, poſſeſſed of a *ſang-froid* which nothing can diſturb, and which he enjoys in a greater degree than valour: he has the moſt determined intrepidity.

I perſuaded them to take charge of the commiſſion; I furniſhed them with inſtructions and paſſports. They were ſtrangers. I furniſhed them with pretences to travel through France as foreign merchants, purchaſers of national domains. When I thought

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they were ready, I recommended them to God, and I ſet out to hear freſh news at Baſle.

The 13th Auguſt, 1795, Fauche and Courant ſet out for the head-quarters at Alterkirken; they remained there eight days; ſeeing General Pichegru ſurrounded with repreſentatives and generals, without the power of ſpeaking to him. However, Pichegru obſerved them, particularly Fauche, and ſeeing them aſſiduous wherever he paſſed, he gueſſed he had ſomething to ſay to him, and he ſpoke aloud as he paſſed by him, "I am going to Huningue." Immediately Fauche ſet out for that place. Pichegru arrived with the four repreſentatives and ſeven generals.

Fauche found means to preſent himſelf before him at the bottom of the covered way; Pichegru remarked him, and though it rained torrents, he ſaid aloud, "I am going to dine at the houſe of Madame de Salomon." The chateau is three miles from Huningue; and this Madame de Salomon is the miſtreſs of Pichegru. Fauche immediately ſet out and arrived at the village. After dinner he went to the chateau, and aſked to ſee General Pichegru. The latter received him in a gallery, where he was taking coffee.

Fauche then told him, that he was in poſſeſſion of a manuſcript of J. J. Rouſſeau, which he wiſhed to dedicate to him. Very well, ſaid Pichegru, but I muſt read it firſt, for Rouſſeau has principles of liberty which do not accord with mine; and to which, therefore, I ſhould be very ſorry to give the ſanction of my name. But, ſaid Fauche to him, I have another thing to tell you. What is it? and on whoſe behalf?—On the part of the Prince de Condé. Hold your peace, and wait upon me. Then he conducted him alone into a private chamber, and then being *tête-à-tête* with him, he ſaid, Explain yourſelf what the Prince of Condé wants of me.

Fauche was embarraſſed, and could not in a moment find words. He heſitated. Take courage, ſaid Pichegru; I am of the ſame way of thinking as the Prince of Condé. What does he want with me?—Fauche, encouraged, then ſaid to him, The Prince of Condé deſires that he may * to you. He depends upon you. He wiſhes to be united to you. Theſe are vague and uſeleſs things, ſaid Pichegru to him; they mean nothing. Return, and aſk for written inſtructions, and come in three days to my head-quarters at Alterkirken, you will find me there alone, preciſely at ſix in the evening. Immediately Fauche ſet out, came to my houſe, and, with tranſports, gave me an account of all.

I paſſed the night in framing a letter to General Pichegru. The Prince of Condé, furniſhed with full powers from Louis XVIII. except that of beſtowing blue ribands, had, by his own handwriting,

writing, invested me with full powers to negotiate with General Pichegru.

In consequence of this, therefore, I wrote to the General. I first said all that could awake in his breast the noble sentiment of true pride, which is the instinct of great souls; and after having represented to him the good he was capable of performing, I spoke to him of the gratitude of the King, for the service which he should render his country by establishing royalty. I told him that his Majesty would create him * marshal of France, and governor of Alsace. No one could better govern it than he who had so valiantly defended it.

That he should have the blue riband; the castle of Chambaud, with its park, and twelve pieces of cannon, taken from the Austrians; a million of ready money, an income of 200,000 livres, an establishment at Paris, the * d'Arbois, the county of General Pichegru, and should be exempt from every impost for fifteen years. The pension of 200,000 livres to revert one-half to his wife, and 50,000 livres to his children for ever, until the extinction of his race.

Such were the offers made in the name of the King; the confirmation of all his officers in their ranks; promotion for all whom he should recommend; a gratuity to every commandant who should give up his place, and an exemption from impost to every city which shall open its gates; and an unreserved annuity to people of every description. I added, that the Prince of Condé desired that he would proclaim the King in his camp, and should deliver up the city of Huningue, and join him, in order to march to Paris.

Pichegru, after having read all this with the greatest attention, said to Fauche, It is very well; but who is this Montgaillard, who says he is so authorized? I neither am acquainted with him nor his signature. Is he the author? Yes, said Fauche. But, said Pichegru, I desire, before any overture on my part, to be assured, that the Prince of Condé, whose hand-writing I very well recollect, approves of what has been written in his name by M. de Montgaillard. Return immediately to M. de Montgaillard, and desire him to inform the Prince of Condé of my answer.

Immediately Fauche set out, left M. Courant with Pichegru, and returned to me.

Having arrived at Basle at nine o'clock in the evening, he gave me an account of his mission. Instantly I went to Mulheim, the head-quarters of the Prince of Condé, and arrived there half an hour after midnight. The Prince was gone to bed; I had him wakened: he made me sit by his side on the bed, and then began our conference.

After having instructed the Prince of Condé as to the state of things, he only busied himself in engaging him to write to Gene-

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ral Pichegru, in order to confirm the truth of what had been ſaid in his name.

The negotiation, ſo ſimple in its object, ſo neceſſary, ſo little ſuſceptible of obſtacles, nevertheleſs laſted the whole night.

The Prince, as brave as it is poſſible to be as the great Condé—of determined intrepidity. With reſpect to the reſt, he is the moſt inſignificant of men, without means, as well as without character; ſurrounded by men of the moſt moderate talents, ſome the vileſt, others the moſt perverſe—knowing them well, and ſuffering himſelf to be ruled by them.

Theſe are for the moſt part emigrants. They wiſh to make a revolution a mean of ſignalizing themſelves. Theſe gentry, ſuch as M. de Monteſſon, La Jair, Bouthiliere, are men without any other means than thoſe of civility towards the Prince; they are actuated but by two principles in their whole conduct. If a man of real talents offers himſelf, who preſents plans of a vaſt extent and great difficulty, they permit him to begin the buſineſs; then they endeavour to make the author loſe his labour. This is what is called throughout France, the real talents of courtiers, who ſmile when they ſee devote themſelves to a maſter, from whom they are ſure of obtaining more by baſeneſs than by ſervices, and to whom it is better to be the cook or lacquey, than the miniſter or the general.

The other principle of all the of the King, or of the Princes, is to hinder every counter-revolution from which they are not to derive an advantage, and to prefer the preſent ſtate of things to every other which does not load them with all ſorts of advantages.

Such are the ſyſtems of the King, or of the Prince of Condé.

Theſe perſons have an enormous defect; they have neither the means nor abilities ſufficient to comprehend an extenſive plan, or to perceive the real object of a grand buſineſs. They have ſtill leſs that courage of mind which directs the attention of men of talents to their real object, and induces them to conſider the means by which it is to be attained. But the Prince of Condé, beſet by his flatterers, has ingrafted his ideas on their ideas, and having become as timid by regarding minute circumſtances, as he was inſignificant in the field, he dreads trifles as much as they diſlike the ſound of cannon.

It required nine hours labour, ſitting on his bed, by his ſide, to make him write to General Pichegru a letter, conſiſting of nine lines. Firſt he would not have it his own hand-writing, then he would not date it, then he would not call him General Pichegru, for fear of acknowledging the republic, by giving him that title. Then he would not write the addreſs; then he refuſed to put his arms; at laſt he endeavoured to avoid putting his ſeal. At length, however, he finiſhed, and wrote to him that he

ſhould place full confidence in the letters that the Count de Montgaillard had written in his name, and on his behalf. That being done, another difficulty preſented itſelf—the Prince wiſhed to recall his letter. It was neceſſary to perſuade him, that, by not recalling it, it would be given up to him, after having produced the effect to be expected from it. He delivered it with difficulty. At laſt I departed at day-break for Baſle. I haſtened Fauche to Alterkirken to General Pichegru.

The general, when he opened the Prince's letter, conſiſting only of eight lines, recollected the character and ſignature; read it, and immediately gave it back to Fauche, ſaying, I have ſeen the ſignature, and that is ſufficient for me—the word of a Prince is a pledge with which every Frenchman ſhould be contented; take him back his letter.

Then the queſtion was, what the Prince required? Fauche explained what his deſire was:

1ſt. That he ſhould proclaim the King in his army, and ſhould raiſe the white ſtandard.

2d. That he ſhould deliver up Huningue to the Prince.

Pichegru refuſed—"I will not do things by halves," he ſaid; "I do not wiſh to make the third volume to La Fayette and Dumourier. I know what my means are, they are as certain as they are extenſive. They have their roots not only in my army, but at Paris, in the Convention, in the departments, and in the armies of thoſe generals who think as I do. I do not wiſh to undertake a partial affair.—We muſt finiſh the buſineſs—France cannot exiſt as a republic—There muſt be a King—We muſt have Louis XVIII. But we muſt not commence the counter-revolution without being quite certain of ſucceeding, and that in a ſhort time." This is my motto.

"The Prince's plan tends to nothing: he would be driven out of Huningue in four days, and I ſhould be ruined in a fortnight. My army is compoſed of honeſt men and rogues. It is neceſſary to ſeparate the one from the other, and ſo far engage the former, by a great meaſure, that they may no longer be able to retreat, and ſee no ſafety but in the ſucceſs of the undertaking. To attain it, I offer to croſs the Rhine in any part pointed out, the day and hour fixed on, and with the number of ſoldiers of different kinds that may be required.

"I ſhall previouſly place in all the forts officers to be relied on, whoſe ſentiments agree with mine.

"I ſhall remove the ſcoundrels, and place them in ſituations in which they can do no injury, and which will render it impoſſible for them to unite. When this is done, I ſhall go to the other ſide of the Rhine and proclaim the King, I ſhall hoiſt the white ſtandard, and the army of Condé and the Emperor will unite with us. I will immediately croſs the Rhine, and re-enter

France. The fortreſſes ſhall be delivered up and garriſoned in the name of the King by the Imperial troops.

"United with Condé's army, I ſhall march immediately forward. My reſources will then every where develope themſelves, and we ſhall march to Paris. We ſhall be there in fourteen days.

"But it is neceſſary you ſhould know that royalty will not be very agreeable to the French troops. To make them cry *Vive le Roi*, it will be neceſſary to give them ſome wine, and a crown in each man's hand.

"Nothing ſhould be ſpared in the firſt moment.

"Report this to the Prince, and bring me back his anſwer."

Every thing impoſed on the Prince of Condé the neceſſity of deciding, and of deciding ſpeedily.

Further—good ſenſe impoſed upon him another neceſſity, that of diſpaſſionately examining what kind of a man Pichegru was, what he was to give up, and what were his propoſitions.

Europe acknowledged his talents, and he had put the Prince in a ſituation to judge of his good faith.

Further, his conduct, his plans, were freſh proofs. By paſſing the Rhine, and placing himſelf between the armies of Condé and Wurmſer, he rendered his deſertion impoſſible, and if the ſucceſs did not anſwer he would be rendering himſelf an emigrant.

What ſtupidity to pretend to know the army of Pichegru better than Pichegru himſelf! to pretend to know the frontier provinces better than Pichegru, who commanded them, and who had placed his friends as commandants of the cities!

This pretenſion, however, loſt monarchy for this time, as well as ſo many others. The Prince of Condé, on reading the plan, wholly rejected it.

It was neceſſary for its ſucceſs that the Auſtrians ſhould take part in it. Pichegru demanded it. The Prince of Condé abſolutely refuſed, in order that he might have the whole glory of a counter-revolution.

He anſwered Pichegru by obſervations; and the concluſion of his anſwer was to revert to his firſt plan:

That Pichegru ſhould proclaim the King without paſſing the Rhine; that he ſhould give up Huningue; and that then the army of Condé alone, and without the aſſiſtance of the Germans, ſhould join it.

That for this ſervice he could promiſe one hundred thouſand crowns in louis, which he had at Baſle, and one million four hundred thouſand livres, which he had in good bills, payable immediately.

The idea of the Prince of Condé, not to communicate his plan

plan to Wurmſer, or partake of the glory with him, rendered him blind and deaf.

It was neceſſary to report theſe obſervations to Pichegru, and M. Courant was charged to do ſo.

I certify that this paper was found in the port-folio of M. d'Antraigues, opened in the preſence of the General in chief, Buonaparte, and of General Clarke, and marked and atteſted by me,

The General of Diviſion, chief of the Etat Major General,
(Signed) BERTHIER.

Montebello, the 5th Prairial,
5th year of the Republic.

Paper found in the Poſſeſſion of Antraigues, and in his own Manuſcript.

" Marechal of France, governor of Alſace. The caſtle of Chambaud and its park, with twelve pieces of cannon, to be delivered up to the Auſtrians. A million in ready money. An annuity of two hundred thouſand livres. A hotel at Paris.

" The eſtate d'Arbois, the native place of General Pichegru, to bear the name of Pichegru.

" A penſion of two hundred thouſand livres; the half in reverſion to his wife, and fifty thouſand livres to his children, till the failure of his deſcendants.

" The Prince of Condé wiſhes him to proclaim the King in his camp; to deliver up to him the town of Huningue; to join him, and march to Paris."

Letter from the Prince of Condé to M. Imbert Colomes, formerly Echevin at Lyons, principal Agent of Louis XVIII. in that City; eraſed from the Liſt of Emigrants, by a Decree of the 1ſt of Prairial, in the fifth Year, and calling himſelf, in conſequence, a Member of the Council of Five Hundred.

" The King has thought proper to ſend M. de Beſignan to Lyons; I invite you, Sir, to receive him with the reſpect due to a man honoured with the confidence of his Majeſty. I take the advantage of this opportunity to renew to you the aſſurances of the ſatisfaction of his Majeſty, and my own ſincere attachment."

It appears from this letter:

1. That M. Imbert Colomes was the agent of the King at Lyons.

2. That his Majeſty Louis XVIII. was extremely well ſatiſfied with his ſervices.

3. That M. Imbert Colomes was in poſſeſſion of the greateſt

credit with HIS MASTER, ſince M. de Beſignan conſidered the obtaining this letter as of ſo much importance.

4. And laſtly, that M. Imbert Colomes is not a republican, and conſequently cannot have a ſeat in the legiſlative body repreſenting the French people; as neither can Matthieu, Dumas, Lemarchand, Gomicourt, &c. &c. of whoſe royaliſm we ſhall hereafter give inconteſtable proofs. It is for the people to pronounce what ſuch ſervices merit.

Extract of a Letter from M. de Beſignan to M. Wickham, Ambaſſador from England in Switzerland.

"You had the goodneſs to ſpeak to me yeſterday of a letter which Monſeigneur the Prince of Condé wrote to M. Imbert Colomes, principal agent of the King at Lyons," &c. &c.

The ſame to the Marquis de Monteſſon.

November 2.

"I have received the letter which you did me the honour to write to me on the 31ſt ult. but I confeſs that I found it too ſhort. It is confined to recommending me to Mr. Wickham, ambaſſador from England in Switzerland; to obtain from him this letter, for M. Imbert Colomes," &c. &c.

The ſame to the Prince of Condé.

"What I had ſo much reaſon to fear, has at laſt happened. Your Highneſs muſt recollect all the varied ſcenes which have been acted at Mulheim with reſpect to me. But you ſurely never could have expected that Mr. Wickham, after having ſaid that every thing was arranged; that, ſince I conſented to ſerve under the orders of Meſſrs. de Precy and de Chavannes, he ſaw no inconvenience in ſending me to Lyons, and that he had wrote to prepare the way for my reception; your Highneſs, I ſay, could not have expected that this ſame Mr. Wickham ſhould now tell me that terror reigns at Lyons, that M. Imbert Colomes, and others, have been obliged to ſecrete themſelves, &c. &c. &c.

"But, in any caſe, I venture to hope, that your Highneſs will not long leave me without a letter for M. Imbert Colomes; in order, eſpecially, that I may be reimburſed the money I have expended, which amounts to five thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty-eight livres."

Declara-

Declaration of Duverne Dupresle, or Dunant, annexed to the Secret Register of the Directory, 11*th Ventose,* 5*th Year.*

FIRST DECLARATION.

Citizens,

I do not dissemble that, in beginning this written detail, I am about to put into your hands that of my own condemnation. But although I am far from being insensible to my own personal interest, I am so fully persuaded that it is a far different motive which has determined me to take a step very difficult to be misinterpreted, which I shall not hesitate to undertake, although I had not to encourage me the engagement which you have contracted.

Many attempts have been made since the revolution to restore the throne: all of them have failed, but most of them have cost the lives of a great number of men of both parties. Nothing has discouraged the royalists; and hitherto there have been so many reasons to justify their hopes, that we ought not to be surprised if, by the side of one conspiracy extinguished, another should arise, the more dangerous, because to its own resources it adds the experience of the errors which have occasioned the ruin of others. I say dangerous, not because I think that any conspiracy would overthrow the established government, but because I believe that some one may be found combining sufficient means to encourage even an open attack, and then the blood of Frenchmen would flow in torrents, shed by the hands of Frenchmen. It is to prevent, as far as lies in my power, the return of these scenes of desolation, that I have formed the design of communicating all the threads of the conspiracy, at the head of which I am placed, to lead you into the track of those which may succeed; in fine, to dissipate in such a manner all the resources of the royalists, that they may be compelled even to abandon their hope. I betray the cause of royalty, I know it; but I am convinced I serve the cause of those Frenchmen who are attached to that cause, by destroying the foundation of their chimerical hopes; and, if I do not impose upon myself, this conduct will not deprive me of any just title to the esteem of those who shall decide without passion.

I will not fatigue your attention by a longer preamble. I have said thus much only to justify to myself an action which I think courageous, and which, perhaps, may be generally regarded as an act of treachery. I am about to enter upon the subject, and I will speak as if I had been the only agent of the King at Paris. It is two years since I undertook the management of his interests. From that period I was aware that the royalists could have no real constancy, but when united round a common centre, they act by preconcerted movements. From that period I exerted every

every effort to lead to that centre of unity all the chiefs of La Vendée and of Brittany; all the agents scattered through the different departments that I could discover, who pretended to act for the same object, and who all pursued it by contradictory means. I went into Brittany, into La Vendée. I went to Switzerland, where an English minister resides, specially charged to second the royalists. I went to the army of the Prince of Condé, and saw the King. At length I made a journey to England, where I explained myself with the Count d'Artois and the English ministers. Nothing less would do, in order to prevail on every individual to renounce the plans which he himself directed, the private scheme which he had adopted, to put an end to the animosities and the divisions which reigned in the party; and in this last respect I never could have produced a durable effect in La Vendée and Brittany. I was also far from considering their submission as an unfortunate event. It served our cause, because it enabled us to develope entirely a plan more wise than those which had preceded; on this very account more wise, because it embraced at once the whole of France, and because it excluded every partial movement, but that which should render us masters of Paris by overthrowing the government.

Such is the plan which had been approved by the Pretender, who alone was acquainted with all its details. The English ministry, the French Princes, likewise adopted so much of the plan as was communicated to them. The object was, to make the political and military movements go hand in hand.

France was to be divided into two agencies.

The one, which comprehends the provinces of *Franche Compté*, the Lyonnoise, Fores, Auvergne, and the whole of the south, is to be entrusted to M. Precy. The other, which extends over all the rest of France, is to be directed by the agents at Paris. These two agencies shall reciprocally inform each other of their situation by a regular and active correspondence. No movement is to be attempted by the one, if the other is not previously apprised of it, and if it is not prepared to second its operation.

The two agencies shall have a direct communication with the King, and with the agents of the British government. This last having only two objects, the first the demand of assistance, and secondly, in its application, the agents are to render themselves independent of the instruction which might be given by the English. The second object of the English correspondence, shall be to give them every intelligence tending to serve the cause; but never to facilitate to them the means of seizing any of our maritime places, and in general nothing that could be useful only to themselves; *the King and his Council having never ceased to think that the services of the English are perfidious services, tending to no other object but the total ruin of France.*

The

The municipal agents ſhall ſubdivide the diſtricts entruſted to their direction into as many military commanderies as they ſhall judge proper. They ſhall ſubmit their labours to the King, and propoſe to him the perſons who are judged qualified to fill with intelligence and fidelity the ſituations of commanders in chief of the different circles. The commanders are to receive their power from the King; but they ſhall not correſpond directly, except with the ſuperior agents of the party.

The principal agents, and eſpecially thoſe at Paris, will ſpare no pains to ſeduce to the party of the King all the members of the conſtituted authorities. They can promiſe to every individual all the perſonal advantages which his importance may entitle him to expect, without the exception of any one, even the members of the Convention, who voted for the death of Louis XVI. But they will not incur any engagement which can give occaſion to believe that the intention of the King is to re-eſtabliſh the monarchy upon new baſes. The King will do every thing to reform the abuſes which had crept into the ancient *regime*, but nothing could induce him to change the conſtitution. In the caſe of a powerful party in the Councils propoſing to recogniſe the King upon *conditions*, the agents at Paris were to engage that party to depute to his Majeſty a perſon properly authorized, with whom the King might diſcuſs in perſon the true intereſts of France.

The object propoſed is the overthrow of the exiſting government. It is in the conſtitution itſelf that the means were to be found of overturning it without a great ſhock. The frequency of elections prevents the opportunity of introducing a majority of royaliſts into the offices of government and the adminiſtrations.

Hitherto the royaliſts have derived no advantage from their number; their puſillanimity prevents them attending the primary aſſemblies, where, if they have given any votes, it has been without previous concert, and their votes have been thrown away ſo far as concerned the objects at which they individually aimed. In order to obtain a majority of votes in the primary aſſemblies, it is neceſſary to arrange three points: 1ſt. To force the royaliſts to attend. 2d. To compel them to unite their ſuffrages in favour of the individuals pointed out. 3d. To induce that claſs of men, who have no preference for any government, love that order which protects their perſons and properties, to vote in favour of the royaliſt party. In order to attain this triple object, two aſſociations ſhall be formed, the one formed of tried royaliſts, the other of timid royaliſts, and men ſelfiſh and indifferent.

It is unneceſſary for me to enter into any details in this reſpect, ſince you are in poſſeſſion of the regulations to be adopted in theſe inſtitutions.

Theſe

These two associations shall be established throughout the whole of the republic. The agents are not to allow themselves to be deceived by the idea that there are any parties or dispositions which render this establishment superfluous. Every where there are weak and timid mortals to whom the Philanthropic Institution will be suitable.

In order to attain the object proposed, the commandants of the different circles shall endeavour to discover the character and opinions of every individual in their canton, which is an easy matter. The revolution has pronounced in the departments the character of every individual, in such a manner that every man might boldly judge of the character of his neighbour. They shall choose the most courageous royalists, and form them into companies; the quantity and number of which should be proportioned to the pecuniary means which the agents should be able to dedicate to that service. They shall furnish them with arms and ammunition. The companies shall always be ready to assemble, especially during the sitting of the primary assemblies. At this epoch their object shall be to check every party, armed or not armed, which should attempt to oppose the freedom of election; it being always understood that they never shall take up arms first, and never shew themselves but under republican colours. They shall have, besides, another object in view, that of forcing, by threats or otherwise, the members of the Philanthropic Institution to attend the primary assemblies.

The latter, and their other agents, shall endeavour to gain over the leaders of different corps, or even whole corps, and then these shall remain with their standards, or encourage and facilitate desertion. They shall keep the deserters in the country, under pretext of employing them in the labours of agriculture, and enrol them only as occasion requires.

In the provinces where insurrections have existed, the commandants shall spare no pains to preserve and to augment the spirit of royalism. They shall prepare the peasants for a new insurrection, but they shall not excite any commotion, but in consequence of formal orders of superior agents.

If it should happen that the success of the military preparations should be such as to permit a reasonable hope that an immediate overthrow of the government might be effected, then the mode of proceeding through the medium of the primary assemblies shall be abandoned, and the favourable moment shall be seized, to arrive directly at the object proposed, the pure and simple re-establishment of monarchy. It belongs to the agents to judge in what circumstances it may be advisable. In a word, after the agents at Paris shall deem it certain that the King must speedily be proclaimed either in consequence of the measures to be taken by the Councils, in which there was to be a majority of his partizans,

 or

or by means of military force, they ſhould inſtantly ſend a ſteady royaliſt, in order to give him intimation, and to bring a Prince of the blood; and that, as ſoon as poſſible, the royaliſts ſhould have a chief who ſhould ſilence all jealouſy and private ambition.

In order to prepare and develope this plan, funds muſt be neceſſary, and theſe could be furniſhed by England alone.

M. de Preçy, for the uſe of the agents with which he is entruſted, is authorized to draw upon M. Wickham, the Engliſh miniſter in Switzerland, for the funds which he ſhould judge neceſſary, with the approbation of M. Wickham.

And I myſelf obtained ————— ſixty thouſand pounds ſterling for our preparatory expenſes. We had the aſſurance of a ſum of thirty thouſand pounds ſterling, which was to have been paid to me the month that the King's proclamation ſhould be iſſued, on condition that we ſhould not begin to act before the elections; fifteen thouſand pounds ſterling for the purchaſe of white uniforms, in order to furniſh the dreſs of certain corps, payable, when a bargain offered, at the ſame time when the King's proclamation ſhould be iſſued.

In a word, through our hands were to be tranſmitted funds, the amount of which was not yet aſcertained, in order to be conveyed to M. M. de Puiſaye and de Frotte, whoſe ſituation demands expenſes more conſiderable than that of our other diſtricts.

Although the plan was only definitively adopted very lately, although no part of the funds which I obtained had yet arrived, we muſt not conclude, however, that this was a mere ſketch. All the ancient elements were collected, and our poſition was as follows:

M. de Puiſaye, who already is in a ſituation alone to effect a counter-revolution, was anxious to declare himſelf. We had hitherto prevented him. He has ſince extended his correſpondence from Breſt as far as Lavalle. I believe he reckons upon ſeveral corps employed in that quarter.

M. de Frotte was ſtill in London at the period of my departure. But he calculated upon proceeding immediately to Normandy, where he had left the officers who had formerly ſerved under his command. From the letters it would appear that the diſpoſitions of the country were extremely favourable. They demanded the return of their chief. They preſſed him earneſtly; for the royaliſts, who were certain of our canton, conceive that they have only to declare themſelves, and the counter-revolution will be effected. M. de Frotte is poſſeſſed of judgment and talents—he is one of our beſt chiefs.

M. de Rochecot, who is entruſted with the taſk of preparing Le Maine, Le Perche, and Le Pays Chartrain, was lately at Paris. He is a young man, very active, and very intelligent. His military organization conſiſts only of a few hundred men,

but this limitation only becauſe there were not ſufficient funds to engage more. He aſſured us that in his part of the country every body proceeded beyond the Philanthropic Inſtitution, in order to become members of the Faithful. M. de Rochecot ſpoke of the correſpondence which he had with the corps ſtationed throughout Le Maine. He had ſome even at Caen. [*There are ſome things relative to him, which I am unwilling to mention, except verbally.*]

M. de Bourmont has juſt begun his operations from L'Orient as far as Paris. In this party there are a great many philanthropes. The royaliſts are more rare.

M. Mallet, formerly adjutant-major of the Chateau Vieux, was entruſted with the department of Upper Normandy, and the Iſle of France to Paris; for all our diſtricts for fifty leagues round form a triangle, of which one angle reſts upon Paris. It is completely organized, and will have plenty of men, provided there be money enough. It is in the beſt ſtate of preparation for the elections.

In the Orleannois one M. de Juglats is employed. I do not know the ſituation in which he ſtands; I believe, however, he has made conſiderable progreſs.

The coaſt of Picardy, that of Sennonais and La Brie, are ſtill deſtitute of chiefs, and of conſequence without organization. We expected a M. Buttes, who is announced to us as poſſeſſing extenſive connexions in the firſt of theſe provinces.

We directed our attention to the object of renewing our correſpondence in La Vendée. We were aſſured of ſucceſs in Haut Poitou. A chevalier de Paller Duparc has commenced our organization. He aſſerts that he has a correſpondence even at Rochefort. The Duke de Longe was immediately to repair to Bourdeaux from England, in order to organize that country under our direction.

At Paris there are two companies formed; one of them I believe is under the command of M. de Trenville; I do not know the commandant of the other. Paris, as you may eaſily imagine, is the focus of our communication. Hitherto we had not attempted any corruption by money. We ſhould now have attempted it, in order to procure accurate information of the funds of the government. *I have told you that I had in my hands the plan of a deſcent upon Ireland, or rather the report of Carnot relative to that plan. I know very well how it was procured, but not by whom. This, however, I could eaſily learn.*

We conſidered it as of very great importance to gain the police. We had made very little progreſs in this object, but you know that we had already made the firſt advances. Every week we received extracts from the reports of the commiſſioners of the executive power upon the ſtate of opinion in the departments.

I know not from whence the opinion aroſe, that the miniſter

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of police would not be ill disposed to serve us; probably because he was considered as moderate, and is incessantly the object of the hostility of the Jacobins.

We entertained the same sentiments of the minister of the interior, probably for the same reasons.

But it is in the Councils where we met with most encouragement. Since the month of June last proposals were made to us in the name of a party which stated itself to be very powerful. We transmitted them to the King. They offered to assist his cause, provided there was no other change in the existing constitution, than the concentration of the executive power in his person. The King accepted the service, but offered to discuss the condition. He accordingly desired that a person should be sent to him properly authorized. Since that period he has continued to urge this demand; but the party being much more feeble than they had represented, has relaxed in its pretensions, without renouncing them entirely. On our side, thinking to be able to restore the throne through the assistance of the two Councils, we were of opinion that they should remain masters with regard to the terms to be imposed upon the King, and we did not urge the mission. About two months ago a person set out, who, I believe, carried with him a list of the members who are desirous of monarchy, the number of which amounts to 184. Upon this point I will not affirm with confidence. The evening, or the evening before our arrest, a person had come to propose to give the King a list of sixty members more. He pledged himself to obtain a formal declaration from the son of the Duke of Orleans, that he did not, nor ever would, pretend to the throne. He engaged, besides, to send the young Prince to the King, but a number of conditions were required. You will perceive that we had listened attentively to every proposition, that we made ample promises, without incurring, however, any obligations.

The importance of which it might be to our cause, to gain the corps connected with the different services at Paris, rendered this a principal object of our attention. We had some success in one quarter, and we were naturally led to expect still greater progress, since it was in consequence of the steps taken in order to realize this hope that we were arrested. Several of our agents were employed in sounding particular administrations. One of them even has told me that ten presidents of municipal administrations were gained over, but it would be improper to rely too much upon this observation. *The royalists have always deceived themselves with regard to the number of their partisans.*

You are aware that we have paid for more than one pamphlet; that we have given articles for insertion in more than one journal, and more than once given money to certain journalists.

If the reports of a great number of these papers are to be cre-

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dited, and the notes which we procured from the police, we had a great advantage of expreſſion in our favour: you cannot doubt that with the money which we were about to receive, we ſhould have been able greatly to extend and develope our means. I here confine the enumeration; I may have forgot ſome of them; other facts there are, to which I will only ſpeak verbally.

The agency of M. de Precy is in a very different ſituation from ours. Hitherto his preparations have not been much directed to military affairs, and it is only very lately that he has adopted our political meaſures. He is at preſent at Berne, where he very regularly receives the accounts tranſmitted to him by particular agents; he had connexions through the whole of the ſouth. Laſt year he had great difficulty in reſtraining the ardour of a party among them, who were very deſirous of an inſurrection. It is at Lyons where he has moſt partiſans. His great object is to ſecure ſome ſtrong town, in order to facilitate the entrance of the army of Condé into France. I am certain there is a correſpondence with the people at Beſançon; I have never yet had time to reſume my correſpondence with them; and I have no means of knowing any thing with regard to their ſituation.

As far as ſome names are concerned, you are now as well informed as I am, with regard to the ſecrets of the conſpiracy. In order to overthrow it, I am perfectly convinced that it would be ſufficient to publiſh my letter, and the regulations of the two ſocieties. At the peruſal of this declaration, you will ſee all the royaliſts again ſink to the earth, and for this time you may be perfectly tranquil; but it is not enough that they ſhould deſiſt from them for a moment. It is neceſſary for ever to root the idea from their minds. It is neceſſary to turn to the advantage of the government the diſcovery of the preſent conſpiracy, and to reſign into its hands the threads by which others may be traced.

I proceed to develope this laſt part, and I ſhall then give my opinion upon the other. Two things muſt happen—the firſt, that the royaliſts, who imagine that the government is only in poſſeſſion of the chiefs of the conſpiracy, and nothing at all of its general train, and who at the ſame time are attached to the principles of moderation upon which our plan is founded, will be deſirous to continue it. In conſequence, they will propoſe to the King and the Engliſh, to ſend in conjunction one or more new agents to ſucceed us, and to follow our track, but with ſtill greater precaution. The other thing is, that a royaliſt party, which is convinced that it is impoſſible to overthrow the government by any other means than by violence, ſtrengthened by our bad ſucceſs, will at once preſent themſelves at London and at Blankenburgh, and deſire to be entruſted with thoſe means which we were about to employ ſo diſadvantageouſly, promiſing that by the alliances which they will contract with the Jacobins, thoſe energetic men,

they

they will thus throw France back into the ſyſtem of terror, and from the ſyſtem of terror to the throne. That party would be rejected in London, if it were to be rejected at Blankenburgh. But it is by no means certain that it would be rejected in that court; and in that caſe the Engliſh miniſter, in order to avoid the appearance of being apprized of the means to be employed, would allow the buſineſs to proceed.

To this long explanation I have juſt another word to add. There exiſts a formed party, which reckons upon the ſure ſupport of Spain. At the head of this party are M. M. de la Vauguyon and D'Antraigues. I ſhall give their channels of correſpondence with the interior. This party think that they have on their ſide the King of Spain, and among other individuals the Marquis de las Caſas.

(An exact Copy) (Signed) LIMODIN.
(An exact Copy) (Signed) COCHON,
Miniſter of the General Police.

Second Declaration of Daverne Dupreſle, or Dunant, annexed to the Secret Regiſter of the Directory, 17th Ventoſe, fifth Year.

Lemerer, Merſem, and the greater part of the members of the club of Clichy, conſtitute the royaliſt body.

The conſpiracy of Lemaitre, and of Vendemiaire, was a royaliſt conſpiracy.

The real name of the perſon known to us under the name of Thebeau, is Deſpomelles, who was a marechal de camp before the revolution, and member, I believe, of the council at war. He had extenſive connexions with Lemaitre. It was he who drew up the rules of the inſtitutions and the military regulations. It is very probable that he was authorized to ſuperſede us proviſionally, for he is too prudent to remain in a ſituation of ſuch great and perilous embarraſſment. He lived in a country houſe near the Bourg Egalité, and very rarely came to town. He ſaid he was very cloſely connected with M. M. de Segur, and aſſured us that they and their party would ſecond us.

I never heard of the widow Joye before my examination. It certainly is a feigned name, and the perſon by whom it is aſſumed muſt not have been connected with us, but probably with Lemaitre, whoſe correſpondent in London, Dutteil, was likewiſe my correſpondent.

Duval is the name which I aſſumed in England, being accuſtomed to take a new name every journey.

We do not yet know the names of the members of the legiſlative body who belong to our party. Lemerer and Merſem were the only intermediate agents, but the reſt are the members

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of the club of Clichy, or at leaſt the greater part of which it is compoſed. The perſon who procured us the report of Carnot, relative to the deſcent upon Ireland, muſt be a clerk in the depot of places and charts, called perhaps the Bureau des Hedographes or Typographes. I had not leiſure either to know him or the perſon to whom he communicated the report. I believe that [illegible] was not the chief of that Bureau, but that the piece was carri[illegible] off during a neceſſary abſence of his in the month of Frimaire. [illegible]

England paid here a perſon of the name of Hardemberg. The latter had direct communication with Saladin.

England likewiſe pays a perſon of the name of Vincent. The miniſter of police muſt know who he is; at leaſt he has often given us pieces of information which he pretended to have received directly from that miniſter, at entertainments at which he was preſent. I have always been of opinion that this young man, for I am told that he is ſo, had been the dupe of our miniſter.

A correſpondence, not entirely foreign to our objects, is that of M. d'Antraigues with M. Sourdat, the father. The channel by which it is conveyed is as follows:

Sourdat writes either to an Abbé Andre, who takes the name of La Marre, or a M. de Valdennes, well known in the affair of Lemaitre. Theſe two gentlemen reſide at Lauſanne, or Vivais; by them the letters are tranſmitted to an Abbé de la Renne, at Bellinzons, under cover, I believe, of the poſt-maſter of that place, and he tranſmits them to Venice, where M. d'Antraigues reſides.

From Venice the details go to M. de Vauguyon, and into Spain; for Spain is ſtill anxious to know what the royaliſts are doing. Sourdat writes thus: directly to Bellinzons, ſometimes to the Abbé de la Renne, under the name of Gregoire; ſometimes to Marco Philiberti, or even other names. There is another direct correſpondence with Venice. The letters are addreſſed to Marco Philiberti, banker, in Bavaria. The correſpondence from the interior is of no importance whatever; every thing of importance muſt be ſent by England. Any thing more is the mere accuſation of receiving letters.

(An exact copy.)

(Signed) LIMODIN.
(Signed) COCHON,
Miniſter of the General Police.

Addreſs

Addrefs of the two Councils to the Departments, and to the Armies, 21 Fructidor.

THE Council of Five Hundred, confidering that in the extraordinary and critical circumftances in which the republic is placed, it is the duty of the legiflative body to make known to the French people the trammels that were prepared to bind them down to flavery, and to overthrow the republican conftitution of the third year; to manifeft to them the fentiments and the hopes of the legiflature, and at the fame time to guard againft the manoeuvres which the accomplices of the confpirators may attempt in order to deceive them,—

Declare that there is urgency, and adopt the following refolution:

Article 1ft. The legiflative body makes to the departments and to the armies the following addrefs:

"Frenchmen, we owe to you the truth: we are about to tell you the truth.

"A confpiracy, which has for its object to eftablifh in France a throne, and with privileges and vexations, a thoufand times more odious than thofe which were abolifhed by your will; a confpiracy conftantly unmafked, and yet never deftroyed, had again brought the republic to the brink of an abyfs. The government, by its wifdom and its firmnefs, difconcerted the action at the moment when it was on the point of breaking out. One night more, and an eternal mourning would have covered our country! One night more, and an arbitrary defpotifm would have raifed her hideous head, and fealed her ufurpation on the bodies of all thofe who had more or lefs ferved the caufe of liberty! Men, who had no other ambition of popular power than to exercife it againft the people, laboured for a long time in the execution of this execrable project; for the moft part chiefs of the infurgents of Vendemiaire, hardened by impunity, refumed the thread of their intrigues; they correfponded more audacioufly than ever with the agents of the Pretender, Louis XVIII. The confeffions of one of thefe royal agents (Duverne Dupreffe) bear teftimony to the fact. Their letters taken at Venice, their correfpondence with the emigrants and the principal rebels, prove it. All the documents are made public. Their means were—1ft. The extinction of all public national fpirit. 2d. The affaffination of every man whom they branded with the title *Sufpected of Patriotifm*, and the impunity granted to the affaffins by the tribunals fold to royalifm. 3d. The extinction of the financial refources of the ftate. 4th. The vilifying of the government and the republican inftitutions. 5th. Civil war to be kindled in different points of the republic. 6th. Internal fafety to be deftroyed, and all the roads intercepted. 7th. By the ftarving of the national creditor, the artifan, and the foldier.

soldier. And finally—8th. By the active fabrication of all sorts of laws subversive of the constitution.

"This end, and all these means, will not astonish you, as you will learn by the authentic documents found, that their nominations, ordered beforehand, and regulated by particular offices of counter-revolution in all the departments, were founded on a general plan, formed and organized under the name of the *Society of legitimate Sons*; a society, one of whose rules was the most absolute, the most blind devotion of its members to the orders that should be given them by their unknown chiefs. It was by these means, French citizens, that you have seen spring out all at once, from the bosom of your primary and electoral assemblies, this crowd of delegrates, hitherto unknown in the revolution, or known only by their incivism the most revolting. It was by these means that there was formed, in almost every place, a majority of men, seduced, bribed, or deluded, whose speaking constantly under special mandate, and employing themselves only in the overthrow of the republic, made us doubt whether their constituents resided in France or at Blankenburgh. It was thus that the votes of the true citizens were of no avail in the elections; and that, with the exception of a small number of assemblies where their voices were attended to, almost every where the votes of crime and of royal intrigue were triumphant. We may conceive how, establishing themselves the judges of their own elections, they hastened to declare them good or bad as it suited their purpose: sometimes making an argument of the majority of voters, to cover their violences, the denial of justice, and the unconstitutional nature of these assemblies; and sometimes opposing protests, obscure, and without character, to the formal wills of a republican majority. Certainly it is wonderful, that with so many means of corruption, and of destructive influence, some nominations—nay, that one single place should escape them; as, after a vast conflagratian, we sometimes see with astonishment some buildings respected by the flames.

"We will not recall to you, citizens, what has been the deplorable success of these atrocious combinations. In Floreal, peace, honourable and solid, smiled propitious to our wishes: it is flown. Could it reside in a land in convulsion, ready to cover itself with blood and ashes? National credit had taken consistency, the creditor was about to be paid. Salaries were discharged in currency; in an instant, misery and penury returned to burst upon France. The creditor sunk into despair; the inscriptions, which were at forty, fell to ten; the armies without pay, without clothing. The armies that had triumphed over Europe—oh shame! oh grief!—were obliged to live either upon requisition, or upon the product of their courage. And yet a hideous laugh escaped from the lips of the artificers of counter-revolution,

revolution, each day they faw the embarraffments of government augment, each day they increafed them more and more; interpretations the moft forced, want of faith the moft imprudent, every thing was good in their eyes, provided they attained the defired end. The labourers in fanaticifm were recalled; a fcandalous and public traffic for the erafure of emigrants was openly carried on. Citizens, alarmed by thefe appearances, affembled to confer together: the right of meeting was interdicted; they reclaimed their rights; they were treated as feditious, and as cut-throats. They complained of miferable men being affaffinated; to which it was anfwered, that vengeance was legitimate, and crime was erected into fyftem. A new revolution, a thoufand times more bloody than the firft, was iffuing from every pore of the body politic; but fome indifcretions, fome figns of premature joy, betrayed the confpirators; they began to take pride in the title of Royalifts; a feparation, the *avant-courier* of affaffination, took place between the profcribers and the profcribed. They firft entitled themfelves the true reprefentatives; the others were no longer confidered as their colleagues: judgment was paffed upon them; they were republicans. Arms were diftributed, poniards were made, many of which were feized along with the cards of rendezvous; regifters of inrolment were opened. Oh country! oh fecret and noble fentiment of liberty! generous offspring of honour and of national pride, what art thou become? Oh juftice, morality, humanity! names fo often profaned, ye focial and public virtues, where have ye taken refuge? They live in the armies!

"This intrepid advanced guard of a nation, whofe deftruction had been fworn by traitors, faithful to its oath, rung the alarm; its cry was heard throughout all France; it was heard in the camp of the enemy; it ftruck difmay to the fouls of the traitors. Then they changed their plan; without being lefs active, they feigned an extenfive moderation, to diminifh the means of refiftance which they dreaded. But it was done; the *reveille* was beat; the government, that had been fo long deceived, now recollected that it alfo was the repofitory of the conftitution, and guardian of the deftinies of the republic. In the two councils a majority, courageous and clear-fighted, conftantly in open combat with a faction unmafked, no longer defpaired of bringing back to their fide thofe faithful members that the party had only inlifted by deceiving them. They perceived that the conftitution, in not forefeeing the cafe of a faction of legiflators overthrowing it, even by furrounding themfelves with the appearance of its forms, left, by this very omiffion, to thofe who were defirous to fave it, the right of employing every fort of meafure to that purpofe, and that it was abfurd to pretend, that if a factious or deceived minority fhould decree the abrogation of the republic, all the

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powers instituted by the constitution ought to shut their eyes, and execute the decree.

"Frenchmen, the event did not deceive their hopes; and this time again, as in the Tennis-court, Providence, the preserver of knowledge, of the virtues, and of liberty, protected the republic! You know the result of the memorable day of the 18th Fructidor: the conspirators were arrested; the legislative body, freed from oppression, and enlightened on the reiterated manœuvres of the guilty, feeling their own dignity and their duties, were not wanting to the one, while they discharged the other with courage. They did not, and they ought not to place any considerations whatsoever, in circumstances so imperious, in the balance with the safety of the country and the constitution; but in striking down the conspirators, they did not forget that they represented a sensible and great nation, and that they ought to preserve to it its character. These men, who talked of humanity while they were meditating assassinations; these men, who would not have spared the life of a single republican, are going to lead their own lives far from us with remorse and opprobrium: they are transported.

"Not a drop of blood, not an act of violence or disorder, has stained this day. Thus, this great and wise attitude of Frenchmen, and particularly of our brothers in arms, on this terrible occasion, in completing their eulogium, attests the baseness and infamy of those, who in their criminal correspondence, and in their audacious libels, have dared to paint Frenchmen as robbers and ruffians. The constitution is their fortune; they have sealed it with their blood; they will not suffer it to be attacked; Frenchmen have placed it between royalty and anarchy, and they know how to keep it in its place.

"Oh ye fathers, mothers, husbands, children! whom the remembrance of the misfortunes and the disasters of the revolution have irritated, consider with affright what a horrible revolution they had prepared for you anew; and may this sentiment remove for ever from your hearts, those barbarous enmities, those murderous oppositions, which dissolve a nation, and involve it in a deluge of calamities!

"Citizens, the mischief unmasked will no doubt try to calumniate us, and to arm you one against another. These calumnies we despise, but we cannot despise your peril. We have told you the truth; do you examine the interest of those who shall speak to you in other language. The legislative body conjures you to this—keep far from you every perfidious insinuation; let not England and Austria tear from you the fruits of this last victory, which closes at length the revolution. Let us gather round the constitution; let us think and feel that its spirit and its letter ought never to be separated.

"Oh! if after twenty years of this civil war, that they wished to

to inflict upon us, and of the frightful cataftrophes that would be its neceffary confequences, a beneficent genius were to bring us this conftitution of the third year, with what tranfport fhould we not receive it, what tears of gratitude would it not make us fhed, what neweft hopes would it not revive in families reduced to defolation!—Well, we have it, we poffefs it, let us learn to preferve it. As to you, Frenchmen, it is to your union, it is to your confidence, that we are to look for encouragement. Returning prefently to our ordinary labours, all our cares will be to clofe the wounds which our enemies are ftriving to enlarge. The reftoration of the finances, of commerce, of induftry, of agriculture; the folace of the indigent claffes, of the hofpitals, of the national creditor; the debt of our immortal defenders, will demand our firft regards. Peace alfo, that confoling peace which is acquired by victory, fhall fpeedily come, and we have the folid hope of it, to confolidate all our triumphs, and to repair all our loffes. If, on the contrary, the enemy fhould be obftinate to precipitate their own deftruction, may the union of our good citizens, may their attachment to the conftitution, and to the government of the third year, be at once their defpair, and the pledge of their approaching ruin!

"Magiftrates, adminiftrators, functionaries, the voice of your country calls you back to your pofts. Every where in a republic, that man is in the field of honour who conducts himfelf as a republican. Men of letters, you whom the defpotifm of calumny reduced to filence, refume your priftine energy; commence your republican inftruction; make the coward apologifts of flavery to blufh; aid alfo the legiflative body and the government; form the manners of the nation.

"Frenchmen, unity of action is re-eftablifhed between the two great powers, not that which refults from the dependence of one of them, but that which produces the harmony of reciprocal wills. We have expofed to you our conduct and our principles; our life is altogether devoted to the maintenance of the republic; we will not fay, that we are merely ready to lofe our lives in combating the factions, but we fwear to you that we will overcome them."

Article 2d. The law of the 19th of this month fhall be annexed to the prefent addrefs, proclaimed along with it in each municipality, as well as in the armies of the republic, and be placarded.

The Commander in Chief of the Army of the Rhine and Moselle to Citizen Barthelemy, Member of the Executive Directory of the French Republic.

Head Quarters, Strasburgh, 9th Fructidor, 5th year (5th of September).

Citizen Director,

YOU will easily recollect, that on occasion of my last journey to Basle, I informed you that in the passage of the Rhine we had taken a packet belonging to General Klinglin, containing two or three hundred letters of his correspondents. Those of Vittershack composed part, but these were of less importance. Many of the letters are in ciphers, but we have discovered them, and are busy in deciphering them, which is a very tedious process. Nobody takes his real name, so that several Frenchmen who correspond with Klinglin, Condé, Wickham, d'Enghien, and others, are difficult to be discovered; such marks, however, have been found, as have already pointed out several individuals. I was resolved not to publish this correspondence, because the conclusion of peace was very probable, and the republic ran no risk, the more especially as what had been discovered would furnish proof against very few, since nobody is named. But perceiving at the head of the parties, who at present do so much mischief to our country, and enjoying in an eminent situation the greatest confidence, a man deeply involved in this correspondence, and destined to perform an important part in the recall of the Pretender, the object to which it was directed, I thought it my duty to apprise you of this circumstance, that you might not be the dupe of his famed republicanism, that you might be able to expose his conduct, and oppose the fatal blows which he aims against our country, since a civil war must be the necessary consequence of his designs. I confess, Citizen Director, that it is infinitely painful to my feelings to inform you of this treachery, the more especially as he whom I now denounce to you, was once my friend, and would be so still, were I not now acquainted with his character. I allude to the representative of the people, Pichegru. He was prudent enough to commit nothing to writing. He only communicated verbally with those who were entrusted with the correspondence, who apprised him of the projects entertained, and received his answers. He is there designed by several names, among others that of Baptist. A chief of brigade, named Baudouville, was attached to him, and is designed under the name of Coco. He was one of the couriers whom he, as well as other correspondents, employed. You must have seen him very frequently at Basle. Their great movement was intended to have taken place at the beginning of the year four. They calculated upon some defeat to be sustained by my army, which being discontented

contented with being defeated, should demand to be placed under the command of their old general, who then was to have acted according to the inftructions he had received. He had received 900 louis to defray the expenfes of the journey which he made to Paris at the time of his difmiffal. Hence naturally arofe his refufal of the embaffy to Sweden. I fufpect the family of Lajolais of being concerned in this intrigue.

Nothing but the great confidence which I entertain of your patriotifm and wifdom could have determined me to give you this information. The proofs are as clear as day. I doubt, however, whether they be judicial. I entreat you, Citizen Director, to be fo good as to enlighten me with your advice in this very critical affair. You know me fufficiently to be convinced how much this confidence has coft me. Nothing but the dangers to which my country is expofed could have extorted the fecret from me. It is confined to five perfons, Generals Defaix, Regnier, one of my aide-de-camps, and an officer entrufted with the fecret department of the army, who continually follows the train of information communicated by the letters which have been deciphered.

Accept the affurance of the diftinguifhed efteem and inviolable attachment with which I am, &c.

(Signed) MOREAU.

The Minifter at War to the Armies, and to the Military Divifions.

THE dark veil which covered the republic is at laft removed. Let your courage be re-animated, brave foldiers! The genius of liberty ftill hovers over France, and you have not vainly fhed your blood in the caufe of freedom. The ftruggle between the odious abettors of royalty and the faithful friends of the republic has ceafed. Warriors of every rank! you need no longer fear that your laurels will be tarnifhed by thofe bafe men who never fhared your dangers; and who, infenfible to the glory which your triumphs have reflected on our country, would make a facrifice of your innumerable victories to the throne. Men of courage at laft accepted the challenge of royalty. They lifted up its gauntlet, and inftantly the hideous fpectre difappeared.

Soldiers of liberty! remain calm in the midft of the ftorm. Liften to the voice of your chiefs, and of the government which watches for you: preferve yourfelves in that impofing attitude, which ftrikes terror into your enemies, both abroad and at home. You will fpeedily enjoy the fruits of your triumphs, of your facrifices, and your devotion. To fupply thofe wants, which a malevolent faction has fo long made you endure, is the firft duty of the government, and fhall be the object of its moft earneft folici-

ſolicitudes: the republic owes to you its glory, and it will endeavour to acquit the debt. Its happineſs and yours are ever inſeparable.

(Signed) SCHERER, Miniſter at War.

The Miniſter of the Interior to the Central Adminiſtrations of the Departments, and to the Commiſſioners of the Executive Directory in thoſe Adminiſtrations.

Citizens,

THE departments have been too often deceived in regard to what paſſes in Paris.

The authentic documents annexed to this letter will make known to you the truth.

The republic has triumphed over the royaliſt conſpirators. The conſtitution of the third year has this day eſcaped from the rage of thoſe who wiſhed to deſtroy it.

If any ſuggeſtions are made againſt theſe facts, you have it in your power to eſtabliſh them. Take the proper means of enlightening the people of your departments, by publiſhing all the papers I have ſent you.

The partiſans of the throne may attempt to avenge themſelves on the republic. You ought to declare, that all the conſtituted authorities, civil and military, remain reſponſible for all aſſaſſinations, or attempts made to diſturb the public peace.

Should the agents of a counter-revolution eſtabliſh a falſe legiſlature out of Paris, or remain in the legiſlative body, you are required to oppoſe them with all your power, under the pain of being declared in a ſtate of rebellion.

Remember that you are the guarantees of the tranquillity of your departments. The Executive Directory relies on your zeal.

Give me an immediate aſſurance of your diligence and efforts in preſerving order and peace.—*Vive la republique!*

(Signed) FRANÇOIS DE NEUFCHATEAU,
Miniſter of the Interior.

Paris, 18 *Fructidor* (*Sept.* 4).

THE

THE

NEGOTIATION.

Official Correspondence, published by the British Government, relative to the Negotiation for Peace carried on at Lisle between Great Britain and the French Republic.

No. 1.

Official Note.—Lord Grenville to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the French Republic.

THE signature of the preliminaries of a peace, the definitive conclusion of which is to put an end to the continental war, appears to afford to the two governments of Great Britain and France, a natural opportunity, and new facilities for the renewal of pacific negotiations between them: a part of the obstacles, which might have retarded this salutary work, no longer existing; and the interests to be treated of being, after this event, neither so extensive nor so complicated as they were before.

The court of London, always desirous of employing such means as are best calculated to contribute to this object, so interesting to the happiness of the two nations, is unwilling to omit renewing to the French government the assurance of the continuance of its dispositions on this subject. And the undersigned is authorized to propose to the minister for foreign affairs to enter without delay, and in such manner as shall be judged the most expedient, upon the discussion of the views and pretensions of each party, for the regulation of the preliminaries of a peace, which may be definitively arranged at the future congress.

As soon as the form of this negotiation shall have been agreed upon, the British government will be ready to concur in it, by taking on its part such measures, as are the most proper for accelerating the re-establishment of the public tranquillity.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.

Westminster, June 1, 1797.

No.

No. 2.

Official Note.—The Minister for Foreign Affairs to Lord Grenvi[lle].

THE underſigned miniſter for foreign affairs of the Fren[ch] republic, loſt no time in laying before the Executive Directo[ry] the note which was tranſmitted to him on the 1ſt of June (O. S.) by Lord Grenville, in the name of his Britannic Majeſty. He is directed to anſwer it.

The Executive Directory ſees with ſatisfaction, the deſire which the cabinet of St. James's expreſſes to put an end, at length, to the calamities of war.—It will receive with eagerneſs the overtures and propoſals which ſhall be made to it by the court of England.

The Executive Directory deſires, notwithſtanding, that the negotiations ſhould be ſet on foot at once for a definitive treaty. This proceeding appears to the Directory preferable to a congreſs, of which the reſult muſt be remote, and which does not correſpond with the ardent deſire that it has to re-eſtabliſh, as quickly as poſſible, peace between the two powers.

(Signed) CH. DELACROIX.

Paris, 16 Prairial, 5th Year of the French Republic, one and indiviſible. June 4, 1797.

No. 3.

Official Note.—Lord Grenville to the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs.

THE court of London has received, with the greateſt ſatiſfaction, the aſſurances of the diſpoſitions of the Executive Directory to entertain with eagerneſs the pacific overtures of Great Britain, as well as of its deſire to re-eſtabliſh, as ſoon as poſſible, peace between the two powers.

Anxious to contribute to it in every thing which can depend upon itſelf, the Britiſh government will not delay to ſend to Paris, or to ſuch other place, upon the continent, as may be agreed upon, a miniſter, to treat and conclude with the plenipotentiary, who ſhall be appointed by the Executive Directory.

The underſigned is directed to deſire to know the wiſh of the Directory, as to the place of the negotiation, in order that a ſpeedy determination may be taken here upon that ſubject; and to requeſt the miniſter for foreign affairs to ſend him, without delay, the neceſſary paſſports, to enable the king's plenipotentiary to repair immediately to his deſtination. The queſtion of ſigning preliminary or definitive articles, will neceſſarily depend upon the progreſs

progrefs and turn of the negotiations, to which, on the part of Great Britain, will be brought the moft fincere defire for the fpeedy re-eftablifhment of peace.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.

Weftminfter, June 8th, 1797.

No. 4.

Official Note.—The Minifter for Foreign Affairs to Lord Grenville.

THE Executive Directory of the French republic has feen with fatisfaction, by the official note of Lord Grenville, dated June 8th (O. S.), that the court of London fhews itfelf difpofed to fet on foot, without delay, the negotiation, for which it has lately made an overture. Filled with the fame eagernefs, convinced that the intentions of the Britifh government are fuch as it defcribes them, the Directory has directed the underfigned, minifter for foreign affairs, to tranfmit to Lord Grenville the neceffary paffports for a minifter furnifhed with full powers, for the purpofe of negotiating a definitive and feparate treaty of peace with the French republic.

The Executive Directory has fixed upon the commune of Lifle as the place of meeting for the refpective plenipotentiaries.

(Signed) CH. DELACROIX.

Paris, 23 Prairial, 5th Year of the French Republic. (June 11, 1797.)

No. 5.

Form of Paffport.

Liberty, Equality. Fraternity, Union.

In the Name of the French Republic.

TO all officers, civil and military, charged to maintain public order in the different departments of France, and to make the French name refpected abroad.

Allow to pafs freely

furnifhed with the full powers of his Britannic Majefty, for the purpofe of negotiating, concluding, and figning, a definitive and feparate treaty of peace with the French republic, native of, &c. &c.

going to Lille, department of the North, the place appointed for the negotiation,

without giving or fuffering any hindrance to be given to him.

 This

This paſſport ſhall be in force for decades only.

Given at Paris the 23 *Prairial*, 5*th* year of the republic, one and indiviſible.

The miniſter for foreign affairs,
(Signed) CH. DELACROIX.

By the miniſter,
(Signed) T. GUIRADET.

No. 6.

Official Note.—Lord Grenville to the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs.

THE underſigned has received from the miniſter for foreign affairs of the French republic his official note, with the paſſport which accompanied it.

The court of London willingly accepts the propoſal of the French government with reſpect to the place of negotiation, and conſents that Liſle ſhall be appointed as the place of meeting for the reſpective plenipotentiaries: it being always underſtood, that the King's plenipotentiary ſhall have liberty to diſpatch his couriers directly from Liſle to Dover, by way of Calais; and that the Engliſh veſſels, appointed for keeping up this communication, ſhall be allowed freely to go into, and come out of, the port of Calais, and to paſs in perfect ſafety between that city and Dover.

With reſpect to the paſſport, the underſigned finds himſelf under the neceſſity of remarking, that the terms in which this inſtrument is drawn up differ from the uſual form, by the particular deſcription, which is inſerted in them, of the nature and extent of the powers, and of the miſſion of the King's plenipotentiary.

This new form appears liable to produce, in many inſtances, conſiderable inconvenience; and, according to the terms uſed in this particular inſtance, it would have the diſadvantage of not anſwering exactly to the powers and the miſſion of the miniſter in queſtion.

His full powers, drawn up in the uſual form, will include every caſe; and without preſcribing to him any particular mode of negotiation, will give him the moſt unlimited authority to conclude any articles or treaties, whether preliminary or definitive, as might beſt conduce to the ſpeedy re-eſtabliſhment of peace, which is the ſole object of his miſſion.

But the court of London does not by any means make a point of concluding a preliminary treaty, and would prefer only that mode, whatever it may be, which ſhall be found the beſt calculated to accelerate the concluſion of peace.

The King's plenipotentiary then will be equally ready, and authorized to begin the negotiation without delay, upon either

footing;

footing; upon the footing of a preliminary treaty—or, ſhould ſuch continue to be the wiſh of the Directory, upon that of a definitive treaty.

As to what regards the queſtion of a ſeparate treaty—there would be no objection to ſettling, by a treaty of this kind, whatever relates to the reſpective intereſts of France and of Great Britain, as has been uſually the practice in ſimilar caſes: but the King cannot allow any doubt to ſubſiſt as to his intention of providing for what is due to the intereſts of his ally her Moſt Faithful Majeſty. And in purſuance of the ſame principles, his Majeſty will not refuſe to enter into ſuch explanations with reſpect to the intereſts of Spain and Holland, as may appear neceſſary for the re-eſtabliſhment of peace.

After this frank and preciſe explanation, the Britiſh government is perſuaded, that the Directory will not delay to tranſmit to them a paſſport for the Britiſh plenipotentiary and his ſuite, in the uſual form, and ſuch as was ſent in the month of October laſt for the miſſion with which Lord Malmeſbury was then charged.

In this expectation, and for the ſake of avoiding all delay, his Majeſty has already made choice of the ſame miniſter to repreſent him on this important occaſion. And the underſigned is charged to inquire on what day the French plenipotentiary will be at Liſle, in order that Lord Malmeſbury may arrive there at the ſame time.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.

Weſtminſter, June 17, 1797.

No. 7.

Official Note.—The Miniſter for Foreign Affairs to Lord Grenville.

THE underſigned miniſter for foreign affairs has laid before the Directory, immediately upon its receipt, the official note addreſſed to him by Lord Grenville, dated June 17, 1797 (O. S.): He loſes no time in replying to it, according to the orders which he has received.

The Directory, partaking moſt ſincerely in the pacific ſentiments which his Britannic Majeſty announces, and wiſhing to bring the negotiations as quickly as poſſible to a happy iſſue, perſiſts in requiring that the reſpective plenipotentiaries ſhall begin immediately upon their meeting to treat of a definitive treaty. The Directory accepts, with ſatisfaction, the conſent of his Britannic Majeſty upon this ſubject, expreſſed in the note of Lord Grenville.

The Directory conſents that his Britannic Majeſty ſhall make, by his plenipotentiary, ſuch propoſals or ſtipulations as he ſhall think

think proper for her Moſt Faithful Majeſty, as in return the plenipotentiaries of the republic will do for their allies his Catholic Majeſty and the Batavian republic.

The Directory conſents that the negotiation ſhall be opened with Lord Malmeſbury. Another choice would, however, have appeared to the Directory to augur more favourably for the ſpeedy concluſion of peace.

The Directory requires that it ſhall be eſtabliſhed as a principle, that each Engliſh packet-boat, which ſhall have brought over either the plenipotentiary or a courier, ſhall return without delay, and ſhall not be allowed to make any ſtay. The Directory will give orders that a French packet-boat ſhall be furniſhed, without delay, to each of the couriers whom the plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majeſty ſhall diſpatch. The Directory deſires, at the ſame time, that the couriers ſhall not be ſent too frequently; the frequent ſending of them having been one of the principal cauſes of the rupture of the former negotiation.

After the above explanation, it becomes unneceſſary to tranſmit to Lord Grenville a new paſſport; the reſtrictions which he apprehended were to be found in that which has been addreſſed to him, being entirely done away.

The French plenipotentiaries will have arrived at Liſle by the time at which Lord Malmeſbury can himſelf be there.

(Signed) CH. DELACROIX.

Paris, 2 Meſſidor. (June 20, 1797.)

No. 8.

Official Note.—Lord Grenville to the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs.

THE underſigned has laid before the King the official note of the French government, which he received the 23d of the preſent month.

As to the two firſt articles of this note both parties are agreed. On this point, therefore, there is nothing to be added to the explanations already given; in conſequence of which explanations Lord Malmeſbury will, without delay, proceed to Liſle to enter into a negotiation with the French plenipotentiaries for the completion of a definitive treaty. The remark of the Directory upon the choice which his Majeſty has thought fit to make of his plenipotentiary, being certainly of a nature not to require any anſwer.

The Britiſh government agrees to the arrangement propoſed for the packet-boats; provided that a French packet-boat ſhall be furniſhed regularly, and without the leaſt delay, for each courier which the Britiſh plenipotentiary ſhall find it neceſſary to diſpatch: the exerciſe of his inconteſtable right, in this reſpect, being to be

governed

governed by his own discretion only, with a view to bringing the negotiation with which he is charged to a speedy and successful end.

With regard to the rupture of the last negotiation, the circumstances and the motives of it are known to all Europe; and it is not at the moment of entering into a new pacific discussion that the British government conceives it can be of any use to recall them to recollection.

Lord Malmesbury will set out from London on the 30th of this month to proceed to Calais; from whence he will arrange his departure according to the notification he may receive of the day on which the French ministers may reach Lisle.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.

Westminster, June 26, 1797.

No. 9.

Official Note.—The Minister for Foreign Affairs to Lord Grenville.

THE undersigned minister for foreign affairs lost no time in laying before the Executive Directory the official note addressed to him by Lord Grenville, dated the 21st June (O. S.), 8th of the present month Messidor.

In answer to this note, he has the honour to declare to Lord Grenville, that the plenipotentiaries charged by the Directory with the negotiation are already assembled at Lisle, and that the conferences may be set on foot as soon as the plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty shall have arrived there. Provision has been made that there shall never be a want of packet-boats for the couriers which he shall think proper to send to London.

The undersigned at the same time apprises Lord Grenville, that a copy of this note will be delivered to Lord Malmesbury on his arrival at Calais, in order that there may be nothing to hinder his immediate departure for Lisle.

(Signed) CH. DELACROIX.

Paris, 11 *Messidor*, 5*th Year.*
(*June* 29, 1797.)

No. 10.

Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Malmesbury to Lord Grenville, dated Lisle, July 6th, Thursday, 8 P. M. 1797.

My Lord,

HAVING had this morning my first conference with the French plenipotentiaries, and having mutually exchanged our full powers, I think it my duty to dispatch a messenger, in order that

that his Majeſty may have the earlieſt information of this circumſtance. My diſpatch, however, muſt be confined to this alone, as nothing whatever has yet paſſed relative to the negotiation itſelf.

No. 11.

Copy of the full Powers of the French Plenipotentiaries.

Equality. Liberty.

Extract from the Regiſters of the Deliberations of the Executive Directory.

Paris, the 30th Prairial, 5th year of the French Republic, one and indiviſible.

THE Executive Directory, after having heard the report of the miniſter for foreign affairs, decrees as follows:

The citizens Letourneur, heretofore member of the Executive Directory, Pleville le Pelley, and Maret, are authorized to negotiate with the miniſter plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majeſty, the treaty of peace to be concluded between the French republic and Great Britain. The Directory gives them the neceſſary full powers for agreeing upon and ſigning the articles of the treaty to be made. They ſhall conform themſelves to the inſtructions which have been, or ſhall be given to them by the Executive Directory, to whom they ſhall render an account of the progreſs and the iſſue of the negotiations.

They are equally authorized, and under the ſame conditions, to ſtipulate for the allies of the republic, his Catholic Majeſty and the Batavian republic.

The citizen Colchen, appointed ſecretary-general to the French legation, is authorized to aſſiſt at the conferences, to afford the information which ſhall be required of him, and to take a note of what ſhall be agreed upon and ſettled.

The preſent decree ſhall not be printed for the preſent.

(A true copy.)

The Preſident of the Executive Directory,
CARNOT.

By the Executive Directory,
the Secretary-general,
LAGARDE.

No. 12.

Extracts of a Diſpatch from Lord Malmeſbury to Lord Grenville, dated Liſle, July 11, 1797.

I HAD the honour in my laſt, by Brooks, of the 6th inſtant, to inform your Lordſhip of my arrival here, of the manner in which

which I had been received, and of my having, in the usual form, exchanged my full powers with the French plenipotentiaries.

On Friday the 7th at noon we held our second conference.

I opened this second conference with the French plenipotentiaries, by saying, that I myself had no observations to make on their full powers, which appeared to be conformable to those usually given by the Directory to their plenipotentiaries, and of course must be considered as sufficient for the purposes expressed in them; that I, however, had transmitted them by a messenger to my court, and reserved to myself the right of communicating any objections or remarks which I might receive by the return of my messenger, relative to them.

M. le Tourneur, to whom, as president of the commission, I addressed myself, replied, that they had taken precisely the same steps as myself; that *they* considered the full powers I had given in, as in due form, and sufficient; but that they also reserved to themselves the same right, in regard to instructions they might receive from the Directory on this subject, as I had claimed in regard to my court.

To this, of course, I assented.

On Saturday the 8th instant I gave in the *projet* precisely as I had received it from your Lordship; a copy of which (A), as it is translated into French, I think it my duty to inclose.

One of the French plenipotentiaries proposed that some time should be given them to take the proposals I had made into consideration, and begged of me merely for the sake of accuracy, and to help their memory, that I would be good enough either to let M. Colchen put down on paper, or myself send them a note containing the words with which I wished the articles left in blank to be filled up. I readily acquiesced in the latter mode, and immediately on my return sent them the inclosed note (B).

On Sunday evening I received the inclosed note (C) from the French plenipotentiaries, and in consequence of it went to the proposed conference yesterday.

One of the French plenipotentiaries informed me on the subject of the projet I had given them, and the note with which I had accompanied it, that as these papers contain many points on which their instructions did not enable them to answer, they had, after having given them a very serious attention, sent them, with such observations as they had thought it their duty to make on them, to the Directory, and that the moment they received an answer, they would communicate it to me. But that in the mean while, not to delay the progress of the negotiation, they wished that several points, which he termed insulated, but which, though not referred to in our projet, were, he said, inseparably connected with the general subject of peace, might be discussed and got rid of now if I had no objection, and that it was with this view they had requested me to meet them. On my not expressing any disapprobation to this

mode

mode of proceeding, *one of the French plenipotentiaries* began, by ſaying, that in the preamble of the treaty the title of King of France was uſed ; that this title they contended could no longer be inſiſted on, the abolition of it was in a manner eſſential to the full acknowledgment of the French republic, and that as it was merely titular as far as related to his Majeſty, but quite otherwiſe in the ſenſe in which it applied to them, he hoped it would not be conſidered as an important conceſſion.

I informed him, that on all former occaſions a ſeparate article had been agreed to, which appeared to me to anſwer every purpoſe they required, and which it was my intention, as the treaty advanced, to have propoſed, as proper to make part of this. The article (the firſt of the ſeparate ones in the treaty of 1783) was then read ; but they objected to it, as not fully meeting their views. It was to the title itſelf, as well as to any right which might be ſuppoſed to ariſe from it, that they objected. I could ſcarce allow myſelf to treat this mode of reaſoning ſeriouſly. I endeavoured to make them feel that it was cavilling for a mere word ; that it was creating difficulties where none exiſted ; and that if all the French monarchs in the courſe of three centuries had allowed this to ſtand in the preamble of all the treaties and tranſactions between the two countries, I could not conceive, after its having been uſed for ſo long a period without any claim or pretenſion being ſet forth in conſequence of it, how it could now affect either the dignity, ſecurity, or importance of the republic—that in fact ſuch titles have ever been conſidered as indefeaſable, and as memorials and records of former greatneſs, and not as pretenſions to preſent power—and I quoted the titles of the Kings of Sardinia and Naples, &c. as examples exactly in point. I argued however in vain. They treated it very gravely, and made ſo ſtrong a ſtand upon it, that I could not avoid taking it for reference, which I thought it better to do, than, feeling as I did at the moment, to puſh the converſation farther.

The ſecond inſulated point was a very material one indeed, and which, although it has been adverted to as a propoſal that might poſſibly be brought forward, I confeſs came upon me unexpectedly.—It was to aſk either a reſtitution of the ſhips taken and deſtroyed at Toulon, or an equivalent for them. They grounded this claim on the preliminary declaration made by Lord Hood on his taking poſſeſſion of Toulon ; and on the eighth article of the declaration of the committee of the ſections to him. They ſaid, peace they hoped was about to be re-eſtabliſhed ; that his Majeſty, in acknowledging the republic, admitted that a ſovereignty exiſted in the French government ; and of courſe that the ſhips, held only as a depoſit by England till this legal authority was admitted, ought now to be reſtored. I replied, that this claim was ſo perfectly unlooked for, that it was impoſſible for me to have been

provided for it in my inſtructions, and that I could therefore only convey my own private ſentiments on it, which were, that they could not have deviſed a ſtep more likely to defeat the great end of our miſſion. *One of the French plenipotentiaries* ſaid, that he ſincerely hoped not; that without a reſtitution of the ſhips an equivalent might be found to effect the purpoſe deſired, ſince their great object was, that ſomething ſhould appear to prove that this juſt demand had not been overlooked by them, and was not left unſatisfied by us. I told him fairly, I did not ſee where this equivalent was to be found, or how it could be appreciated; and that conſidering the great advantages France had already obtained by the war, and thoſe ſhe was likely to obtain from the act of condeſcenſion I had already intimated his Majeſty was diſpoſed to make in order to reſtore peace, I was much ſurpriſed and deeply concerned at what I heard. I truſted, therefore, that this very inadmiſſible propoſal would be withdrawn. They ſaid it was not in their power; and *one of them*, from a written paper before him, which he ſaid were his inſtructions, read to me words to the effect I have already ſtated.

Their third queſtion was as to any mortgage we might have upon the Low Countries, in conſequence of money lent to the Emperor by Great Britain.—They wiſhed to know if any ſuch exiſted, ſince, as they had taken the Low Countries charged with all their incumbrances, they were to declare that they ſhould not conſider themſelves bound to anſwer any mortgage given for money lent to the Emperor, for the purpoſe of carrying on war againſt them.

I told them, that without replying to this queſtion, ſuppoſing the caſe to exiſt, the exception they required ſhould have been ſtated in their treaty with the Emperor, and could not at all be mixed up in ours; that if they had taken the Low Countries as they ſtood charged with *all* their incumbrances, there could be no doubt what theſe words meant, and that if no exception was ſtated in the firſt inſtance, none could be made with a retro-active effect.

The French plenipotentiaries, however, were as tenacious on this point as on the other two; and as I found to every argument I uſed, that they conſtantly oppoſed their inſtructions, I had nothing to do but to deſire that they would give me a written paper ſtating their three claims, in order that I might immediately tranſmit it to your Lordſhip; and on this being promiſed, our conference broke up.

Between four and five P. M. yeſterday, I received the encloſed note (D), and I have loſt no time ſince it is in my poſſeſſion in preparing to ſend away a meſſenger, as, independent of the diſagreeable ſubjects brought forward in this laſt conference, and which it is material ſhould be communicated without delay, I am

 anxious

anxious his Majesty should be informed of what has passed in general up to this day, as it may perhaps furnish some ideas as to the possible event of the negotiation.

No. 13. A.

Projet delivered by Lord Malmesbury to the French Plenipotentiaries in their Conference, July 8th, 1797.

Project of a Treaty of Peace.

BE it known to all those whom it shall or may in any manner concern. The most serene and most potent Prince George the Third, by the grace of God King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Duke of Brunswick and Lunenburgh, Arch Treasurer and Elector of the Holy Roman empire, and the Executive Directory of the French republic, being equally desirous to put an end to the war, which has for some time past subsisted between the dominions of the two parties, have named and constituted for their plenipotentiaries, charged with the concluding and signing of the definitive treaty of peace; viz. the King of Great Britain, the Lord Baron of Malmesbury, a peer of the kingdom of Great Britain, knight of the most honourable order of the Bath, privy councillor to his Britannic Majesty; and the Executive Directory of the French republic,

who, after having exchanged their respective full powers, have agreed upon the following articles:

I. As soon as this treaty shall be signed and ratified, there shall be an universal and perpetual peace as well by sea as by land, and a sincere and constant friendship between the two contracting parties, and their dominions, and territories, and people, without exception of either places or persons; so that the high contracting parties shall give the greatest attention to the maintaining between themselves and their said dominions, territories, and people, this reciprocal friendship and intercourse, without permitting hereafter, on either part, any kind of hostilities to be committed either by sea or by land, for any cause, or under any pretence whatsoever. There shall be a general oblivion and amnesty of every thing which may have been done or committed by either party towards the other before or since the commencement of the war; and they shall carefully avoid for the future every thing which might prejudice the union happily re-established.

Immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty, orders shall be sent to the armies and squadrons of both parties to stop all hostilities; and for the execution of this article, sea passes shall be given on each side to the ships dispatched to carry the news of peace to the possessions of the two parties.

II. The treaties of peace of Nimeguen of 1678 and 1679, of Ryswick

Ryſwick of 1697, and of Utrecht of 1713; that of Baden of 1714; that of the triple alliance of the Hague of 1717; that of the quadruple alliance of London of 1718; the treaty of peace of Vienna of 1736; the definitive treaty of Aix la Chapelle of 1748; the definitive treaty of Paris of 1763; and that of Verſailles of 1783, ſerve as a baſis and foundation to the peace, and to the preſent treaty. And for this purpoſe they are all renewed and confirmed in the beſt form, ſo that they are to be exactly obſerved for the future in their full tenour, and religiouſly executed by both parties in all the points which ſhall not be derogated from by the preſent treaty of peace.

III. All the priſoners taken on either ſide, as well by land as by ſea, and the hoſtages carried away or given during the war, ſhall be reſtored, without ranſom, in ſix weeks at lateſt, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty. Each party reſpectively diſcharging the advances which ſhall have been made for the ſubſiſtence and maintenance of their priſoners in the country where they ſhall have been detained, according to the receipts, atteſted accounts, and other authentic vouchers, which ſhall be furniſhed on each ſide; and ſecurity ſhall be reciprocally given for the payment of the debts which the priſoners may have contracted in the countries where they may have been detained, until their entire releaſe.

IV. With reſpect to the rights of fiſhery on the coaſts of the iſland of Newfoundland, and of the iſlands adjacent, and in the Gulf of Saint Lawrence, the two parties ſhall return to the ſame ſituation in which they ſtood reſpectively, according to the treaties and engagements ſubſiſting at the period of the commencement of the war. And with this view, his Majeſty conſents to reſtore to France, in full right, the iſlands of Saint Pierre and Miquelon.

V. The ſame principle of the ſtate of poſſeſſion before the war, is adopted by mutual conſent, with reſpect to all other poſſeſſions and rights on both ſides, in every part of the world; ſave only the exceptions which are ſtipulated by the ſubſequent articles of this treaty. And, to this intent, all poſſeſſions or territories which have or may have been conquered by one of the parties from the other (and not ſpecially excepted in this treaty), ſhall be reſtored to the party to whom they belonged at the commencement of the preſent war.

VI. From this principle of mutual reſtitution, the two parties have agreed to except

which ſhall remain to his Britannic Majeſty in full ſovereignty.

VII. In all the caſes of reſtitution provided by the preſent treaty, the fortreſſes ſhall be reſtored in the ſame condition in which they now are, and no injury ſhall be done to any works that have been conſtructed ſince the conqueſt of them.

VIII. It is alſo agreed, that in every caſe of reſtitution or ceſſion provided by any of the articles of this treaty, the term of three years from the date of the notification of the treaty, in the reſpective territory or place reſtored or ceded, ſhall be allowed to perſons of whatever deſcription, reſiding or being in the ſaid territory or place, poſſeſſed of property therein under any title exiſting before the war, or which has ſince devolved to them by the laws then exiſting; during which term of three years they ſhall remain and reſide unmoleſted in the exerciſe of their religion, and in the enjoyment of their poſſeſſions and effects, upon the conditions and titles under which they ſo acquired the ſame, without being liable in any manner, or under any pretence, to be proſecuted or ſued for their paſt conduct, except as to the diſcharge of juſt debts to individuals; and that all thoſe who, within the time of   months after the notification of this treaty, ſhall declare to the government, then eſtabliſhed, their intention to withdraw themſelves, or their effects, and to remove to ſome other place, ſhall have and obtain within one month after ſuch declaration full liberty to depart and to remove their effects, or to ſell and diſpoſe of the ſame, whether moveable or immoveable, at any time within the ſaid period of three years, without any reſtraint or hindrance, except on account of debts at any time contracted, or of any criminal proſecution for acts done ſubſequent to the notification of this treaty.

IX. As it is neceſſary to appoint a certain period for the reſtitutions herein-before ſtipulated, it is agreed, that the ſame ſhall take place in Europe within (one month), in Africa and America within (three months), and in Aſia within (ſix months), after the ratification of the preſent treaty.

X. For preventing the revival of the lawſuits which have been ended in the territories to be reſtored by virtue of this treaty, it is agreed, that the judgments in private cauſes pronounced in the laſt reſort, and which have acquired the force of matters determined, ſhall be confirmed and executed according to their form and tenour.

XI. The deciſion of the prizes and ſeizures of ſhips and their cargoes taken at ſea or ſeized in the ports of either country, prior to the hoſtilities, ſhall be referred to the reſpective courts of juſtice; ſo that the legality of the ſaid prizes and ſeizures ſhall be decided according to the law of nations, and to treaties, in the courts of juſtice of the nation which ſhall have made the capture, or ordered the ſeizures. And in order to prevent all cauſes of complaint and diſpute which may ariſe on account of prizes which may be made at ſea after the ſigning of this treaty, it is reciprocally agreed that the veſſels and effects which may be taken in the Britiſh Channel and in the North Seas, after the ſpace of twelve days, to be computed from the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty, ſhall be

reſtored on each ſide: that the term ſhall be one month from the Britiſh Channel and the North Seas, as far as the Canary Iſlands, incluſively, whether in the ocean, or in the Mediterranean: two months from the ſaid Canary Iſlands as far as the equinoctial line or equator: three months from the equator to any part to the weſtward of the Cape of Good Hope, and the eaſtward of Cape Horn: and, laſtly, five months in all other parts of the world, without any exception or any more particular deſcription of time or place.

XII. The allies of the two parties, that is to ſay, her moſt Faithful Majeſty as ally of his Britannic Majeſty, and his Catholic Majeſty and the Batavian republic, as allies of the French republic, ſhall be invited by the two contracting parties to accede to this peace on the terms and conditions ſpecified in the three following articles; the execution of which the ſaid two contracting parties reciprocally guarantee to each other, being thereto reſpectively authorized by their above-mentioned allies: and the two contracting parties further agree, that if their allies reſpectively ſhall not have ſo acceded within the ſpace of two months after the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty, the party ſo refuſing to accede, ſhall not receive from its ally any aid or ſuccour of any nature during the further continuance of the war.

XIII. His Britannic Majeſty engages to conclude a definitive peace with his Catholic Majeſty on the footing of the ſtate of poſſeſſion before the war, with the exception of

which ſhall remain in full ſovereignty to his Britannic Majeſty.

XIV. His Britannic Majeſty in like manner engages to conclude a definitive peace with the Batavian republic on the ſame footing of the ſtate of poſſeſſion before the war, with the exception of which

ſhall remain to his Britannic Majeſty in full ſovereignty, and of which ſhall be ceded to his

Majeſty in exchange for

In conſideration of theſe reſtitutions, to be hereby made by his Britannic Majeſty, all property belonging to the Prince of Orange, in the month of December, 1794, and which has been ſeized and confiſcated ſince that period, ſhall be reſtored to him, or a full equivalent in money given him for the ſame. And the French republic further engages to procure for him, at the general peace, an adequate compenſation for the loſs of his offices and dignities in the United Provinces; and the perſons who have been impriſoned or baniſhed, or whoſe property has been ſequeſtered or confiſcated in the ſaid republic, on account of their attachment to the intereſts of the houſe of Orange, or to the former government of the United Provinces, ſhall be releaſed, and ſhall be at liberty to return to their country, and to reſide therein, and to enjoy their property there,

conforming

conforming themſelves to the laws and conſtitution there eſtabliſhed.

XV. The French republic engages to conclude a definitive peace with her moſt Faithful Majeſty on the ſame footing, of the ſtate of poſſeſſion before the war, and without any further demand or burdenſome condition being made on either ſide.

XVI. All the ſtipulations contained in this treaty, reſpecting the time and manner of making the reſtitutions therein mentioned, and all the privileges thereby reſerved to the inhabitants or proprietors in the iſlands or territories reſtored or ceded, ſhall apply in like manner to the reſtitutions to be made by virtue of any of the three laſt articles, viz. the XIIIth, XIVth, and XVth, except in thoſe inſtances where the ſame may be derogated from by the mutual conſent of the parties concerned.

XVII. All former treaties of peace between the reſpective parties, to whom the ſaid three articles relate, and which ſubſiſted and were in force at the commencement of hoſtilities between them reſpectively, ſhall be renewed, except in ſuch inſtances only where the ſame may be derogated from by mutual conſent; and the articles of this treaty for the reſtoration of priſoners, the ceſſation of hoſtilities, and the deciſion relative to prizes and ſeizures, ſhall equally apply to the reſpective parties to whom the ſaid three articles relate, and ſhall be held to be in full force between them, as ſoon as they ſhall reſpectively and in due form have acceded to this treaty.

XVIII. All ſequeſtrations impoſed by any of the parties named in this treaty, on the rights, properties, or debts, of individuals belonging to any other of the ſaid parties, ſhall be taken off, and the property of whatever kind ſhall be reſtored in the fulleſt manner to the lawful owner; or juſt compenſation be made for it: and all complaints of injury done to private property, contrary to the uſual practice and rules of war, and all claims of private rights or property which belonged to individuals at the periods of the commencement of hoſtilities reſpectively, between the ſaid parties, viz. Great Britain and Portugal on the one ſide, and France, Spain, and Holland, on the other; and which ought, according to the uſual practice and laws of nations, to revive at the period of peace, ſhall be received, heard, and decided, in the reſpective courts of juſtice of the different parties; and full juſtice therein ſhall be done by each of the ſaid parties to the ſubjects and people of the other, in the ſame manner as to their own ſubjects or people.

And if any complaint ſhould ariſe reſpecting the execution of this article, which complaints ſhall not be ſettled by mutual agreement between the reſpective governments within twelve months after the ſame ſhall have been preferred to them, the ſame ſhall be determined by ſworn commiſſioners to be appointed on each

ſide,

ſide, with power to call in an arbitrator of any indifferent nation; and the deciſion of the ſaid commiſſioners ſhall be binding, and without appeal.

XIX. His Britannic Majeſty and the French republic promiſe to obſerve ſincerely, and *bona fide*, all the articles contained and eſtabliſhed in the preſent treaty; and they will not ſuffer the ſame to be infringed, directly or indirectly, by their reſpective ſubjects; and the ſaid contracting parties guarantee to each other, generally and reciprocally, all the ſtipulations of the preſent treaty.

XX. The ſolemn ratifications of the preſent treaty, prepared in good and due form, ſhall be exchanged in
between the contracting parties, in the ſpace of a month, or ſooner if poſſible, to be computed from the day of the ſignature of the preſent treaty.

In witneſs whereof, &c. &c.

No. 14. B.

Note from Lord Malmeſbury to the French Plenipotentiaries.

THE miniſter plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majeſty has the honour of preſenting to the miniſters plenipotentiary of the French republic, in conſequence of the wiſh expreſſed by them in the conference of this morning, the following note;—which he requeſts them at the ſame time to conſider, not ſo much in the light of an official paper, as of a verbal and confidential communication, and as a proof of his readineſs to facilitate the progreſs of the negotiation, by giving them, on the very outſet, all the explanations in his power, on the projet of the treaty which he has delivered to them.

If, as the miniſters plenipotentiary of the French republic have aſſured him, it is contrary to their moſt poſitive inſtructions, to enter into any diſcuſſion relative to the ceſſion of thoſe poſſeſſions which belonged to France before the war, it is uſeleſs to dwell on the ſixth article: ſince the compenſations which his Britannic Majeſty might have demanded, by that article, in return for the reſtitutions which he is diſpoſed to make for the re eſtabliſhment of peace, muſt, in conſequence of this declaration, be ſought for in the ceſſions to be made by his Catholic Majeſty and the Batavian republic.

Lord Malmeſbury, therefore, propoſes to inſert in the thirteenth article, after the words *ſtatus ante bellum*, the following words: "with the exception of the iſland of Trinidad, which ſhall remain in full poſſeſſion to his Britannic Majeſty."

Lord Malmeſbury imagines that it is unneceſſary for him to repeat the reaſons which induce him to inſiſt upon the retaining

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of this conqueſt, unleſs compenſation ſhould be made for it by ſome other ceſſion, which ſhall balance the augmentation of power accruing to France from the acquiſition of the Spaniſh part of St. Domingo.

With regard to the fourteenth article, Lord Malmeſbury propoſes, that after the words *ſtatus ante bellum*, ſhould be added, " with the exception of the town, fort, and eſtabliſhment of the Cape of Good Hope, and of the poſſeſſions which belonged to the Dutch before the war in the iſland of Ceylon, and of the town and fort of Cochin, which ſhall be ceded to his Britannic Majeſty, in exchange for the town of Negapatnam and its dependencies."

Lord Malmeſbury repeats to the miniſters plenipotentiary of the French republic, the aſſurance of his readineſs to concur with them, in every thing which ſhall depend on him, to bring the negotiation to a happy iſſue; and requeſts of them, at the ſame time, to accept the aſſurances of his high conſideration.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

Liſle, July 8, 1797.

No. 15. C.

Note from the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmeſbury.

THE miniſters plenipotentiary of the French republic have received the note which the miniſter plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majeſty did them the honour of addreſſing to them yeſterday. They will give to it, as well as to the project of a treaty to which it relates, the moſt ſerious attention. In the mean time, though they are not yet enabled to communicate to Lord Malmeſbury the remarks to which theſe two papers appear to them liable, they think it their duty to propoſe to him a conference to-morrow, at one o'clock, if that hour is agreeable to him, in order to treat with him on diſtinct points, the diſcuſſion of which may be entered upon ſeparately, and which may be proceeded in without delay.

They requeſt Lord Malmeſbury to accept the aſſurances of their high conſideration.

(Signed) LE TOURNEUR.
PLEVILLE LE PELLEY.
HUGUES B. MARET.

Liſle, 21 *Meſſidor,*
5*th Year of the Republic.*
(July 9*th,* 1797.*)*

COLCHEN, Sec. Gen. of the Legation.

No.

No. 16. D.

Note from the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmesbury, dated Lisle.

THE ministers plenipotentiary of the French republic lose no time in complying with the wish expressed to them by the minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty, by transmitting to him a note on the three points which were the subject of their conference of this day.

1. They have positive orders to require the renunciation of the title of King of France borne by his Britannic Majesty.

Lord Malmesbury is requested to observe, that the question is not only of a renunciation of the rights which might be pretended to be derived from this title, but further and formally of the title itself. The establishment of the French republic, and the acknowledgment of this form of government by the King of England, will not allow of his retaining a title, which would imply the existence in France of an order of things which is at an end.

2. The ministers plenipotentiary of the republic are ordered to demand the restitution of the vessels taken or destroyed at Toulon.

Great Britain has publicly and formally declared, that these vessels were taken in trust for the King of France. This trust is sacred. It incontestably belongs to the republic, which exercises the rights and sovereignty that Great Britain attributed to Louis XVII. at the period of the capture of Toulon. His Britannic Majesty cannot, therefore, in acknowledging the French republic, deny its right to the restitution required, or refuse either to make the restitution, or to offer an equivalent for it.

3. The ministers plenipotentiary have orders to demand, and do demand, the renunciation, on the part of his Britannic Majesty, of the mortgage on Belgium.

That country was mortgaged for the loans made by the Emperor in England. It has become an integral part of the French republic, and cannot remain burdened with such a mortgage.

The ministers plenipotentiary of the French republic request Lord Malmesbury to accept the assurance of their high consideration.

(Signed) LE TOURNEUR.
PLEVILLE LE PELLEY.
HUGUES B. MARET.

Lisle, le 22 Messidor, 5th Year of the Republic. (July 10, 1797.)

COLCHEN, Sec. Gen. of the Legation.

No. 17.

Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Grenville to Lord Malmesbury, dated Downing Street, July 13, 1797.

WITH respect to the demands contained in the note transmitted to your Lordship by the French ministers, they have been naturally received here with great surprise. On the subject of the Netherlands as connected with the Austrian loans, it is conceived that any explanation between his Majesty and the French government is wholly unnecessary. The loans raised in England for the service of the Emperor of Germany, and guaranteed by act of parliament here, rest, as your Lordship will perceive, by the annexed copy of the convention on that subject, upon the security of all the revenues of all the hereditary dominions of his Imperial Majesty. They do not seem in any manner to come under the description contained in the sixth article of the preliminaries between Austria and France, respecting mortgages upon the soil of the Netherlands, on which ground alone France could have any pretence to interfere in the business. Nor is this subject one which appears to be in any manner a fit point of discussion between his Majesty and the republic; the King neither forms, nor has any intention of forming, any demand on the French government for the payment of any part either of the interest or capital of those loans. It is to the Emperor alone that his Majesty looks for the performance of his Imperial Majesty's engagements to him, and it is upon the Austrian government, and upon its revenues, that individuals concerned in those loans have claims of private right, and means of personal demand secured to them by the convention.

On the other two points I have nothing to add to the observations which your Lordship has already made upon them: and we can therefore only wait with impatience for the answer to the projet delivered by your Lordship, which will enable us to form a judgment on the intentions of the government with whom we are treating.

Right Honourable Lord Malmesbury.

No. 18.

Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Malmesbury to Lord Grenville, dated Lisle, 16th July, 1797.

IT was at the express invitation of the French plenipotentiaries that I met them on Thursday the 13th instant; *one of them* stated their motive for wishing to confer with me, not to be in consequence of any answer they had received from Paris on the sub-

ſubject of the projet, which he obſerved could not be expected ſo ſoon, but to reſume the diſcuſſion on the article which he had objected to on my firſt reading the projet, and on which they conceived it was poſſible and even expedient to argue before we entered on the more important branches of the negotiation. It was Article II. that he referred to. He objected to the renewal of the treaties therein mentioned, from various reaſons;—firſt, that many, and even moſt of them, were irrelevant to that we were now negotiating;—ſecondly, that they were in contradiction to the new order of things eſtabliſhed in France, as they ſeem to imply an acknowledgment that a portion of the regal authority is ſtill exiſting;—thirdly, that they might be ſuppoſed to apply to conventions and ſtipulations, in direct contradiction to their preſent form of government, and he quoted the convention of Pilnitz in particular. I was about to reply to him, and I truſt in a way that would have done away his apprehenſions on this point, when *another of them* interpoſed, by ſaying, that their ſincere and only deſire was, that the treaty we were now entering upon might be ſo framed, as to ſecure permanently the object for which it was intended; that no article likely to produce this end might be omitted, nor any doubtful one inſerted; but that the whole, as well with regard to the paſt as to the future, might be ſo clearly and diſtinctly expreſſed, that no room for cavil might be left. This he aſſured me, in the name of his colleagues, was all that was meant by their objection to renew ſo many treaties in which ſuch various intereſts were blended, and ſo many points diſcuſſed foreign to the preſent moment. Their renewing them in a lump, and without examining carefully to what we were pledged by them, might involve us in difficulties much better to be avoided. I replied, that I admitted moſt certainly all he ſaid, and that it was with this view, and on this principle ſolely, that the renewal of theſe treaties was propoſed by his Majeſty; and that if he recollected (as he undoubtedly did) the different wars which were terminated by theſe treaties, and the many important regulations ſtipulated by them, he would admit that the allowing them to remain in their full force was ſimply an acknowledgment of the tenure by which almoſt all the ſovereigns of Europe, and particularly the French republic, held their dominions up to this day. That theſe treaties were become the law of nations, and that infinite confuſion would reſult from their not being renewed.

He replied, that our object was evidently the ſame, that we only differed as to the manner. I thought, the renewing theſe treaties *in toto* would the beſt contribute to it; while they were inclined to think, that extracting from them every thing which immediately related to the intereſts of the two countries, and ſtating it in one article, was more likely to attain this deſirable object. *The French miniſter* again repeated, that their firſt wiſh was,

was, that the treaty we were now making ſhould be clear, diſtinct, rolid, and laſting, and ſuch a one as could not, at any future period, be broken through without a manifeſt violation of good faith. And I again repeated, that nothing could be ſo conſonant to my orders, or the intentions of my royal maſter.

One of the French plenipotentiaries was diſpoſed to dwell on his objections, which were, that theſe treaties were ſigned when France was a monarchy, and that any retroſpect to thoſe times implied a ſort of cenſure on their preſent form of government; but this was arguing on ſuch weak ground, and ſo incapable of being ſeriouſly maintained, that I, to avoid ſuperfluous contradiction, was very willing to let it paſs unnoticed. After a good deal of very conciliatory, and even amicable diſcuſſion, in which, however, neither party gave much way to the other, it was propoſed by them that we ſhould return home, to meet again as ſoon as was convenient after an attentive and deliberate peruſal of theſe treaties, in order to ſtate reſpectively our ideas on this ſubject. I obſerved, that although I was perfectly prepared to do it at the moment, and felt almoſt bold enough to affirm, that no meaſure could be deviſed which would ſo completely meet our intentions as an unreſerved renewal of the treaties they heſitated about, yet I was very willing to acquieſce in their propoſal, with this ſimple obſervation, that if any delay aroſe from it, ſuch delay was imputable to them and not to me. My words were—" Je ne me rends pas reſponſable des longueurs dans leſquelles cette diſcuſſion pourrait nous entrainer." *The French miniſter's* anſwer was—" Si des longueurs ſervent à déterminer des objets qui pourraient donner lieu à des querelles à l'avenir, ce ſera du tems bien employé." It was not my wiſh to conteſt this aſſertion, and our conference ended with it.

No. 19.

Extract of a Diſpatch from Lord Malmeſbury to Lord Grenville, dated Liſle, July 16, 1797.

My Lord,

YESTERDAY, at the moment I was preparing to attend the conference, in which we were to enter into fuller diſcuſſions on the litigated ſubject of the renewal of the treaties mentioned in the ſecond article of the projet, I received from the French legation the encloſed paper (A). In about an hour I returned the encloſed anſwer (B), to which I received the encloſed reply (C); and I am this moment come from the conference which has taken place in conſequence of it.

I began,

I began, by ſaying, that I had ſolicited this interview from the ſame motive which would actuate every part of my conduct; that I wiſhed to make my reports not only correct but conciliatory as far as depended on me, and I now was come in order, if poſſible, to obtain from them ſuch comments and explanations on the note they ſent to me yeſterday, as would enable me, when I tranſmitted it to my court, to ſecure the negotiation from being interrupted, perhaps abruptly terminated, by the peruſal of it. If I underſtood it right, it meant that the Directory requires as *a ſine qua non preliminary*, that every thing the King has conquered from all and each of his enemies ſhould be reſtored, and that till this reſtoration was conſented to the negotiation was not even to begin. I ſaid, if I was correct in this ſtatement, and the plain ſenſe of the declaration would bear no other interpretation, I muſt add, that it would not only moſt certainly prevent the treaty from beginning, but would leave no room for treating at all, ſince it deprived his Majeſty of every means of negotiation; for I could not ſuppoſe that it was in their thoughts to intimate that the principle of the treaty, as far as it related to his Majeſty, was to be one of all ceſſion and no compenſation; and yet that was preciſely the poſition in which his Majeſty was placed by their note.

One of the French plenipotentiaries, who had let me proceed rather reluctantly, here ſtopt me, and ſaid, that he and his colleagues were exceedingly happy that I had expreſſed a wiſh to ſee them before I diſpatched my meſſenger; that they wiſhed to aſſure me, that they had thought it dealing fairly and honourably to ſtate what they had received from the Directory in the very words in which it came to them; that they ſhould be ſorry if the declaration they had been directed to make me, ſhould be of a nature to interrupt, much leſs to break off, the negotiation; that it was the ſincere wiſh of the Directory that the negotiation ſhould proceed and end ſucceſsfully; and that, far from ſhutting the door to further diſcuſſions, they were perfectly ready to hear any propoſals we had to make, and only wiſhed that theſe propoſals ſhould be, if poſſible, ſuch as were compatible with their moſt ſacred engagements. I repeated what I had ſaid, that no door was left open if his Majeſty was *in limine* to reſtore every thing; and that a peace on theſe conditions would not be heard of by the country. I obſerved, that immediately on leaving them, I ſhould diſpatch a meſſenger; but what that meſſenger carried would moſt materially affect the progreſs and iſſue of the negotiation; I therefore deſired to know whether, in conſequence of what I had heard from them, I might conſider the ſtrict and literal meaning of the declaration not to be a decided negative (which it certainly ſeemed to imply) on all compenſation what-

ever to be made to his Majefty, but that propofals tending to this effect would ftill be liftened to. *One of them* anfwered, "Certainly, and if they fhould be found fuch as it will be impoffible for us to admit, we will on our fide bring forward others for your court to deliberate on." Under this affurance, which at leaft, to a certain degree, qualifies the declaration of yefterday, I broke up the conference.

No. 20. A.

Note from the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmefbury.

THE minifters plenipotentiary of the French republic have tranfmitted to their government the project of the treaty, and the note relating thereto, which were delivered to them the 20th of the prefent month, by the minifter plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majefty.

They have juft received frefh communications and orders, which require that they fhould make the following declaration to Lord Malmefbury.

There exift in the public and fecret treaties, by which the French republic is bound to its allies, Spain, and the Batavian republic, articles by which the three powers refpectively guarantee the territories poffeffed by each of them before the war.

The French government, unable to detach itfelf from the engagements which it has contracted by thefe treaties, eftablifhes, as an indifpenfable preliminary of the negotiation for the peace with England, the confent of his Britannic Majefty to the reftitution of all the poffeffions which he occupies, not only from the French republic, but further and formally of thofe of Spain and the Batavian republic.

In confequence, the underfigned minifters plenipotentiary requeft Lord Malmefbury to explain himfelf with regard to this reftitution, and to confent to it, if he is fufficiently authorized to do fo; if not, and in the contrary cafe, to fend a meffenger to his court, in order to procure the neceffary powers.

The object of the conference which was to have taken place today being neceffarily delayed by the purport of the above-mentioned declaration, the minifters plenipotentiary of the republic have to exprefs to Lord Malmefbury the regret that they feel in lofing this opportunity of converfing together, which they had themfelves folicited: but in cafe Lord Malmefbury fhould have any communication to make to them, they beg him to believe

that

that they will always be happy to receive him, and to liſten to him, whenever he may think it proper.

They requeſt him, at the ſame time, to accept anew the aſſurances of their high conſideration.

(Signed) Le Tourneur.
Pleville le Pelley.
Hugues B. Maret.

Liſle, 27 Meſſidor, 5th Year of the Republic. (July 15, 1797.)

Colchen, Sec. Gen. of the Legation.

No. 21. B.

Note from Lord Malmeſbury to the French Plenipotentiaries.

THE miniſter plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majeſty has given the moſt ſerious attention to the note dated this morning, which he has received from the miniſters plenipotentiary of the French republic.

He has no heſitation in declaring to them, that his inſtructions by no means authorize him to admit, as a preliminary principle, that which their declaration ſeems intended to eſtabliſh: nevertheleſs, being perſuaded that it is his firſt duty not to give up the hopes of conciliation until he ſhall have exhauſted every means of obtaining it, and being anxious to avoid, in the report which he ſhall have to make to his court, the poſſibility of miſunderſtanding on a ſubject of ſuch importance, he propoſes to them a conference for to-morrow, at the hour moſt convenient to them; after which it is his intention to diſpatch a meſſenger to his court.

He requeſts the miniſters plenipotentiary of the French republic to accept the aſſurance of his high conſideration.

(Signed) Malmesbury.

Liſle, 15th July, 1797.

No. 22. C.

Note from the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmeſbury.

THE miniſters plenipotentiary of the French republic loſe no time in acceding to the deſire expreſſed by the miniſter plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majeſty, of conferring with them on the ſubject of the note which they addreſſed to him this day.

They have in conſequence the honour of propoſing to him to meet to-morrow morning at eleven o'clock, at the uſual place of conference.

They

They requeſt him to accept the aſſurances of their high conſideration.

(Signed) LE TOURNEUR.
PLEVILLE LE PELLEY.
HUGUES B. MARET.

Liſle, the 27th Meſſidor, fifth Year of the Republic, one and indiviſible.
(July 15, 1797.)

COLCHEN, Sec. Gen. of the Legation.

No. 23.

Copy of a Diſpatch from Lord Grenville to Lord Malmeſbury, dated Downing Street, July 20, 1797.

My Lord,

YOUR Lordſhip's diſpatches by the meſſenger Dreſſins, were received here on the 17th inſtant, at night, and I loſt no time in receiving his Majeſty's commands on the very important ſubject of your letter, No. 9.

I am much concerned to be under the neceſſity of remarking, that the claim brought forward in the note tranſmitted to your Lordſhip by the French plenipotentiaries, is in itſelf ſo extravagant, and ſo little to be reconciled either with the former profeſſions of thoſe miniſters, or with their conduct in the previous ſtages of the negotiation, that it affords the ſtrongeſt preſumption of a determination to preclude all means of accommodation. If ſuch is really the determination of the Directory, nothing can remain for this country, but to perſevere in oppoſing, with an energy and ſpirit proportioned to the exigency, a ſyſtem which muſt tend to perpetuate a ſtate of war and civil tumult in every part of Europe.

The natural ſtep upon the preſent occaſion would therefore have been to direct your Lordſhip to terminate at once a negotiation, which, on the footing now propoſed by the enemy, affords neither the hope nor the means of any favourable concluſion. Nothing being left for treaty, where, as a preliminary ſtep, one party is required to concede every thing, and all compenſation from the other is abſolutely and at once precluded. His Majeſty's ſervants have, however, obſerved, that in the concluſion of your Lordſhip's conference with the French plenipotentiaries on the ſubject of the note in queſtion, the preſident of that miſſion informed your Lordſhip, that it was not intended to reſiſt all compenſation for the immenſe extent of reſtitution demanded from his Majeſty, and for the other obvious circumſtances of diſadvantage

advantage to this country in the ſituation of Europe, as reſulting from the war; and even added, that he and his colleagues would eventually bring forward propoſals on this head for the delibera-tion of the King's government. It appeared poſſible that ſome advantage might perhaps ariſe to the great object of peace, from grounding on this declaration a further proceeding, ſuch as might afford to the Directory (if they are ſo diſpoſed) the means of re-placing the negotiation on a more practicable footing. With the view therefore of leaving nothing untried which can contribute to reſtore peace on any ſuitable terms, his Majeſty has been pleaſed to direct that your Lordſhip ſhould for that purpoſe aſk another conference with the French plenipotentiaries. In this conference your Lordſhip will remark in ſuch terms as the occaſion muſt naturally ſuggeſt to you upon the indefenſible ſpirit and tendency of the demand now made by France. You will obſerve that France, treating in conjunction with her allies, and in their name, cannot with any pretence of juſtice and fairneſs, oppoſe her treaties with them as an obſtacle in the way of any reaſonable propoſal of peace in which they are to be included. In a ſeparate negotiation, to which they were not parties, ſuch a plea might, perhaps, have been urged; but in that caſe France would have been bound to offer, from her own means, that compenſation which ſhe did not think herſelf at liberty to engage to obtain from her allies. And ſuch was, in fact, as your Lordſhip muſt re-member, the principle on which his Majeſty offered to treat laſt year, when he was really bound, by engagements to Auſtria, ſimilar to thoſe which are now alleged by France. But it never can be allowed that France, Spain, and Holland, nego-tiating jointly for a peace with Great Britain, can ſet up, as a bar to our juſt demands, the treaties between themſelves, from which they are at once able to releaſe each other whenever they think fit.

You will further remark, that even if, contrary to all reaſon, ſuch a principle could for a moment have been admitted on our part, ſtill even that principle, inadmiſſible as it is, could only apply to public treaties, known to thoſe who agreed to be govern-ed by them, and not to ſecret articles, unknown even to the French plenipotentiaries, or concealed by one of them from the knowledge of the others.

You will add in explicit, though not offenſive terms, that the whole of this pretence now ſet up by France is inconteſtably fri-volous and illuſory; being grounded on a ſuppoſition of a ſtate of things directly contrary to that which is known really to exiſt. It being perfectly notorious that both Spain and Holland, ſo far from wiſhing to continue the war, were compelled by France to engage in it, greatly againſt their own wiſhes; and to undertake, without the means of ſupporting it, a conteſt in which they had

nothing to gain, and every thing to lose. It never therefore can be allowed to be a question of any possible doubt, but that the Directory, if they really wish it, must already have obtained, or could at any moment obtain, the consent of those powers to such terms of peace as have been proposed by his Majesty. If, however, France, from any motive of interest or engagement, is in truth desirous to procure for them the restitution of possessions which they were unable to defend, and have no means to reconquer, the project delivered by your Lordship afforded an opening for this; those articles having been so drawn as to leave it to France to provide a compensation to his Majesty, either out of her own colonies, or out of those of her allies, respectively conquered by his Majesty's arms. The choice between these alternatives may be left to the Directory; but to refuse both is, in other words, to refuse all compensation. This is nevertheless expressly declared not to be the intention of those with whom you treat. It is therefore necessary that your Lordship should demand from them a statement of the proposals which, as they informed you, they have to make, in order to do away this apparent contradiction, which the King's servants are wholly unable to reconcile by any suggestion of theirs, even if it were fitting and reasonable for them to bring forward any new proposals immediately after the detailed project which was delivered on the part of this country at the outset of the negotiation.

Since that project is not acceded to, we have evidently, and on every ground, a right to expect a counter project, equally full and explicit on the part of the enemy. You will therefore state to the French ministers distinctly, that the only hope of bringing this business to a favourable conclusion, is by their stating at once plainly, and without reserve, the whole of what they have to ask, instead of bringing forward separate points one after the other, not only contrary to the avowed principle of the negotiation proposed by themselves, but, as it appears, even contrary to the expectation of the ministers themselves who are employed on the part of France. There can be no pretence for refusing a compliance with this demand, if the plenipotentiaries of France are disposed to forward the object of peace: and the obtaining such a statement from them is, as I have before stated to your Lordship, a point of so much importance, in any course which this negotiation may take, that it is the King's pleasure that your Lordship should use every possible endeavour to prevent their eluding so just a demand.

After what has passed it is, I fear, very doubtful whether such a counter project would be framed on principles such as could be admitted here; but it would at all events place the business on its real issue, and bring distinctly into question the several points on

which the conclusion of peace, or the prolongation of war, will really depend.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRENVILLE.

Right Hon. Lord Malmesbury.

No. 24.

Copy of a Dispatch from Lord Grenville to Lord Malmesbury, dated Downing Street, July 20, 1797.

My Lord,

THERE are two separate points on which it is necessary for me to say a few words to your Lordship, in addition to the instructions in my other dispatch, on the general subject of the negotiation.

The first relates to the assertion of one of the French ministers, that the Portugueze ships and troops were at Toulon. The fact is very immaterial as to any conclusion that could be drawn from it, to affect the situation or just claims of the court of Lisbon; because your Lordship well knows, that it is a principle universally recognised in the public law of Europe, that when one of the parties in a defensive alliance furnishes to his ally the stipulated succours, those succours remain entirely at the disposal of the requiring party to be employed wherever he shall judge proper, subject only to the limitations of the treaty which before existed; and if the amount of those succours is not increased beyond that engaged for, nor the means of using them extended by new facilities, the party furnishing the stipulated assistance is not understood to violate the laws of neutrality.

But the fact, in this case, would not bear out the assertion, even if the argument to be drawn from it were more conclusive. The troops of her Most Faithful Majesty having been, as I apprehend, no otherwise employed than in the two campaigns carried on by land, upon the southern part of the frontiers of France and Spain.

The other point relates to what was said to your Lordship about the treaty of Pilnitz. It would certainly not require much argument to prove that the renewal of several treaties enumerated by name and date, and the latest of which was concluded in 1783, does not imply a renewal of another treaty supposed to be concluded in 1791. But what is more material to the present case is, that your Lordship should take this opportunity to explain, in the most distinct and unequivocal terms, that if any secret treaty was in fact concluded at the interview at Pilnitz, between the late Emperor and the King of Prussia (which is, to say the least,

very doubtful in point of fact), this at least is certain, that his Majesty was no party to such treaty; and not only was not then included in it, but has never since adhered to it, nor even been apprised of its contents. The public declaration which was made at that interview, shows on the face of it that his Majesty was no party to it; and it is, indeed, notorious that it applied to circumstances which were done away long before the war broke out between Austria and France, and that the subsequent negotiations for the maintenance of peace between those powers turned on points wholly distinct from those supposed to have been referred to in the pretended treaty of Pilnitz.

This explanation, however little connected with the present negotiation, seems to be called for by the allusion made to you upon the subject; and, indeed, on a point on which so much misrepresentation has prevailed, it is useful not to omit the opportunity of stating the facts as they really are.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.

Right Honourable Lord Malmesbury.

No. 25.

Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Malmesbury to Lord Grenville, dated Lisle, 25th July, 1797.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge your Lordship's dispatches, No. 19 and 20, of the 20th inst. which were delivered to me on Saturday the 22d inst. by the messenger Major.

It was impossible that the claim brought forward in the note enclosed in my No. 9, could have produced on your Lordship's mind any impression different from that which you describe, and I am happy to find that the conduct I observed, when it was first delivered to me, was such as put it in my power to execute with great consistency the spirited instructions your Lordship now sends me.

Immediately on the arrival of the messenger, I proposed an interview with the French plenipotentiaries, and we met on Sunday the 23d, at one P. M.

I could not obey his Majesty's orders in a manner more likely to command attention, and to impress those who heard me with a just sense of the mixture of firmness and moderation with which his Majesty was pleased to conduct this important negotiation, than by employing not only the substance, but, as far as was practicable in conversation, the very words of your Lordship's dispatch, No. 19; and if I should attempt to relate minutely what I

myself

myſelf ſaid in this conference, it would in fact be little more than a repetition of them.

I began by obſerving, that I was certain the French plenipotentiaries muſt be fully prepared for what I now had it in command to ſay: I reminded them that I had taken upon me to affirm when we were laſt aſſembled, and immediately before I diſpatched my meſſenger, that the requiring ſuch a preliminary as that propoſed in the note, was putting an end at once to all negotiation, and that I was ſure peace on ſuch terms would not be heard of; that the orders I was then about to communicate to them would prove that I had not made this aſſertion lightly, or in conſequence of any haſty opinion of my own, at the ſame time that it would alſo appear that my royal maſter was as anxiouſly and as ſincerely inclined to liſten to all reaſonable and admiſſible conditions, as he was determined to repel and reject all ſuch as were of an oppoſite deſcription. I then, my Lord, took up my arguments on the preciſe grounds ſet forth in your Lordſhip's No. 19. I neither omitted any thing, nor inſerted any thing of my own, which could at all alter its ſpirit; and I only varied from the letter in as much as was neceſſary to make it applicable to a conference.

My firſt object was to ſtate, in as forcible a way as poſſible, the utter inadmiſſibility of the pretenſion ſet forth in the note, the frivolous and illuſory reaſons alleged for bringing it forward; and I obſerved that, if it was perſevered in, it muſt lead to this neceſſary concluſion, that there did exiſt when it was framed an intention on the part of the Directory to break off the negotiation in the outſet. My ſecond object in point of reaſoning, though a very primary one in point of importance, was either to prevent the negotiation breaking off at all, or, if this was not to be prevented, to endeavour to be ſo clear and explicit in my language, and to draw the line ſo diſtinctly between ſuch ſacrifices as his Majeſty might be inclined to make in order to reſtore ſo great a bleſſing as peace, and thoſe to which the dignity of his crown and intereſt of his ſubjects would never allow him to attend, as to make it impoſſible that by any future cavil or ſubterfuge the interruption of the treaty, if unfortunately it ſhould be interrupted, could be imputed to any other cauſe than the exorbitant demands of the French government; and the better to inſure this purpoſe, I explained to them that his Majeſty having already in a detailed projet ſtated freely and fully his conditions, and theſe conditions having been at once rejected by a ſweeping claim on the part of the French government, it was not fitting or reaſonable, neither could it be expected that any new propoſals ſhould originate with his Majeſty: and that on every ground the King had a right to expect a contre-projet from them, ſtating at once plainly and without reſerve the whole of what they had to aſk, inſtead of

bringing

bringing forward ſeparate points, one after another, directly contrary to the principle on which we had agreed to begin the negotiation, and which, from their being inſulated, could only tend to protract and impede its progreſs.

On the firſt point, on the inadmiſſibility of the preliminary conditions as propoſed by the French government, *one of the French plenipotentiaries* ſaid, it was impoſſible for them to do more than to take it for reference, that the inſtructions they had received when the Directory ſent them the note, were preciſe and poſitive, and that they had received none ſince. He therefore had on that point ſimply to requeſt of me, that I would ſtate in writing the ſeveral grounds on which his Majeſty rejected this propoſition, in order that the report tranſmitted by them to the Directory might be correct; and he aſſured me, that if I did not think it proper to put in writing all the arguments I had uſed to them in the conference, they would have no ſcruple of employing thoſe I omitted in ſuch a way as was the beſt calculated to give them weight, and, to uſe *the French miniſter*'s own expreſſion, to place the negotiation once more on its legs.

In regard to the ſecond point, he had no heſitation in agreeing with me, that the beſt method, and indeed the only one, which could accelerate the whole of the buſineſs, was for them to give in a contre-projet; neither did he attempt to diſprove our perfect right to expect one from them before we made any new propoſals. But he ſaid, that it was not neceſſary for him to obſerve, that as long as they were bound by their inſtructions not to give way on the propoſition I had now ſo decidedly rejected, that it was impoſſible for them to move a ſtep without new orders from the Directory; that they would aſk for theſe orders immediately, and loſe no time in acquainting me when they were received.

I obſerved, that in our laſt conference he had intimated to me they were empowered to come to ſome explanation with me on the ſubject of compenſation to be made to his Majeſty for the great ceſſions he was diſpoſed to make; that, at the time, I conceived theſe explanations were of a nature to qualify the wide claim ſtated in the note, and that if I had abſtained from preſſing him further at the moment, it was from perceiving a reluctance on their part to bring them forward: that, however, if they really had ſuch propoſals to make me, and if they were of a nature to meet in ſubſtance and effect the baſis laid down in the projet I had given, I ſhould be well diſpoſed to liſten to them.

One of the French miniſters, after ſome heſitation and a ſort of ſilent reference to one of his colleagues, ſaid, he thought as matters now ſtood, it would be much better to wait their anſwer from Paris; that it was a very important period, a criſis in the negotiation, the reſult of which probably would be concluſive as to its fate, and that it ſeemed to be of more conſequence to make

4 this

this result as conformable to what he hoped I was convinced were as much their wishes as mine, than to waste our time in discussions which were useless, not to say more, till this was ascertained.

I confined myself in my reply to saying, I had no objection whatever to giving to the French plenipotentiaries a paper, stating the strong motives on which his Majesty rejected the proposition made in their note of the 15th; and that as I, on my part, had considered it a duty to make my reports as conciliatory as was consistent with truth and correctness, so I heard with great pleasure the assurances he gave me of their intending to observe the same line of conduct.

That as we seemed perfectly agreed as to the propriety of their producing a contre-projet, I had nothing to say on that point, except to express my most sincere wish that it would soon appear, and when it did appear, be such a one as would lead to a speedy and satisfactory conclusion of the negotiation.

Right Honourable Lord Grenville.

No. 26.

Note from Lord Malmesbury to the French Plenipotentiaries.

THE minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty has transmitted to his court the note which was delivered to him the 15th of this month, by the ministers plenipotentiary of the French republic; and having received the orders of the King his master, on this subject, he hastens to repeat to them, in writing, conformably to the desire which they have expressed to him, the following reflections, which he had already stated to them verbally, in consequence of his most positive instructions.

He observes, in the first place, that to require "as an indispensable preliminary of negotiation for peace with England, the consent of his Britannic Majesty to the formal restitution of all the possessions which he occupies, as well those of the French republic, as further and formally those of Spain and the Batavian republic," is to wish to establish a previous condition, which excludes all reciprocity, refuses to the King all compensation, and leaves no object of ulterior negotiation.

That the French republic, formally authorized by its allies to negotiate the articles of peace in their name, cannot fairly set up its partial treaties with them, in opposition, to reasonable proposals of peace, since it is universally understood, that the contracting parties always preserve the power to modify, by mutual consent, the conditions by which they may be engaged to each other, whenever their common interests may require it: consequently, the proposition made to the King of, a general and gratuitous

tuitous restitution as an indispensable preliminary, would necessarily impute to his Catholic Majesty, and to the Batavian republic, dispositions far less pacific than those which animate the French republic.

That moreover, in consequence of what passed in the first conferences, Lord Malmesbury has always thought himself entitled to expect that the King his master would find a compensation for the sacrifices he was ready to make for peace, by retaining a part of his conquests; and he was the less able to foresee any obstacle, on account of the secret articles of the treaties which bind the French republic, as the principle of compensation was acknowledged by a formal and positive declaration, made in the name of the Executive Directory, and communicated in an official note, dated the 27th of November, 1796; a declaration posterior to the completion of those treaties.

It was, therefore, in order to remove, as much as possible, every difficulty that, in the project of a treaty, which Lord Malmesbury has delivered to the ministers plenipotentiary of the French republic, the alternative was left to France to settle this compensation on its own possessions, or on those of its allies: but the absolute refusal of this alternative appears to do away the only possible means of conciliating every interest, and of arriving at an honourable, just, and permanent peace.

Lord Malmesbury, persuaded that such cannot be the intention of the French government, hopes, that in consequence of the reasons herein stated, a condition will not be insisted upon, to which his Britannic Majesty can by no means consent.

He again requests the ministers plenipotentiary of the French republic to accept the assurances of his high consideration.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

Lisle, 24th July, 1797.

No. 27.

Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Malmesbury to Lord Grenville, dated Lisle, Sunday, August 6th, 1797.

My Lord,

I FULLY expected, when I received the enclosed note on Friday, that the conference proposed was to acquaint me with the instructions the French plenipotentiaries had received from the Directory, on the note I had given in near a fortnight ago, as an answer to that in which the restitution of the whole of his Majesty's conquests from each of his enemies is required as an indispensable preliminary to all negotiation.

I was therefore surprised and disappointed, when I had taken my

my place at the conference, to hear from the French plenipotentiaries that the letters they had received that morning from Paris did not bring any ſpecific reply to my laſt note, but only went to inform them that the Directory had taken the ſubject into their moſt ſerious conſideration, and would acquaint them as ſoon as poſſible with the reſult.

I could not avoid expreſſing my concern and ſurpriſe that there exiſted any heſitation whatever in the mind of the Directory on a point, which, although a very important, was certainly a very ſimple one:—that to allow it to remain in doubt whether his Majeſty was to have any compenſation or not, was, in other words, to leave it in doubt whether the Directory ſincerely meant peace or not:—and that, although I was very far from wiſhing for any improper haſte, or not to move in a matter of ſuch magnitude with becoming prudence and deliberation, yet I could not forbear lamenting that more than a month had now elapſed without our having advanced a ſingle ſtep, notwithſtanding his Majeſty had, in the very outſet of the negotiation, manifeſted a moderation and forbearance unprecedented under ſimilar circumſtances:—that, anxious as I was not to prejudice it by any repreſentations of mine, I muſt ſay, this delay placed me in a very awkward poſition, as I really did not perceive how I could account for it in a way at all ſatisfactory, at the ſame time that it was quite impoſſible for me to ſuffer a longer ſpace of time to paſs over without writing to my court.

One of the French plenipotentiaries expreſſed his earneſt wiſh that I would write immediately; he was confident this delay would be ſeen in its true light; and added, " Si nous n'avançons pas à pas de géant, j'eſpere que nous marchons d'un pas ſur."—And another of them repeated this phraſe.

I expreſſed my ſincere hope this might be the caſe, but it would have been much better proved by the communication of the counter-project they had in a manner pledged themſelves to procure, than by any vague and indeterminate aſſurances of what might poſſibly be the reſult of the preſent ſuſpenſion of all buſineſs. They obſerved to me, that the counter-project would of courſe be (virtually) contained in their next inſtructions, and that their only motive for wiſhing to ſee me was, to convince me that this delay had neither originated with them, nor been occaſioned at Paris by any want of attention to this important buſineſs, or from any cauſe not immediately and cloſely connected with it.

I deſired to know from them when they thought it probable they ſhould receive poſitive and explicit inſtructions, whether in three, four, or five days?—They ſaid, it would be probably eight or ten. And *one of them* obſerved, that as our not meeting more frequently gave riſe to many idle rumours and falſe reports, he would propoſe to me, if I had no objection, to meet every other

 day

day at two o'clock: that it was very poſſible, that in our next two or three meetings we might have nothing material to ſay, but that we ſhould get better acquainted with each other, and in our converſations mutually ſuggeſt ideas which might be of uſe.—I readily conſented to this.

I had a conference again this morning. As I was very deſirous of being enabled to tranſmit to your Lordſhip ſome more ſatiſfactory account as to the motives of this delay, I again preſſed the French plenipotentiaries on this point. They each of them repeated what they had ſaid before, and on my endeavouring to make them feel how impoſſible it was that his Majeſty ſhould not be hurt at this demur on ſo very ſimple a point, *one of them* ſaid, You ought to augur favourably from it; your note was a refuſal to agree to what was ſtated by the Directory in their inſtructions to us as a *ſine qua non*:—if the Directory were determined to perſiſt in this *ſine qua non*, they would have ſaid ſo at once—"Je vous aſſure qu'il nous auroit promptement renvoyé le courier," were his words:—the time they take to deliberate indicates beyond a doubt that they are looking for ſome temperament, and it ſcarce can be doubted that one will be found.—I ſaid I was well pleaſed to hear him ſay this; but that ſtill he muſt be aware, that it would not be an eaſy taſk for me to make my diſpatches to-day either intereſting or ſatisfactory.

Another of the French miniſters ſaid, that he really believed that this would be the only great impediment we ſhould have to encounter, that every thing would go on quickly and ſmoothly, and that I muſt admit the preſent to be a very important and difficult point in the negotiation. I agreed with him entirely as to its importance, but could not acquieſce as to its difficulty.

I am very ſorry, my Lord, that in ſuch a moment, and after waiting ſo long, I ſhould not be able to ſend you more explicit and deciſive aſſurances; but it is not in my power to compel the French negotiators to move on faſter. All I can do is, by my conduct and language to take care that no part whatever of the imputation of delay ſhould attach to me. I have, at every conference I have held, always declared my readineſs to proceed, and I ſhall not fail to repeat this every time we meet.

Right Honourable Lord Grenville, &c. &c. &c.

No. 28.

Note from the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmeſbury.

THE miniſters plenipotentiary of the French republic will be happy to have an opportunity of converſing for a few minutes with Lord Malmeſbury; and they have in conſequence the honour of propoſing to him to meet them at two o'clock to day, or at any

other

other hour which may be more convenient to him, and which he will have the goodneſs to appoint.

They renew, with pleaſure, to Lord Malmeſbury the aſſurances of their high conſideration.

(Signed) LE TOURNEUR.
HUGUES B. MARET.

Liſle, 17 Thermidor, 5th Year of the Republic. (Auguſt 4, 1797.)

COLCHEN, Sec. Gen. of the Legation of the Republic. *(Aug. 4, 1797.)*

No. 29.

Extract of a Diſpatch from Lord Malmeſbury to Lord Grenville, dated Liſle, Auguſt 14th, 1797.

My Lord,

IN conſequence of the reſolution we had come to, to meet on the days of the arrival of the poſt from Paris, our conferences for this laſt week have taken place regularly every other morning, except on Thurſday the 10th of Auguſt, which being the anniverſary of one of their national feſtivals, the French legation could not attend.

I have in mine, No. 17, given your Lordſhip an account of every thing which paſſed in theſe conferences, up to that of the 6th. On the 8th nothing was ſaid at all worth tranſmitting, except an intimation flung out by *one of the French plenipotentiaries*, that it would be neceſſary to take into conſideration the rights of neutral nations on this occaſion. But as he ſpoke very vaguely, and in general terms, I did not chooſe to preſs him for an explanation, as I conſider it more judicious to avoid diſcuſſions on ſeparate and collateral points, and not to enter into negotiation till the whole can be brought under deliberation at once.

What paſſed on the 12th was rather more intereſting. The return of Mr. Weſley afforded me a very natural opportunity of expreſſing the impatience with which an anſwer to my laſt note was expected by my court; that three weeks had now elapſed ſince its tranſmiſſion, and that although I by no means wiſhed to inſinuate that due attention had not been paid to ſo very important a ſubject as that on which we were treating, yet I could not but greatly lament, that day after day ſhould be allowed to paſs away without our proceeding at all in the great buſineſs for which we were met. *One of the French miniſters* ſaid, that it was impoſſible I could lament this delay more than they did; that they had already declared to me, that it was occaſioned by a wiſh not to create but to remove difficulties; and they could aſſure me poſitively, that the French government had no other object in view,

and that I ſhould find, when once we began fairly to negotiate, we ſhould proceed very rapidly.

I replied, it was indeed very material to make good the time we had loſt. *The French miniſter* anſwered, You would not call it time loſt if you knew how it was employed. On my expreſſing, by my manner, a wiſh to be informed, he went on, by ſaying, We will not ſcruple to tell you, though we feel we ought not yet to do it officially, that we are conſulting with our allies; that we have communicated to them all that has paſſed here; we have ſtated that, unleſs they mean to continue the war, they muſt releaſe us from our engagements, and enable us, to a certain degree, to meet your propoſals.

The conference of to-day is this moment over. *One of the French plenipotentiaries* informed me, that he had received this morning a letter from the preſident of the Directory, aſſuring him that in four or five days they would receive their final inſtructions; and he added of himſelf, that he truſted theſe would be ſuch as would enable us to continue our work without any further interruption. I ſaid, I hoped theſe inſtructions would be in ſubſtance a counter-project, as I did not ſee how any thing ſhort of one could enable us to proceed ſo rapidly as he deſcribed. He agreed with me entirely, and aſſured me, that both he and his colleagues had repeatedly ſtated the neceſſity of a counter-project being ſent them; and he obſerved, that he really thought the French government might have foreſeen every thing which had paſſed, and been prepared with one; and that this would have ſaved a great deal of valuable time. As I could not myſelf have ſaid more, I readily gave a full aſſent to what I heard.

No. 30.

Extract of a Diſpatch from Lord Grenville to Lord Malmeſbury, dated Downing Street, Auguſt 19th, 1797.

AN expreſſion mentioned in one of your Lordſhip's laſt diſpatches to have fallen from one of the French plenipotentiaries, leads to the preſumption that it is intended, on the part of France, to bring forward ſome propoſal about the navigation of neutral powers in time of war. Your Lordſhip will beſt judge of the proper opportunity of expreſſing his Majeſty's decided and unalterable reſolution on this point, not to admit of any propoſal for treating with his enemies on the ſubject of the rights or claims of neutral powers.

The only other remark with which I have to trouble your Lordſhip by this meſſenger, relates to an expreſſion in the late meſſage of the Directory to the council of Five Hundred, which, if literally taken,

taken, conveys an accusation, against his Majesty's government, that some delay has arisen on the part of this country in the negotiations at Lisle. This is so avowedly contrary to the fact, that it must be considered as impossible that such a charge could be intended to be made by a government which had at that moment delayed for three weeks making any answer to his Majesty's distinct and liberal proposals of peace, and whose plenipotentiaries were daily apologizing to your Lordship for this unbecoming, and, as they almost confess, unaccountable delay; but as the point is too important to be left unnoticed, it is the King's pleasure that your Lordship should present a note, remarking upon the sense to which these words are liable, expressing your persuasion that such cannot be the intention with which they were used, but asking on the part of your court an explanation to that effect, which cannot be refused without a violation of every thing which truth and justice require on such an occasion.

No. 38.

Extract from the Message of the French Directory to the Council of Five Hundred, August 9th, 1797.

IN short, this cause is the same despondency in which all good citizens, and particularly the defenders of the country, are, at seeing deferred at the very moment when its conclusion was thought to be near at hand, and after having bought it with so much blood and so much suffering—a definitive peace, which the heads of the vanquished coalition at length solicited in good earnest, when its conclusion was expected, and which a government, friendly to humanity, were still more earnest to conclude: when, all on a sudden, buoyed up with new hopes, reckoning upon a general dissolution of the government by the failing of its finances, upon its destruction, upon the death or banishment of its bravest generals, and upon the dispersion and loss of its armies, these very same coalesced powers have thrown as much delay into the negotiations, as they had shown anxiety to bring them to an end.

No.

No. 32.

Copy of a Difpatch from Lord Malmefbury to Lord Grenville, dated Lifle, Auguft 22, 1797.

My Lord,

IN my conference of this morning, I took an opportunity of remarking to the French plenipotentiaries on the very unfair and extraordinary affertion which had appeared in the meffage of the 9th inftant, from the Directory to the council of Five Hundred, viz. " Que les puiffances coalifées ont mis autant de lenteur dans les negotiations, qu'elles avoient montré de l'ardeur pour les terminer." I obferved to them, that I had orders from my court to afk a precife explanation, whether this accufation of delay was meant to apply to the manner in which his Majefty had conducted the negotiation at Lifle, and if it was fo meant, to declare that no accufation was ever more deftitute of foundation, nor a wider deviation from the real fact. I faid I was perfectly ready to abide by their determination on this point, convinced that it was impoffible for them not to acknowledge that the delay (if there had been any blameable delay) refted with the French government and not with his Majefty. The French plenipotentiaries admitted this to be moft ftrictly true; that the phrafe I had quoted was an ill-judged one, and *mal redigée*; but that it could not in any point of view whatever be conftrued as applying to England; and they were ready to fay, that when it was written, the Directory alluded folely to the court of Vienna; that they could affure me they had been very faithful in their reports, and that when they faid this, it was faying in other words that I had carried on the negotiation with as much expedition as poffible, and that if it had proceeded flowly for this laft month, the flownefs arofe on their fide and not on mine.

I faid I could not for an inftant call in queftion their feelings on this point; it was the infinuation conveyed in the meffage, and which had gone over Europe, that it was neceffary for me to clear up, and to know whether the Directory thought and felt as they did. *One of the French minifters*, with very ftrong expreffions, affured me the Directory certainly did think and feel like them; that no unfair or infidious allufion was meant, and added, "que ce meffage etoit fait pour ftimuler les confeils." I went on by obferving it was very effential for me to have this fully explained, and that I fhould give them in a note to this effect; they requefted I would not, it would lead to difagreeable difcuffions, and would not anfwer the end I propofed. They would take upon themfelves *now* to affure me in the name of the Directory, that nothing at all fimilar to the conftruction I put on the phrafe was intended, and that as foon as they could receive an anfwer to the report they

fhould

ſhould make of to-day's converſation, they would ſay the ſame from the Directory itſelf.

I hope, my Lord, I have, therefore, by obtaining this very preciſe and formal diſavowal of an intention to fix any imputation of delay on his Majeſty's government, fulfilled the object of my inſtructions on this particular point. If when the French plenipotentiaries ſpeak from the Directory, the diſavowal ſhould not be equally ſatisfactory and complete, I then will not fail, according to your Lordſhip's order, to give in a note.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

Right Honourable Lord Grenville.

No. 33.

Extract of a Diſpatch from Lord Malmeſbury to Lord Grenville, dated Liſle, Auguſt 22, 1797.

THE four conferences I have held with the French plenipotentiaries, ſince I laſt wrote to your Lordſhip on the 14th inſtant, will not, I fear, furniſh very intereſting materials for a diſpatch.

Our conference of this morning was principally employed in what I have related in my other diſpatch; but the French plenipotentiaries aſſured me, that by Thurſday, or at the lateſt by Saturday, they expected to receive their long-expected meſſenger.

No. 34.

Extract of a Diſpatch from Lord Malmeſbury to Lord Grenville, dated Liſle, Auguſt 29, 1797.

I AM extremely ſorry to be forced to announce to your Lordſhip, that freſh delays occur in the progreſs of the negotiation.

The French plenipotentiaries informed me at our conference yeſterday, that the laſt anſwer from Holland was ſo unſatisfactory, that the Directory had ordered the miniſter for foreign affairs to return it to the Dutch miniſters at Paris; that the Dutch miniſters could not take upon themſelves to alter it in the way the Directory propoſed, but had been obliged to refer to their government for new orders; and that therefore, ſuppoſing no time to be loſt in deliberation on this ſubject at the Hague, it would be at leaſt a week from to-day before any farther account could be received here.

After lamenting this unexpected procraſtination of our buſineſs, I expreſſed a wiſh to know what the Dutch anſwer had been, what objections

objections the Directory had made to it, and the alteration they were desirous it should undergo.

One of the French plenipotentiaries said, it had not been communicated to them, but that he understood it was *complexe, louche, et peu satisfaisante.* That the Directory expected it should be clear and distinct, and such an one as would enable them to send such instructions here, as would allow us to go on with the negotiation in a way to recover the time we had lost.

No. 35.

Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Malmesbury to Lord Grenville, dated Lisle, Sept. 5, 1797.

My Lord,

I SHOULD have considered what has passed in our conferences since I last had the honour of writing to your Lordship by Mr. Wesley, as in itself too unimportant to authorize me to dispatch a messenger, but that in general I think it my duty never to leave your Lordship more than a week without hearing from me; and I was also glad of an opportunity to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's dispatch, No. 23, which was delivered to me by the messenger Shaw, on the 31st August, at 10 P. M.

Nothing but common conversation passed in our conferences of the 30th August and of the 1st September. In that of the 3d the French plenipotentiaries confirmed what they had taken upon themselves to assure me on the 22d August, in consequence of the representation I had your Lordship's orders to make on the expressions employed by the Directory in their message of the 9th August to the councils, and which expressions appeared to fix an imputation of delay on his Majesty's government in the progress of the negotiation. They said that they had reported to the Directory what I observed on this subject, and that they were now charged to repeat what I had already heard from them, and to declare that no intention similar to that I supposed ever existed on the part of the Directory.

In our conference of this morning, although I had reason to expect that the answer from the Hague was arrived at Paris, yet it was not admitted by the French plenipotentiaries.

No. 36.

Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Malmesbury to Lord Grenville, dated Lisle, 9th Sept. 1797.

I NEED not say that the two conferences which have been held since I dispatched the messenger Brooks, were not likely, under the

the prefent circumftances of this country, to afford any thing extremely important or interefting.

In that of Thurfday the 7th, *one of the French plenipotentiaries* began, on my entering the room, by announcing a wifh that the great event which had taken place at Paris, fhould not interrupt for a long time our negotiation, or deftroy the pleafing profpect we had of its foon terminating fuccefsfully; and from his manner I clearly faw he meant to convey the idea that it was his opinion it would not. I endeavoured to difcover whether he fpoke in confequence of any private intelligence he had received from Paris, or fimply from his own private judgment, and I found it was entirely from the latter.

In our conference of this morning, he faid they were ftill without any letters from M. Talleyrand (which rather furprifed him); but he could affure me, *with certainty*, that by Monday they fhould be empowered to go on with the negotiation, and that I might fafely fay fo to my court.

No. 37.

Extract of a Difpatch from Lord Grenville to Lord Malmefbury, dated Downing Street, September 11th, 1797.

YOUR Lordfhip's difpatches by the meffenger Shaw, were received here this morning.

It would be premature in the prefent moment, to enter into any reafoning on the effect which the extraordinary events at Paris may be expected to have on the important negotiation with which your Lordfhip is charged. A very few days muft now probably fhow, in the moft unequivocal manner, what are the views which are entertained by the now predominant party at Paris, refpecting the queftion of peace or war with Great Britain: and it becomes his Majefty's government to wait the event with the fame defire for accommodation on reafonable terms, and the fame firmnefs, with refpect to undue and infulting demands, which has actuated every part of the conduct held by your Lordfhip.

No. 38.

Copy of a Difpatch from Lord Malmefbury to Lord Grenville, dated Lifle, Monday, Sept. 11, 1797.

My Lord,

ON my going to the conference this morning, the French plenipotentiaries informed me that the whole French legation was

recalled, and that Meſſrs. Treilhard and Bonnier d'Alco were appointed in their room. They ſaid, their orders were to communicate this event to me immediately, and at the ſame time to add, in the name of the French government, that this alteration in the choice of the negotiators, would not produce any whatever in the diſpoſition of the Directory to bring the negotiation to a happy iſſue.

I aſſured them I was extremely ſorry to hear that they were recalled. That we had hitherto acted together ſo cordially, that it was to be lamented any circumſtances had ariſen which made the French government think it adviſeable to put the negotiation into other hands.

That I received with ſatisfaction what they told me as to the ſentiments manifeſted by the Directory, relative to the negotiation, and that I could aſſure them, they were ſuch as certainly exiſted in the breaſt of my royal maſter.

I then ſuggeſted to them, whether it would not be proper to give me an official note on this occaſion, ſince it made a very marked period in the negotiation ; and as they perfectly agreed with me on the propriety of this, they ſent me that I now encloſe.

I conſider this event as ſo material, that I do not loſe a moment in diſpatching one of my ſervants to England, as I have at preſent no meſſenger with me.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

Right Honourable Lord Grenville.

No. 39.

Note from the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmeſbury.

THE miniſters plenipotentiary of the French republic have the honour to inform Lord Malmeſbury that they have received by this day's poſt, a decree of the Executive Directory, ſignifying their recall, and the nomination of citizens Treilhard and Bonnier to ſucceed them, and to continue the negotiations entered upon with England.

The miniſter for foreign affairs, in ſending to the underſigned miniſters plenipotentiary this decree of the Directory, of the 22d of this month, orders them to wait the arrival of their ſucceſſors. It alſo directs them to inform the miniſter plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majeſty, that the change of the negotiators does not carry with it any change in the diſpoſition of the Directory, with regard to the negotiation.

The miniſters plenipotentiary of the French republic have the honour

honour to renew to Lord Malmesbury the assurances of their high consideration.

(Signed) Le Tourneur.
Hugues B. Maret.

Lisle, 25 Fructidor, 5th Year of the Republic, (Sept. 11, 1797.)

Colchen, Sec. Gen. of the Legation.

No. 40.

Note from Lord Malmesbury to the French Plenipotentiaries.

THE minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the note which the ministers plenipotentiary of the French republic have addressed to him, communicating the decree of the Executive Directory, which signifies their recall, and the nomination of the ministers destined to succeed them, and to continue the negotiations already commenced. He receives at the same time with satisfaction, and will transmit without delay to his court, the assurance, that this change of the negotiators does not bring with it any change in the disposition of the Directory as to the negotiation.

Lord Malmesbury, in thanking the ministers plenipotentiary of the French republic for this communication, begs them to be persuaded of his personal regret on account of their departure, and to accept the assurances of his high consideration.

(Signed) Malmesbury.

Lisle, Sept. 12, 1797.

No. 41.

Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Malmesbury to Lord Grenville, dated Lisle, 17th September, 1797.

My Lord,

THE new French plenipotentiaries, Messieurs Treilhard and Bonnier d'Alco, with their principal secretary M. Derché, and two private secretaries, arrived here at five o'clock A. M. on Wednesday the 13th instant. At eleven A. M. they sent M. Derché to acquaint me with their arrival, and to inquire at what hour I would receive their visit. In consequence of my saying whenever it was convenient to them, they came immediately, attended by Messieurs Le Tourneur, Maret, and Colchen.

On taking leave, M. Le Tourneur came forward and said to me, in his name and that of his colleagues, that they could not terminate their mission without expressing the satisfaction they had felt from the openness and candour (loyauté et franchise) with which I had acted during the whole of the negotiation, or take

leave of me, without expreſſing their ſincere perſonal regrets; that the recollection of my conduct would always be agreeable to them, and that it had given me the ſtrongeſt title to their eſteem and good wiſhes.

After giving the new plenipotentiaries as much time as was neceſſary to return to their own houſe, I ſent Mr. Roſs to aſk at what hour I might return their viſit; and, in conſequence of their anſwer, I went to them, attended by Lord Morpeth and Mr. Ellis.

I took an opportunity of returning the compliment M. Le Tourneur had made me; and I muſt in juſtice repeat, my Lord, what I have already ſaid, that his conduct and that of his colleagues has, in every point which has depended on them, been perfectly fair and honourable, and in no inſtance contrary to the principles they announced, and the profeſſions they made. It is therefore impoſſible for me not to regret them, and not to conſider the change of negotiators at leaſt as a very unpleaſant, if not a very unfortunate incident.

No. 42.

Copy of a Diſpatch from Lord Malmeſbury to Lord Grenville, dated Liſle, 17th September, 1797.

My Lord,

I SHALL endeavour in this diſpatch to give your Lordſhip as circumſtantial an account, as my memory will allow me to do, of what has paſſed in the two conferences I have held with the new French plenipotentiaries.

In that of Friday the 14th, after communicating to me the arrêté of the Directory, appointing them to ſucceed Meſſieurs Le Tourneur and Maret, and empowering them to continue the negotiation with me, *one of them* began, by making the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of the ſincere deſire entertained by the Directory for peace. He obſerved, that if this deſire had manifeſted itſelf ſo ſtrongly, at a moment when the two great authorities of the country were at variance, it muſt naturally become ſtronger, and be exerted with more effect, when all ſpirit of diviſion was ſuppreſſed, and when the government was ſtrengthened by the perfect concord which now reigns between all its branches: that the firſt and moſt material point to be aſcertained in every negotiation was the extent of the full powers with which the negotiators are veſted; that I ſhould find theirs to be very ample; and that, as it was neceſſary to the ſucceſs of our diſcuſſions that mine ſhould be equally ſo, they had it in command to preſent a note, the object of which was to inquire, whether I was authorized to treat on the

the principle of a general reftitution of every poffeffion remaining in his Majefty's hands, not only belonging to them, but to their allies; that I was not unacquainted with their laws and with their treaties; that a great country could not, on any occafion, act in contradiction to them; and that, aware as I muft be of this, I could not but expect the queftion contained in the note, neither could I confider the requifition of an explicit anfwer, previous to entering upon the negotiation, as arifing from ony other motive, than that of the moft perfect wifh, on the part of the Directory, to bring it to a fuccefsful, and, above all, to a fpeedy conclufion.

I replied, that if after what I heard I could allow myfelf to hope for fuch an event as he feemed to think probable, or give any credit to the pacific difpofitions he announced on the part of the French government, fuch hope muft arife folely from the confidence I might place in his affurances; fince the meafure itfelf now adopted by the Directory was certainly calculated to make a directly contrary impreffion on my mind; that I could not conceal from him, that far from expecting fuch a queftion, its being now put furprifed me beyond meafure, and ftill more fo, when from his comment upon it I was to infer, that he wifhed me to confider it as tending to promote a fpeedy pacification; that the queftion expreffed in the note he had delivered (for he had given it to me, and I had read it over as he ended his fpeech), was word for word the fame as that put to me by his predeceffors, fo long ago as the 14th July: that on the 15th I had, from my own authority, given an anfwer, and that this anfwer I confirmed fully and diftinctly by order of my court on the 24th July; that thefe notes had to the prefent hour remained unnoticed, and a delay of two months had occurred; that the reafons affigned for this delay were, as I was repeatedly told, a decided refolution on the part of the French government to liften to the reafonable propofals made by his Majefty; but that being bound by their engagements with the court of Madrid and the Batavian republic, and wifhing to treat their allies with due confideration, they were defirous of confulting with them previous to any pofitive declaration, and obtaining from them a voluntary releafe from thofe engagements, fufficient to enable the French plenipotentiaries here to admit the bafis his Majefty had eftablifhed, and to ground on it all future difcuffions which might arife in the courfe of the negotiation; that if he had read over the papers left, undoubtedly, in his poffeffion by his predeceffors, he would find what I ftated to be ftrictly true; and that of courfe it could not be difficult to account for my furprife, when, after being told that he and his colleague were to take up the negotiation precifely where they found it, it now became evident that it was to be flung back to the very point from which we ftarted, and flung back in a way which

ſeemed to threaten a concluſion very different from that he foretold.

I ſhall not attempt to follow *the French miniſter* through the very elaborate and certainly able ſpeech he made in reply, with a view to convince me, that the inquiry into the extent of my full powers was the ſtrongeſt proof the Directory could furniſh of their pacific intention, and the ſhorteſt road they could take to accompliſh the deſired end. It was in order to give activity to the negotiation (*activer* was his word), and to prevent its ſtagnating, that this demand was made ſo ſpecifically; and he intimated to me, that it was impoſſible for the Directory to proceed till a full and ſatisfactory anſwer had been given to it. I interrupted him here, by ſaying, their manner of acting appeared to me calculated to decide the negotiation at once, not to give it activity, ſince it muſt be known, I could not have powers of the deſcription he alluded to; and even ſuppoſing I had, the admitting it would be in fact neither more or leſs than a complete avowal of the principle itſelf, which once agreed on, nothing would be left to negotiate about. *The other French plenipotentiary* interpoſed here, by ſaying, *that would not be the caſe*; *many articles would ſtill remain to be propoſed, and many points for important diſcuſſion.* I ſaid, every word I heard ſeemed to preſent freſh difficulties. Without replying to me, *the firſt mentioned miniſter* went on by endeavouring to prove, that the avowal of having powers to a certain extent, did not imply the neceſſity of exerciſing them; that it was the avowal alone for which they contended, in order to determine at once the form the negotiation was to take; that the note, and the time preſcribed in it, were in conſequence of the moſt poſitive orders from the Directory; and that if I drew from it a concluſion different from the aſſurances they had made me in the name of the Directory, I did not make the true inference. I replied, that although the preſcribing the day on which the queſtion was put to me as the term within which I was to give my anſwer to it, was both a very unuſual and abrupt mode of proceeding, yet as a day was much more than ſufficient for the purpoſe, I ſhould forbear making any particular remark on this circumſtance: that as to the inference to be drawn from the poſitive manner in which they appeared to maintain the queſtion put to me, I really could not make it different from that I had already expreſſed: that the reverting, after an interval of two months, to a queſtion already anſwered, and which queſtion involved the fate of the negotiation, certainly could not be conſidered as wearing a very conciliatory appearance: that in regard to my anſwer, it could not be different from that I had given before: that my full powers, which were in their hands, were as extenſive as any could be, and it did not depend on me to give them more or leſs latitude; but that in fact their queſtion went not

to

to the extent of my full powers, but to require of me to declare the nature of my inſtructions; and on this point they certainly would forgive me, if I did not ſpeak out, till ſuch time as the circumſtances of the negotiation called upon me to do it.

The French miniſter ſtrove to prove to me, what he had before attempted, that the claiming a right of inquiry into the nature of the diſcretionary authority confided in a miniſter, by no means implied an intention of requiring of him to act up to it to its utmoſt limits. I obſerved, if no ſuch intention exiſted, why inſtitute the inquiry? and if it did not exiſt, why not ſay ſo at once?—*He* ſaid, What we now aſk is little more than a matter of form; when you have given us your anſwer, we ſhall follow it up by another ſtep, which we are ordered to take. I ſaid, my anſwer was given two months ago; that, although I was ready to give it them again, and in writing, as one to their note, yet, as it could not be different, I did not ſee why they ſhould not proceed immediately to the other ſtep, by which I was told the queſtion was to be followed up. It would be premature, ſaid *the French miniſter*; but in drawing up your anſwer, do not forget the force of the arguments I have uſed, or in your report to your court, the aſſurances we have given of the earneſt wiſh of the Directory to terminate the war.

I replied, that I ſtill muſt maintain, that, from the manner in which they thought proper to define full powers, I could ſee no diſtinction between acknowledging the power and admitting the principle; and that the queſtion itſelf could not be put with any other intention (your Lordſhip will obſerve, from the ſubſequent notes which paſſed between us, that I was perfectly grounded in this aſſertion); that in my reports, they might be fully aſſured I ſhould act up to that conciliatory ſpirit, which, from the earlieſt period of the negotiation, had always decided my conduct; and that, inauſpicious as appearances were, I certainly would be careful not to make them look *hoſtile*. At the word hoſtile, both the French plenipotentiaries were moſt warm in their proteſtations, that nothing could be leſs ſo; that the idea of the negotiation breaking off was as far from their thoughts as from their wiſhes. I ſaid, that although I heard this with pleaſure, yet I could not avoid adverting to facts; and that, when inſtead of an anſwer, and the favourable anſwer which I had every reaſon to expect, I received only the repetition of a demand, which had been already ſatisfied two months ago; I certainly could not think this a good omen. If it did not bode an immediate rupture of the treaty, it aſſuredly did not announce a near and ſucceſsful termination of it. *The above-mentioned miniſter* perſiſted I was miſtaken; that the buſineſs would end ſpeedily; that ſpeed was their wiſh, and ſpeed with peace for its object.

On breaking up our conference, I ſaid, that I took it for granted

granted we ſhould meet again at the uſual hour on Sunday. *He* ſaid, that it perhaps might not be neceſſary, but that they certainly would let me know in time; and this conveyed to me the firſt idea of what has ſince taken place.

I encloſe your Lordſhip the Note A, I received in this conference from the French plenipotentiaries, and the anſwer B, which I made to it yeſterday morning at 10 A. M.

At 6 P. M. the note C was tranſmitted to me; to which at 8 P. M. I returned the anſwer D, by Mr. Roſs, whom I ſent in order that he might bring me the paſſports I aſked for; but at a quarter before 10 P. M. M. Derché, ſecretary of the French legation, delivered to me the paper marked E; and this morning at 9 A. M. I replied by the note F, which immediately produced that marked G.

The notes ſent me by the French plenipotentiaries ſpeak for themſelves; and it is unneceſſary to enter into any reflections on them. I am willing to hope that the anſwers I have made were ſuch as became the ſituation in which I ſtand, the importance of the cauſe entruſted to me, and the ſteady but temperate conduct which the ſpirit of my inſtructions enjoin me to hold.

It was my wiſh to give every opening to the French plenipotentiaries to recall the violent ſtep they had taken; and, if poſſible, to convince them of its extreme impropriety. And it was with this view, and with a moſt anxious deſire not to exclude all hope of the reſtoration of peace, that I determined on ſuggeſting the idea of our meeting once more before I left Liſle.

This meeting took place to-day at noon: I opened it by obſerving, that the ſeveral notes they had received from me, ſince the preceding evening, had been too expreſſive of the ſurpriſe I felt at the meaſure the Directory had thought proper to adopt, to make it neceſſary for me to enlarge upon it in this conference; and indeed, my ſole motive for ſuggeſting that it might be for our mutual ſatisfaction that it ſhould be held, was, becauſe this meaſure appeared to me to be in ſuch direct contradiction to the very ſtrong aſſurances I had ſo conſtantly and repeatedly heard from them, and to the pacific intentions with which they declared they were ſent, that it was my earneſt wiſh (before I conſidered their conduct as forcing me to a ſtep which muſt ſo materially affect the ſucceſs of the negotiation) to be perfectly certain that I underſtood clearly and diſtinctly the preciſe meaning of their official notes. On their admitting that nothing could be more reaſonable than that I ſhould, on ſo important a point, require explanation, or more ſatisfactory to them than to give it me (as far as lay in their power), I proceeded by ſaying, that it appeared to me that I was called upon to produce immediately my full powers, or rather my inſtructions (for however different theſe were in themſelves, in their demand they ſeemed conſtanty

blended),

blended), and that if either I refused to consent to this, or if on consenting to it, it was found that I was not authorized to treat on the principle they laid down, I was then in the space of twenty-four hours to leave Lisle, and return to my court; and that I was required to obtain full authority to admit this principle, if it was wished the negotiation should proceed. This I said appeared to me to be the evident sense of the notes, and I begged to know whether I had mistaken it or not. *One of the French plenipotentiaries* said, "You have understood it exactly; I hope you equally understand the intention of the French government, which is to accelerate peace by removing every obstacle which stands in its way."

I replied, that having now no doubt left on my mind as to their exact meaning, and being quite sure notwithstanding the observation they had made, *que j'avais saisi la veritable intention de leur note*, it would, I feared, be a very unprofitable employment of our time, to argue either on the nature of the principle they announced as a *sine qua non*, to even a preliminary discussion, or on the extreme difficulty of reconciling the peremptory demand with which they opened their mission, to the pacific professions that accompanied it; that if they were determined to persist in this demand, it was much better to avoid all useless altercation; and nothing in that case remained for me to do, but to ask for my passports, and to signify to them my intention of leaving France at an early hour the next morning. They said, they had their hands tied by an arrêté of the Directory, and were bound to observe the conduct they had followed by the most positive orders; and although we remained together some time longer, not a hint dropped from them expressive of a wish, that instead of going myself for new instructions, I should either write for them by a messenger, or obtain them by sending to England one of the gentlemen who are with me. I endeavoured by every indirect means to suggest to them the necessity of adopting some such modification, if they meant that their wishes for peace, in the expression of which they were this morning more eager than ever, should meet with the slightest degree of credit: I again brought to their recollection, that I was authorized to receive any proposal, any contre-projet they tendered to me, but that they must be aware that it was not possible for me to alter the orders I had received, or to assume an authority with which I was not invested. I dwelt particularly and repeatedly on my being competent to take any thing they said for reference; but this availing nothing, except drawing from *one of them* a remark, that the full powers which authorized a minister to hear proposals, were widely different from those which would enable him to accede to them; and that it was such full powers that the Directory required me to solicit.

An easy answer presented itself to this mode of reasoning; but

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I ſaw no advantage to be derived from prolonging a converſation, which, after the poſitive declaration they had made, could lead to nothing: I therefore ended the conference, by declaring my reſolution to begin my journey at a very early hour the next morning, and by ſaying, that immediately on my arrival in England, I would make an exact report of every thing that had paſſed ſince their arrival.

I truſt, my Lord, I ſhall not incur cenſure for having declined to offer in diſtinct terms to wait at Liſle, till I could know his Majeſty's pleaſure on the peremptory propoſal made to me; but when I conſidered the nature of the propoſal itſelf, the avowal *that this would not be the laſt*, nor perhaps the moſt humiliating, condition required of us, and the imperious ſtyle with which I was enjoined to depart in twenty-four hours, it was utterly impoſſible for me to aſſume a language, or affect a manner, that could be interpreted into ſolicitation or entreaty: I felt myſelf called upon to treat the whole of this extraordinary proceeding with calmneſs and temper; and notwithſtanding the deep and poignant concern I muſt feel at an event, which I fear will remove all probability of an immediate pacification, I truſt, that in the expreſſion of this ſentiment, I have not uſed a language unbecoming the character with which I am inveſted, or the greatneſs of the ſovereign and country, whoſe dignity and intereſts it is my primary duty to conſult and to maintain.

I have the honour to be
With great reſpect, my Lord,
Your Lordſhip's moſt obedient humble ſervant,
(Signed) MALMESBURY.

Right Honourable Lord Grenville.

No. 43. A.

Note from the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmeſbury.

THE underſigned miniſters plenipotentiaries of the French republic, commiſſioned to treat of peace with England, have the honour to aſſure Lord Malmeſbury, miniſter plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majeſty, that the French government wiſhes as ſincerely, as ſtrongly as ever, a peace, deſired by the two nations; but, unable to conclude any other peace than ſuch a one as is founded on the laws and on the treaties which bind the French republic, perſuaded that, to arrive at this end, it is neceſſary to explain itſelf with entire frankneſs, and deſirous of giving to the negotiation the greateſt rapidity, the Executive Directory has expreſsly charged the underſigned to demand of Lord Malmeſbury, whether he has ſufficient powers for reſtoring, in the treaty which may be concluded, to the French republic and

to

to its allies, all the possessions which, since the beginning of the war, have passed into the hands of the English.

The undersigned are equally charged by the Executive Directory to demand from Lord Malmesbury an answer in the course of the day. They request him to accept the assurances of their high consideration.

(Signed) TREILHARD.
BONNIER.

Lisle, 29 Fructidor,
5th Year of the Republic.
(Sept. 15, 1797.)

By the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic, the Sec. Gen.
DERCHÉ.

No. 44. B.

Note from Lord Malmesbury to the French Plenipotentiaries.

THE undersigned minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty receives with great satisfaction the expression of the sincere desire for peace, which the ministers plenipotentiaries of the French republic announced to him yesterday in the name of their government. He has the honour to assure them that the King his master is animated with the same desire, and has nothing more at heart than to put an end to the calamities of the war.

With regard to the question which the ministers plenipotentiary of the French republic addressed to Lord Malmesbury, concerning the extent of his full powers, he considers himself as having already given the most unequivocal answer upon this subject, in the two notes which he delivered to their predecessors on the 15th and 24th of July.

However, to avoid all misunderstanding, he renews the declaration which he made yesterday; that is to say, that he neither can nor ought to treat upon any other principle than that of compensations; a principle which has been formally recognised as the basis of a treaty equally just, honourable, and advantageous to the two powers.

Lord Malmesbury requests the ministers plenipotentiary of the French republic to accept the assurances of his high consideration.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

Lisle, Saturday, 16th September, 1797,
10 A.M.

No. 45. C.

Note from the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmesbury.

THE ministers plenipotentiaries of the French republic, commissioned to treat of peace with England, have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the answer of Lord Malmesbury to the note which was presented to him in the conference of yesterday.

It appears from this answer, and from the two notes of the 15th and 24th of July, to which it refers, that Lord Malmesbury has not powers for agreeing to the restitution of all the possessions which his Britannic Majesty occupies, whether from the French republic or from its allies.

In consequence, while they reiterate to Lord Malmesbury the most positive assurances of the sentiments of the French government, the undersigned apprise him of a decree of the Executive Directory, which signifies that, in case Lord Malmesbury shall declare himself not to have the necessary powers for agreeing to all the restitutions which the laws and the treaties which bind the French republic, make indispensable, he shall be to return, in four and twenty hours, to his court, to ask for sufficient powers. Lord Malmesbury can see in this determination of the Executive Directory nothing else than an intention to hasten the moment when the negotiation may be followed up with the certainty of a speedy conclusion.

The ministers plenipotentiaries of the French republic request Lord Malmesbury to accept the assurances of their high consideration.

(Signed) TREILHARD.
BONNIER.

Lisle, 30 Fructidor,
5th Year of the Republic.
(Sept. 16, 1797.)

By the Ministers Plenipotentiaries,
the Sec. Gen. of the Legation,
DERCHÉ.

No. 46. D.

Note from Lord Malmesbury to the French Plenipotentiaries.

THE undersigned minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the note of this day, which has been sent him by the ministers plenipotentiary of the French republic.

Whatever regret he may experience at seeing the hope of a speedy conciliation thus destroyed, he can return no other answer

to a refufal fo abfolute to continue the negotiation on grounds which appeared to have been already agreed upon, than by demanding the neceffary paffports for himfelf and his fuite, in order that they may fet off within the four and twenty hours, and return immediately to England.

He requefts the minifters plenipotentiary of the French republic to accept the affurances of his high confideration.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

Lifle, Saturday, 16th September, 8 P. M.

No. 47. E.

Note from the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmefbury.

THE underfigned minifters plenipotentiary of the French republic, commiffioned to treat of peace with England, have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Lord Malmefbury's anfwer to the note which they addreffed to him this day.

They think it right to obferve to him, that he does not appear to have feized the real meaning of their note; that it by no means contains refufal to continue the negotiations, but, on the contrary, the means for giving them activity, and for following them up with a fuccefs, no lefs defirable to the two nations, than it would be flattering to the minifters charged with the conduct of them.

The French government is fo far from entertaining the intentions which the note of Lord Malmefbury appears to impute to them, that the minifters plenipotentiary of the French republic have received no order to quit Lifle, after the departure of the minifter plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majefty.

The minifters plenipotentiary of the French republic requeft Lord Malmefbury to accept the affurances of their high confideration.

(Signed) TREILHARD.
BONNIER.

By the Minifters Plenipotentiary,
the Sec. Gen. of the Legation.
DERCHE.

Lifle, 30 Fructidor, 5th Year of the French Republic.
(Sept. 16, 1797.)

No

No. 48. F.

Note from Lord Malmeſbury to the French Plenipotentiaries.

THE underſigned miniſter plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majeſty has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the note which the miniſters plenipotentiary of the French republic tranſmitted to him yeſterday, through the hands of the ſecretary general of their legation. He thinks he cannot anſwer it better, than by ſubmitting to them in his turn the following obſervations:

That having already, by his note, dated July 24, and in obedience to the expreſs orders of his court, given an anſwer to the queſtion which is now ſo unexpectedly renewed, a queſtion, that in appearance relates ſolely to the limits of his full powers (which are in the moſt ample form), but which does in fact require a declaration of the whole extent of his inſtructions; and not being authorized to quit the place of his deſtination without the expreſs orders of the King his maſter, in any caſe except that of the rupture of the negotiation; he could not help conſidering a note enjoining him, in conſequence of a decree of the Executive Directory, to return to his court in the ſpace of four and twenty hours, as ill calculated to accelerate the concluſion of peace: nevertheleſs, to anſwer the aſſurances of the miniſters plenipotentiary of the French republic, and to teſtify his deſire to ſeize their real meaning with reſpect to which he ſhould be very ſorry to deceive himſelf, he thinks that it would be more ſatisfactory to meet once more; and if the miniſters plenipotentiary of the French republic ſhould be of the ſame opinion, Lord Malmeſbury would propoſe that this meeting ſhould take place at an earlier hour than uſual, in order that he may have time to take ſuch ſteps as the reſult of their conferences may render neceſſary. He deſires the miniſters plenipotentiary of the French republic to accept the aſſurances of his high conſideration.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

Liſle, Sunday, Sept. 17, 1797.

No. 49. G.

Note from the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmeſbury.

THE underſigned miniſters plenipotentiary of the French republic, commiſſioned to treat of peace with England, have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the note which the miniſter plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majeſty has tranſmitted to them this morning. Referring to the notes addreſſed to

Lord

Lord Malmesbury on the 29th and 30th Fructidor, and especially to the first of yesterday, they agree to the meeting which Lord Malmesbury appears to desire, and propose the hour of noon.

They request Lord Malmesbury to accept the assurances of their high consideration.

(Signed) TREILHARD.
BONNIER.

Lisle, 1st Complementary Day,
5th Year of the French Republic.
(17 Sept. 1797.)

By the Ministers Plenipoteniary,
the Sec. Gen. of the Legation.
DERCHE.

No. 50.

Dispatch from Lord Grenville to Lord Malmesbury, dated Downing Street, Sept. 22, 1797.

My Lord,

I HAVE had the honour of laying before his Majesty your Lordship's dispatches, in which you have given an account of the extraordinary conduct of the new plenipotentiaries of the French republic, of the answers given by your Lordship to their unjustifiable demand, and of your consequent departure from Lisle.

I have the satisfaction to be able to assure your Lordship that his Majesty has been pleased to express his entire approbation of your Lordship's judicious and temperate conduct in the unprecedented situation in which you were placed, and of the manner in which you expressed yourself, both in your official notes, and in your conversations with the French plenipotentiaries, as well as of that in which you have conducted yourself during the whole course of the negotiation, which seems too likely to be now brought to its close.

As it appears, however, that some further answer will probably be expected by the French government to their late extraordinary demand, notwithstanding the full and conclusive reply given in your Lordship's notes, I have received the King's commands to transmit to you the enclosed draft of a note, which it is his Majesty's pleasure that your Lordship should transmit to the plenipotentiaries at Lisle, by a messenger whom I shall direct to be in readiness for that purpose.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.

Right Honourable Lord Malmesbury.

No.

No. 51.

Note from Lord Malmesbury to the French Plenipotentiaries.

THE underſigned miniſter plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majeſty has rendered to his court a faithful account of the circumſtances that have interrupted the exerciſe of thoſe important functions which his Majeſty had been pleaſed to entruſt to him. His Majeſty has deigned to honour with his entire approbation the anſwers which the underſigned has already made to the extraordinary and unexpected demands which the new plenipotentiaries of the French republic addreſſed to him immediately upon their arrival at Liſle.

But, in order to leave no doubt reſpecting the nature and object of this demand, the underſigned has been expreſsly ordered to declare, in the name of his court,

1. That the full powers with which his Majeſty had thought proper to furniſh him for negotiating and concluding a treaty of peace, are conceived and expreſſed in the moſt ample form, authorizing the underſigned fully, and without reſerve, to ſign any treaty upon which he might agree with the French plenipotentiaries, whatever its nature or conditions might be; conforming himſelf in all caſes to the inſtructions which he might receive from his court.

2. That theſe full powers have been received and recogniſed as ſufficient, as well by the plenipotentiaries with whom he has hitherto treated, as by the Directory themſelves, and that there is conſequently no room for any new diſcuſſion upon a ſubject which has already been cloſed by common agreement, and which moreover is not liable to any doubt or difficulty whatever; every thing which has been done hitherto upon this ſubject, being entirely conformable to cuſtoms long eſtabliſhed and recogniſed by all the nations of Europe.

3. That the demand of the Directory therefore, in reality, refers not to the full powers of the underſigned, but to the extent of his inſtructions, of which the Directory could not, under any circumſtances, require any communication, further than as the underſigned himſelf might judge ſuch a communication conducive to the ſucceſs of the negotiation; and that very far from being in a ſituation to be called upon for any new explanations whatever, the underſigned had every reaſon to expect, from the repeated communications which had been made to him by the French plenipotentiaries, that he ſhould immediately receive a contre-projet, of a nature to facilitate the further progreſs of the negotiation which had been ſuſpended for more than two months.

4. That

4. That the court of London had good reaſon to be ſtill more aſtoniſhed at the ſubſtance of the new demand made to the underſigned; a demand relating to preliminary conditions which had already been rejected at the very commencement of the negotiation, and from which the French plenipotentiaries had in effect departed, by a formal notification of the meaſures which the Directory were in conſequence taking for the purpoſe of coming to ſome arrangement with their allies.

5. That it is therefore only by conſenting to treat upon the baſis of the project, detailed with ſo much openneſs, which was preſented by the underſigned a few days after his arrival at Liſle, or by returning a contre projet of a conciliatory nature, agreeably to the aſſurances which he received ſo long ago, that it appears poſſible to continue the negotiation, which the plenipotentiaries have ſo ſtrongly aſſured him that the Directory did not wiſh to break off, notwithſtanding the meaſures lately adopted with reſpect to him: a meaſure which the underſigned forbears to characterize, but which could not fail to produce in this country the impreſſion of a diſpoſition by no means pacific on the part of the Directory.

The underſigned is directed to add, that his Majeſty would ſee with real regret the certainty of the exiſtence of ſuch a diſpoſition, ſo little compatible with the ardent deſire with which he is animated to reſtore peace to the two nations; but that if, without having himſelf contributed to it on his part, he ſhould again find himſelf under the neceſſity of continuing the war, he will conduct himſelf upon every occaſion agreeably to the ſame principles, doing every thing which can depend upon him for the re-eſtabliſhment of peace, but perſiſting to defend, with an unſhaken firmneſs, the dignity of his crown and the intereſts of his people.

The miniſter plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majeſty requeſts the miniſters plenipotentiary of the French republic to accept the aſſurance of his high conſideration.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

London,
the 22d of September, 1797.

No. 52.

Note from the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmeſbury.

THE miniſters plenipotentiary of the French republic, commiſſioned to treat of peace with England, have received the note, dated from London, which has been brought to them by an extraordinary meſſenger from Lord Malmeſbury. They have the honour to anſwer to him, that their note of the 29th Fructidor, to which they refer, offered the double aſſurance of the ſet-

tled intention of the French government to continue the negotiations for peace, and of its conſtant determination not to agree to any other conditions than ſuch as are compatible with the dignity of the French republic.

A peace, of which the baſis ſhould be contrary to the laws, or to the engagements taken with its allies, would never ſatisfy the hopes of the nation. It is a point from which the Executive Directory has never departed, and upon which its ſentiments have never varied.

Lord Malmeſbury having formally declared in his notes of the 15th and 24th of July, and in the laſt inſtance in that of the 17th September, that he had not the powers neceſſary for reſtoring the Dutch and Spaniſh poſſeſſions, occupied by the troops of his Britannic Majeſty, the Executive Directory has given a new proof of its openneſs, and of its deſire to accelerate the concluſion of peace, in requiring Lord Malmeſbury to return to his court, for the purpoſe of obtaining the authority, without which he cannot conclude; a meaſure rendered neceſſary by the declaration of the miniſter plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majeſty, and upon which it is impoſſible to give a wrong impreſſion to any thinking and impartial mind.

The miniſters plenipotentiary of the French republic requeſt Lord Malmeſbury to accept the aſſurances of their high conſideration.

(Signed) TREILHARD.
BONNIER.
DERCHÉ.

Liſle, 4th Vendemiaire,
5th Year of the Republic.
(Sept. 25, 1797.)

No. 53.

Note from the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmeſbury.

THE miniſters plenipotentiaries of the French republic, charged to treat for peace with England, have the honour to inform Lord Malmeſbury, that having ſent a copy of his laſt note to their government, the Executive Directory has directed them to declare, in its name, That it has never ceaſed to wiſh for peace; that it gave an unequivocal proof of the ſentiment which animates it, when it ordered the miniſters plenipotentiary of the republic to require a categorical explanation as to the powers given by the Engliſh government to its miniſter plenipotentiary; That this demand had, and could have, no other object but to bring the negotiation to a ſpeedy and ſucceſsful iſſue:

That the order given to the plenipotentiaries of the republic to remain at Liſle after the departure of Lord Malmeſbury, is another proof that the Directory had deſired and foreſeen his return

turn with powers that should not be illusory, and the limitation of which should no longer be a pretext for delaying the conclusion of peace:

That such are still the hopes and intentions of the Executive Directory, which enjoins the ministers plenipotentiary of the republic not to quit Lisle till the continued absence of the negotiator shall no longer leave any doubt of the intention of his Britannic Majesty to break off all negotiation:

That consequently the 25th Vendemiaire (16th of October old style) is the period fixed for the recall of the ministers plenipotentiary of the French republic, supposing that at that time the minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty shall not have arrived at Lisle.

The Executive Directory will feel the greatest regret that a reconciliation, already twice attempted, should not be perfected; but its conscience, and the whole of Europe, will bear it testimony, that it is the English government alone that will have inflicted the scourge of war upon the two nations.

The ministers plenipotentiary of the French republic entreat the minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty to accept the assurances of their high consideration.

(Signed) TREILHARD.
BONNIER.

Lisle, 10th Vendemiaire,
6th Year of the French Republic.
(October 1, 1797.)

The Sec. of the Legation,
DERCHE.

No. 54.

Note from Lord Malmesbury to the French Plenipotentiaries.

THE undersigned having laid before the King's ministry the note of the plenipotentiaries of the French republic, is directed to observe to them,

That it is only in consequence of the formal and positive injunction of the Directory that he quitted Lisle; that his powers were neither illusory nor limited; and that nothing was omitted on his part to accelerate the negotiation, which has been only retarded by the delays of the Directory, and which at this moment is only suspended by its act.

With regard to the renewal of the conferences, the undersigned can only refer to his last note, where he has explained with frankness and precision the only means which remain for continuing the negotiation; observing, at the same time, that the King could no longer treat in an enemy's country, without being certain that the customs established amongst all civilized nations, with regard to public ministers, and especially to those charged to nego-

negotiate for the re-eſtabliſhment of peace, would be reſpected for the future in the perſon of his plenipotentiary.

The miniſter plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majeſty requeſts the miniſters plenipotentiary of the French republic to accept the aſſurance of his high conſideration.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

London, 5th Oct. 1797.

Declaration of the Britiſh Government on the Rupture of the Negotiation for Peace.

HIS Majeſty's benevolent endeavours to reſtore to his people the bleſſings of ſecure and honourable peace, again repeated without ſucceſs, have again demonſtrated, beyond the poſſibility of doubt, the determined and perſevering hoſtility of the government of France, in whoſe unprovoked aggreſſion the war originated, and by whoſe boundleſs and deſtructive ambition it is ſtill prolonged. And while by the courſe of theſe tranſactions, continued proofs have been afforded to all his Majeſty's faithful ſubjects, of his anxious and unremitting ſolicitude for their welfare, they cannot, at the ſame time, have failed to recogniſe, in the uniform conduct of the enemy, the ſpirit by which the councils of France are ſtill actuated, and the objects to which they are directed.

His Majeſty could not but feel how much the means of peace had been obſtructed by the many additional difficulties which his enemies had ſo repeatedly thrown in the way of every negotiation. Neverthleſs, on the very firſt appearance of circumſtances in ſome degree more favourable to the intereſts of humanity, the ſame ardent deſire for the eaſe and happineſs of his ſubjects, induced his Majeſty to renew his overtures for terminating the calamities of war: thus availing himſelf of every opening which could in any manner lead to ſecure and honourable peace, and conſulting equally the wiſhes of his own heart and the principles by which his conduct has invariably been guided.

New obſtacles were immediately interpoſed by thoſe who ſtill directed the councils of France, and who, amidſt the general deſire for peace, which they could not at that time openly diſclaim, ſtill retained the power of fruſtrating the wiſhes of their own country, of counteracting his Majeſty's benevolent intentions, and of obſtructing that reſult, which was ſo neceſſary for the happineſs of both nations. Difficulties of form were ſtudiouſly created; modes of negotiation were inſiſted upon, the moſt inconſiſtent with their own conduct in every other inſtance; the ſame ſpirit appeared in every ſtep which was taken by them; and while the moſt unwarranted inſinuations were thrown out, and the

the moſt unfounded reproaches brought forward, the eſtabliſhed cuſtoms and uſages, which have long prevailed in Europe, were purpoſely departed from, even in the ſimpleſt acts which were to be done on their part for the renewal of the negotiations. All theſe things his Majeſty determined to diſregard; not as being inſenſible of their purport and tendency, nor unmindful of the importance of theſe points, in the public intercourſe of great and independent nations, but reſolving to defeat the object of theſe artifices, and to ſuffer no ſubordinate or inferior conſideration to impede, on his part, the diſcuſſion of the weighty and extenſive intereſts on which the termination of the war muſt neceſſarily depend.

He directed his miniſter to repair to France, furniſhed with the moſt ample powers, and inſtructed to communicate at once an explicit and detailed propoſal and plan of peace, reduced into the ſhape of a regular treaty, juſt and moderate in its principles, embracing all the intereſts concerned, and extending to every ſubject connected with the reſtoration of public tranquillity. The communication of this paper, delivered in the very firſt conference, was accompanied by ſuch explanations as fully ſtated and detailed the utmoſt extent of his Majeſty's views, and at the ſame time gave ample room for the examination of every diſputed point, for mutual arrangement and conceſſion, and for reciprocal facilities ariſing out of the progreſs of fair diſcuſſion.

To this proceeding, open and liberal beyond example, the conduct of his Majeſty's enemies oppoſes the moſt ſtriking contraſt. From them no counter-project has ever yet been obtained: no ſtatement of the extent or nature of the conditions on which they would conclude any peace with theſe kingdoms. Their pretenſions have always been brought forward either as detached or as preliminary points, diſtinct from the main object of negotiation, and accompanied, in every inſtance, with an expreſs reſerve of farther and unexplained demands.

The points which, in purſuance of this ſyſtem, the plenipotentiaries of the enemy propoſed for ſeparate diſcuſſion in their firſt conferences with his Majeſty's miniſter were at once frivolous and offenſive; none of them productive of any ſolid advantage to France, but all calculated to raiſe new obſtacles in the way of peace. And to theſe demands was ſoon after added another, in its form unprecedented, in its ſubſtance extravagant, and ſuch as could originate only in the moſt determined and inveterate hoſtility. The principle of mutual compenſation, before expreſsly admitted by common conſent as the juſt and equitable baſis of negotiation, was now diſclaimed; every idea of moderation or reaſon, every appearance of juſtice, was diſregarded; and a conceſſion was required from his Majeſty's plenipotentiary, as a preliminary and indiſpenſable condition of negotiation, which muſt

at once have superseded all the objects, and precluded all the means of treating. France, after incorporating with her own dominions so large a portion of her conquests, and affecting to have deprived herself, by her own internal regulations, of the power of alienating these valuable additions of territory, did not scruple to demand from his Majesty the absolute and unconditional surrender of all that the energy of his people, and the valour of his fleets and armies, have conquered in the present war, either from France, or from her allies. She required that the power of Great Britain should be confined within its former limits, at the very moment when her own dominion was extended to a degree almost unparalleled in history. She insisted, that in proportion to the increase of danger, the means of resistance should be diminished; and that his Majesty should give up, without compensation, and into the hands of his enemies, the necessary defences of his possessions, and the future safeguards of his empire. Nor was even this demand brought forward as constituting the terms of peace, but the price of negotiation; as the condition on which alone his Majesty was to be allowed to learn what further unexplained demands were still reserved, and to what greater sacrifices these unprecedented concessions of honour and safety were to lead.

Whatever were the impressions which such a proceeding created, they did not induce the King abruptly to preclude the means of negotiation. In rejecting without a moment's hesitation a demand, which could have been made for no other reason than because it was inadmissible, his Majesty, from the fixed resolution to avail himself of every chance of bringing the negotiation to a favourable issue, directed that an opening should still be left for treating on reasonable and equal grounds, such as might become the dignity of his crown, and the rank and station in Europe in which it has pleased the Divine Providence to place the British nation.

This temperate and conciliatory conduct was strongly expressive of the benevolence of his Majesty's intentions; and it appeared for some time to have prepared the way for that result which has been the uniform object of all his measures. Two months elapsed after his Majesty had unequivocally and definitively refused to comply with the unreasonable and extravagant preliminary which had been demanded by his enemies. During all that time the negotiation was continued open, the conferences were regularly held, and the demand thus explicitly rejected by one party was never once renewed by the other. It was not only abandoned, it was openly disclaimed; assurances were given in direct contradiction to it. Promises were continually repeated, that his Majesty's explicit and detailed proposals should at length be answered by that which could alone evince a real disposition to negotiate with

4 sincerity,

fincerity, by the delivery of a counter-project, of a nature tending to facilitate the conclufion of peace; and the long delays of the French government in executing thefe promifes were excufed and accounted for by an unequivocal declaration, that France was concerting with her allies for thofe facrifices on their part, which might afford the means of proceeding in the negotiation. Week after week paffed over in the repetition of thefe folemn engagements on the part of his Majefty's enemies. His defire for peace induced him to wait for their completion, with an anxiety proportioned to the importance of the object; nor was it much to expect that his minifter fhould at length be informed what was the extent and nature of the conditions on which his enemies were difpofed to terminate the war.

It was in this ftage of the bufinefs that, on the 11th of September, the appointment of new plenipotentiaries was announced on the part of France, under a formal promife that their arrival fhould facilitate and expedite the work of peace.

To renew, in a fhape ftill more offenfive than before, the inadmiffible demand fo long before brought forward, and fo long abandoned, was the firft act of thefe new meffengers of peace. And fuch was now the undifguifed impatience of the King's enemies to terminate all treaty, and to exclude all profpect of accommodation, that even the continuance of the King's plenipotentiary at the appointed place of negotiation was made by them to depend on his immediate compliance with a condition which his court had, two months before, explicitly refufed, and concerning which no farther difcuffion had fince occurred. His reply was fuch as the occafion required: and he immediately received a pofitive and written order to depart from France.

The fubfequent conduct of his Majefty's enemies has aggravated even this proceeding, and added frefh infult to this unexampled outrage. The infurmountable obftacles which they threw in the way of peace were accompanied with an oftentatious profeffion of the moft pacific difpofitions. In cutting off the means of negotiation they ftill pretended to retain the ftrongeft defire to negotiate: in ordering the King's minifter to quit their country, they profeffed the hope of his immediate return to it: and in renewing their former inadmiffible and rejected demand, they declared their confident expectation of a fpeedy and favourable anfwer. Yet before any anfwer could arrive, they publifhed a declaration, announcing to their country the departure of the King's minifter, and attempting, as in every former inftance, to afcribe to the conduct of Great Britain the difappointment of the general wifh for peace, and the renewal of all the calamities of war. The fame attempt has been prolonged in fubfequent communications, equally infidious and illufory, by which they have obvioufly intended to furnifh the colour and empty pretence of a

wifh

wiſh for peace, while they have ſtill ſtudiouſly and obſtinately perſiſted in evading every ſtep which could lead to the ſucceſs of any negotiation; have continued to inſiſt on the ſame inadmiſſible and extravagant preliminary, and have uniformly withheld all explanation either on the particulars of the propoſals of peace ſo long ſince delivered by his Majeſty's miniſter, or on any other terms on which they were themſelves ready to conclude: and this in the vain hope, that it could be poſſible by any artifice to diſguiſe the truth of theſe tranſactions, or that any exerciſe of power, however deſpotic, could prevent ſuch facts from being known, felt, and underſtood, even in France itſelf.

To France, to Europe, and to the world, it muſt be manifeſt, that the French government (while they perſiſt in their preſent ſentiments) leave his Majeſty without an alternative, unleſs he were prepared to ſurrender and ſacrifice to the undiſguiſed ambition of his enemies the honour of his crown and the ſafety of his dominions. It muſt be manifeſt, that, inſtead of ſhowing, on their part, any inclination to meet his Majeſty's pacific overtures on any moderate terms, they have never brought themſelves to ſtate any terms (however exorbitant) on which they were ready to conclude peace. They have aſked as a preliminary (and in the form the moſt arrogant and offenſive) conceſſions which the comparative ſituation of the two countries would have rendered extravagant in any ſtate of negotiation; which were directly contrary to their own repeated profeſſions; and which, nevertheleſs, they peremptorily required to be complied with in the very outſet: reſerving an unlimited power of afterwards accumulating, from time to time, freſh demands, increaſing in proportion to every new conceſſion.

On the other hand, the terms propoſed by his Majeſty have been ſtated in the moſt clear, open, and unequivocal manner. The diſcuſſion of all the points to which they relate, or of any others, which the enemy might bring forward as the terms of peace, has been, on his Majeſty's part, repeatedly called for, as often promiſed by the French plenipotentiaries, but to this day has never yet been obtained. The rupture of the negotiation is not therefore to be aſcribed to any pretenſions (however inadmiſſible) urged *as the price of peace*; not to any ultimate difference *on terms*, however exorbitant; but to the evident and fixed determination of the enemy to prolong the conteſt, and to purſue, at all hazards, their hoſtile deſigns againſt the proſperity and ſafety of theſe kingdoms.

While this determination continues to prevail, his Majeſty's earneſt wiſhes and endeavours to reſtore peace to his ſubjects muſt be fruitleſs. But his ſentiments remain unaltered. He looks with anxious expectation to the moment when the government of France may ſhow a diſpoſition and ſpirit in any degree corre-

ſponding

ſponding to his own. And he renews, even now, and before all Europe, the ſolemn declaration, that, in ſpite of repeated provocations, and at the very moment when his claims have been ſtrengthened and confirmed by that freſh ſucceſs which, by the bleſſing of Providence, has recently attended his arms, he is yet ready (if the calamities of war can now be cloſed) to conclude peace on the ſame moderate and equitable principles and terms which he has before propoſed: the rejection of ſuch terms muſt now, more than ever, demonſtrate the implacable animoſity and inſatiable ambition of thoſe with whom he has to contend, and to them alone muſt the future conſequences of the prolongation of the war be aſcribed.

If ſuch unhappily is the ſpirit by which they are ſtill actuated, his Majeſty can neither heſitate as to the principles of his own conduct, nor doubt the ſentiments and determination of his people. He will not be wanting to them, and he is confident they will not be wanting to themſelves. He has an anxious, but a ſacred and indiſpenſable duty to fulfil: he will diſcharge it with reſolution, conſtancy, and firmneſs. Deeply as he muſt regret the continuance of a war, ſo deſtructive in its progreſs, and ſo burdenſome even in its ſucceſs, he knows the character of the brave people whoſe intereſts and honour are entruſted to him. Theſe it is the firſt object of his life to maintain: and he is convinced, that neither the reſources nor the ſpirit of his kingdoms will be found inadequate to this arduous conteſt, or unequal to the importance and value of the objects which are at ſtake. He truſts, that the favour of Providence, by which they have always hitherto been ſupported againſt all their enemies, will be ſtill extended to them; and that, under this protection, his faithful ſubjects, by a reſolute and vigorous application of the means which they poſſeſs, will be enabled to vindicate the independence of their country, and to reſiſt with juſt indignation the aſſumed ſuperiority of an enemy, againſt whom they have fought with the courage, and ſucceſs, and glory of their anceſtors, and who aims at nothing leſs than to deſtroy at once whatever has contributed to the proſperity and greatneſs of the Britiſh empire: all the channels of its induſtry, and all the ſources of its power; its ſecurity from abroad, its tranquillity at home, and, above all, that conſtitution, on which alone depends the undiſturbed enjoyment of its religion, laws, and liberties.

Weſtminſter, October 28, 1797.

ON THE NEGOTIATION.

The following Remarks on Lord Malmesbury's Note to the French Commissioners (vide No. 54 of the Negotiation Papers) are extracted from the official Paper of the Executive Directory (the REDACTEUR). *They are not openly acknowledged by that Paper to be official; but as they are said to be written by the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, and have been considered by his Majesty's Ministers in both Houses of Parliament as official, we have thought proper to insert them in this Collection.*

THIS note, of October 5, 1797, announces, that Lord Malmesbury received one from our negotiators; without doubt it was that of the 10th Vendemiaire, which persisted in requiring *powers* that should not be equivocal, and a *status ante bellum*, translated by a plenipotentiary who understood Latin—the state of things *before the war*, and not the state of things *after the war*, a meaning rather extraordinary, which Lord Malmesbury has discovered in his *confidential* and friendly communication of the 18th of July, 1797. [Here his Lordship's last note of the 5th of October is inserted, and the Redacteur then proceeds to say:]

It is difficult, we must acknowledge, to refrain from some observations on this note. Why does Lord Malmesbury appear to be so much hurt at the Directory signifying to him what he calls a *positive and formal injunction to quit Lisle?* Truly it is to be hurt without any cause. What! he was sent to Lisle with *powers* of which he had not the *power* to make use; and in the end, not knowing to what to attribute his tergiversations, he was asked if he had really the *power* of using his *powers*, that is to say, of negotiating upon the basis of our laws and our treaties?

At this question, which finished what it ought to have begun, Lord Malmesbury seemed troubled and sorrowful, and said, *No.* What could our plenipotentiaries do in that case? In reality they did that which was of the most advantage to Lord Malmesbury: "My Lord," they said, "you belong to a court which treats you ill; they merely make a mockery of you, and certainly you were not formed to be made a jest of, What! a first time they let you set out without *powers*, and the second time they send you with *powers* which have no *power* at all. It is a trick, a mere mockery. Return quickly, and say in a firm tone to that cabinet which conducts itself so unworthily towards you, that it shall not again charge you with its commissions, unless it gives you what is necessary to fulfil them."

In fine, it appears that Lord Malmesbury regrets leaving Lisle, He thought that the means of remaining there a long time were to do nothing, but the time arrived when he could not, with any degree

degree of propriety, remain longer. Instead of complaining, they ſhould grant him the only means of returning.

His *powers*, he ſaid, were not *illuſory*—that may be; but we muſt, however, acknowledge, that if any thing ever reſembled an *illuſion*, it is aſſuredly powers which cannot be put in execution till after propoſitions are made on white paper, and a negotiation in blanks.

Again, he ſays, his powers are not limited. Oh, good God! why did he not ſay ſo when he was at Liſle? Why did he wait till he got to London, before he made this aſſertion? Was any thing elſe required of him? Was there even ſo much required? He was only required to negotiate on the baſis of thoſe laws and treaties that bind us; and after that, he was at liberty to particularize all poſſible limits; that would have been ſufficient to continue the negotiation. Why, then, did he not ſay, "I have the actual power of negotiating ſo and ſo, but I think it my duty to propoſe ſuch a thing?" Why, at leaſt, did not he, who on his firſt embaſſy only ſpoke of a *principle of compenſation*, and who for three months only uſed that phraſe, ſay, on his ſecond, if his powers were unlimited—"I have the power of reſtoring every thing, inaſmuch as I poſſeſs *unlimited powers*; but I demand ſome compenſations?" By acting otherwiſe, he has not ſhown much good faith, but he has ſhown leſs ability; in fact, his powers were *limited* at Liſle, and now, at London, he would infer they were *unlimited*. Which is to be believed, this tardy declaration, or the firſt, which eſcaped this *rare negotiator* when he was amongſt us?

With reſpect to the reſumption of the conferences offered by our negotiators remaining at Liſle, the *underſigned* declares, that he refers to his former note, *in which he has pointed out with frankneſs and preciſion the only means that remain for continuing the negotiation.* This former note, of 22d of September, a copy of which has been ſent us from London, imports, that the negotiation cannot be reſumed but on *the baſis of the plan detailed with ſo much frankneſs, and tranſmitted by the underſigned, during the firſt days of his reſidence at Liſle*; *or by delivering a contre-projet.* This plan of the underſigned, delivered with ſo much frankneſs, is, as we know, a plan which details every thing *in blanks*; and it muſt be acknowledged that a *contre-projet*, which ſhould alſo be made *in blanks*, would be entirely of the ſame deſcription, but no leſs conciliatory.

Lord Malmeſbury laſtly declares, *that the King, his maſter, can no longer treat in an enemy's country, without the certainty of having reſpected, in the perſon of his plenipotentiary, thoſe uſages eſtabliſhed among all civilized nations, with reſpect to public miniſters.*

Is it then to fail in the reſpect we owe to ourſelves, as well as the nation with whom we treat, to demand of a plenipotentiary

powers neceſſary to treat with effect? Is it not true reſpect to ſhow ourſelves tenacious of the blood of the people, and that we are not deſirous of abandoning their welfare to the unworthy ſport of diplomatic forms, and to deſire that a moment may not be loſt in vain ceremonies, when the repoſe of the world is at ſtake?

In reality, to fail in that *reſpect*, conſecrated by all the cuſtoms and laws of nations, is to dare to ſend back an ambaſſador to negotiate upon a baſis entirely inconſiſtent with the power to be treated with. Lord Malmeſbury well knows which is the power that has permitted this outrageous violation of every principle; but what is at once moſt ridiculous and abſurd is, to pretend that they are not the real authors of the war,. which has been the conſequence of ſuch an outrage, and in which rivers of blood have been ſhed.

Addreſs to his Imperial Majeſty relative to the revolutionizing the left Bank of the Rhine. Dated Ratiſbon, Oct. 17, 1797.

IT is well known from various concurring and indubitable accounts, how zealouſly and inceſſantly the French civil and military agents, the intermediary commiſſion at Bonn, and the German coadjutors in their pay, on the Lower Rhine, have laboured to carry into execution their highly dangerous plan, to ſpread ſtill wider their principles, ſo peculiarly adverſe to the Germanic conſtitution, to government, ſubordination, and order, and thereby to looſen the bonds of civil ſociety; to alienate the ſubjects from their lords, and to weaken, by working on their hopes and fears, their hitherto unſhaken fidelity, to detach them from their dependence and their duty; and on this foundation to erect what they have already denominated a Ciſrhenane republic, torn from the Germanic empire.

The decree of the diet of the 22d of March, 1793, had already ſtated the miſchievous conſequences of ſuch plans, maxims, and principles, among the principal dangers which the Germanic empire had to apprehend from France; and the Imperial court decree of ratification of the 30th of April of the ſame year admitted the truth of this danger, and placed in the cleareſt light the preſſing neceſſity of counteracting ſuch projects and principles, adding at the ſame time additional motives derived from the ſame ſource.

The meaſures oppoſed to ſuch deſigns have, however, not had a durable, and certainly not the deſired effect. Yet when the preliminaries of peace had been ſigned at Leoben, on the 18th of April of the preſent year, and their ratification interchanged between the plenipotentiaries of his Imperial Majeſty and thoſe of France; in which preliminaries it was ſtipulated that the definitive

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tive treaty ſhould be concluded on the baſis of the integrity of the empire; it was to be expected that all attempts to alienate the ſubjects of Germany from the conſtitution of their country, to looſen the ties of their fidelity to their lords, and by ſuch means to ſeparate the countries on the left banks of the Rhine from the German empire, would entirely have ceaſed.

The principles of truth and faith common to, and held ſacred by all nations and all governments, forbid us to ſuppoſe that ſuch plans of revolution can have immediately originated with the French government, or that they can proceed from any other cauſe than the ill-adviſed officiouſneſs and miſtaken zeal of ſome agents of that government. Yet are the conſequences preciſely the ſame with reſpect to the means and end; and much is it to be feared that the arret of the intermediary commiſſion at Bonn, of the 29th of Fructidor (Sept. 15)—*(the arret which promiſes freedom from feudal ſervices, impoſts, tithes, &c. to ſuch communes as ſhall become annexed to the Ciſrhenane republic)*, and the advantages it offers, may have but too great an effect; and that even thoſe who would otherwiſe retain their fidelity, may at length ſink under repeated attacks, when they have no hope of receiving any ſuccour.

His Electoral Highneſs of Cologn has therefoſe, agreeably to the attention he has conſtantly manifeſted for the welfare of Germany, and his paternal care and love for his ſubjects, and the other loyal inhabitants of the left bank of the Rhine, repreſented the continually increaſing danger of ſuch proceedings to his Highneſs the Elector of Mentz, who had ſubmitted to the general diet of the empire the neceſſity of concerting meaſures to ſtop the progreſs of ſo ſerious an evil, and provide againſt it in future; and the diet, after mature conſideration, has reſolved moſt humbly to repreſent to his Imperial Majeſty, in all its circumſtances, a proceeding contrary to the tenor of the preliminaries ſigned at Leoben on the 18th of April of the preſent year, and ratified and interchanged by the Imperial and French plenipotentiaries, and humbly to requeſt his Majeſty to employ his influence with the French government to obtain that in the countries of the empire lying between the Meuſe, the Moſelle, and the Rhine, every thing may remain *in ſtatu quo*; and that the integrity of the Germanic empire ſhall not be attacked by the ſeduction of the inhabitants, or by granting any manner of aid and protection to ſuch as may attempt to diſturb the public tranquillity.

This humble repreſentation and requeſt is hereby made with the moſt lively and unlimited confidence in the protection of his Imperial Majeſty, which the German empire has ſo frequently experienced.

Papers relative to Neutral Powers.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.*

Communication received from the President, by the House of Representatives of the United States, together with the Documents therein referred to, on the 19th January, 1797.

Gentlemen of the Senate, and of the
House of Representatives,

AT the opening of the present session of Congress, I mentioned that some circumstances of an unwelcome nature had lately occurred in relation to France; that our trade had suffered and was suffering extensive injuries in the West Indies from the cruisers and agents of the French republic; and that communications had been

* In the 4th volume of our collection, page 294, we inserted several resolutions purporting to have been passed by the House of Representatives; one of which related "to the non-expediency of concurring in the passing of the laws necessary for carrying the treaty of amity and commerce with Great Britain into effect." We find by the subjoined letter and resolution, addressed to the publisher, that no such resolution was passed; but that a motion only was made to that effect. We very readily correct the mistake, which we were led into by some foreign papers, and beg leave to express our thanks to the gentleman from whom the following communication was received:

Sir, *Philadelphia, July 20th, 1797.*

HAVING observed in the 4th volume of your valuable Collection of State Papers, page 294, that you have given to Europe, as a resolution of the House of Representatives of the United States, what was in fact a motion only, presented to that House, but never agreed to, nor even discussed; I have thought it proper to furnish you with the means of correcting this mistake.

When the resolution for carrying the British treaty into effect was under discussion, this motion was presented to the House by the opposition, as the measure which, in case that resolution should be rejected, they intended to bring forward in its stead: but the resolution having been carried, the substitute was never taken up; though it had been printed for the information of the members, and, like all other motions, was entered at large on the Journal.

Having been a member myself when these transactions took place, I can affirm that they were as I have stated: but to give the statement a more authentic form, I have subjoined the motion itself, with a certificate from the

been received from its minister here which indicated danger of a further disturbance of our commerce by its authority, and that were in other respects far from agreeable: but that I reserved for a special message a more particular communication on this interesting subject.—This communication I now make.

The complaints of the French minister embraced most of the transactions of our government in relation to France, from an early period of the present war; which therefore it was necessary carefully to review. A collection has been formed of letters and papers relating to those transactions, which I now lay before you, with a letter to Mr. Pinkney, our minister at Paris, containing an

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the clerk at the bottom. The desire of vindicating the House of Representatives from the imputation of so great an inconsistency as to pass this resolution, and then carry the treaty into effect within a few weeks, will, I hope, be a sufficient excuse for the trouble given you on this subject, by,

Mr. Debrett. Sir, your very humble Servant.

In the House of Representatives of the United States.

Thursday, the 14th April, 1796.

ON a motion made and seconded, that the House do come to the following resolution:

"The House having taken into consideration the treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, between the United States and Great Britain, communicated by the President, in his message of the first day of March last, are of opinion, that it is, in many respects, highly injurious to the interest of the United States; yet, were they possessed of any information which could justify the great sacrifices contained in that treaty, their sincere desire to cherish harmony and amicable intercourse with all nations, and their earnest wish to co-operate in hastening a final adjustment of the differences subsisting between the United States and Great Britain, might have induced them to wave their objections to the treaty: but when they contemplate the conduct of Great Britain, in persevering, since the treaty was signed, in the impressment of American seamen, and the seizure of American vessels (laden with provisions), contrary to the clearest rights of neutral nations—whether this be viewed as the construction meant to be given to any articles in the treaty, or as contrary to, and an infraction of the true meaning and spirit thereof—the House cannot but regard it as incumbent on them, in fidelity to the trust reposed in them, to forbear, under such circumstances, taking, at present, any active measures on the subject: therefore,

"Resolved, That, under the circumstances aforesaid, and with such information as the House possess, it is not expedient, at this time, to concur in passing the laws necessary for carrying the said treaty into effect."

Ordered, that the said motion be committed to the committee of the whole House on the state of the union.

Extract from the Journal,
JONATHAN W. CONDY, Clerk.

I certify, that it does not appear from the Journal of the House, that the foregoing motion was considered by the committee of the whole House on the state of the union, to whom it was referred, or that it was agreed to by the House. JONATHAN W. CONDY, Clerk.

Philadelphia, July 19th, 1797.

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examination of the notes of the French minister, and such information as I thought might be useful to Mr. Pinkney in any further representations he might find necessary to be made to the French government. The immediate object of his mission was to make to that government such explanations of the principles and conduct of our own, as, by manifesting our good faith, might remove all jealousy and discontent, and maintain that harmony and good understanding with the French republic which it has been my constant solicitude to preserve. A government which required only a knowledge of the *truth* to justify its measures, could not but be anxious to have this fully and frankly displayed.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

United States, Jan. 19, 1797.

The following is the Letter to Mr. Pinkney, Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States at Paris, alluded to in the President's Message.

Sir, *Department of State, Jan. 16, 1797.*

IN my letters of the 5th and 26th ult. I sent you two notes from Mr. Adet, the minister of the French republic to the United States; the former dated the 27th of October, and the other the 15th of November last; and my answer to the first. The latter note embracing numerous topics of complaint, and going as far back as the year 1793, required a particular examination of all the transactions of our government from that time to the present. The other indispensable duties of the office prevented my entering on this examination as early as I had expected, and the current business has retarded the pursuit. The result of this examination I am now, by the direction of the President of the United States, to communicate to you. This history of our affairs you will find supported by documents, many of which were delivered to you at your departure, and the residue will be herewith transmitted. The remarks and reasonings on facts you will duly appreciate; and from the whole, joined with your own observations, you will be enabled, it is believed, to vindicate the United States, and to demonstrate their impartiality as a neutral nation, their fidelity in the observation of treaties, and their friendship as an ally.

The discussion on which I am entering, will involve much repetition; for the general questions and particular cases grouped together in the minister's last note, have been subjects of controversy and correspondence from May 1793 to this day. Some other points have indeed been contended for, which the minister has now passed without notice. Why they are omitted I know not; for in these cases the United States were as positively charged with violating treaties as in those which he has been pleased now

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to detail. Some of them it may be found proper to introduce, to render leſs imperfect the view of our relations to France.

The complaints of the French miniſter againſt the United States have reference to three principal ſubjects:

1ſt, To the abandonment of their neutral rights to the injury of France, in not maintaining the pretended principles of the modern law of nations, *that free ſhips make free goods*, and that timber and naval ſtores for the equipment and armament of veſſels are not contraband of war.

2d, To violations of our treaties with France, even in their letter.

3d, To the treaty of amity and commerce between the United States and Great Britain; which, he alleges, "deprives France of all the advantages ſtipulated in a previous treaty."—A fourth complaint is truly ingenious. The fortune of war has conſtrained ſome of the belligerent powers, from enemies to become her allies; and if the alleged abandonment of the rules of the modern law of nations, in its conſequences, works an injury to thoſe allies, from that moment France is alſo injured. Perhaps it will be in time to notice this laſt charge when thoſe allies themſelves complain; if the anſwer to the firſt, involving the ſame principle, ſhould not render ſuch notice altogether unneceſſary.

I ſhall now preſent to your view thoſe facts and obſervations which will prove, we conceive, that the miniſter's complaints are without any juſt foundation.

Under the firſt charge, that we have not maintained, as we ought to have done, our neutral rights, it is alleged;

1ſt, That the poſition, *that free ſhips make free goods*, is an eſtabliſhed principle of the modern law of nations; and that Great Britain, by capturing French property on board our veſſels, has violated our neutral rights; and that unleſs we compel Great Britain to reſpect thoſe rights, France will be juſtified in violating them.

Not to remark on the ſingular reaſoning, that if one warring power commits an act of injuſtice towards a neutral and innocent nation, another warring power may lawfully commit the like injuſtice, we may aſk, what authority is adduced, to ſhow that the modern law of nations has eſtabliſhed the principle, *that free ſhips make free goods?* Vattel * ſays poſitively that "effects belonging to an enemy found on board a neutral ſhip, are ſeizable by the rights of war." Agreeably to this long-eſtabliſhed rule of the law of nations, France herſelf, in her marine laws †, has directed that *the merchandiſes and effects belonging to her enemies which ſhall be*

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* Book iii. ſ. 115. † Valin, p. 250. Reg. Oct. 21, 1744, Art. 5.

found on board neutral vessels shall be good prize. By a former law indeed the neutral vessels themselves, as well as the effects of her enemies on board, were declared to be good prize. Valin * remarks, however, that this regulation was peculiar to France and Spain; and that elsewhere the *goods* of the enemy were *alone* subjected to confiscation. And in the treaty of France with the city of Hamburg in 1769, it was stipulated that "all effects, provisions, and merchandise whatsoever belonging to her enemies, and found on board the vessels of Hamburg, should be confiscated."

Mr. Adet remarks, that one of his predecessors, in July, 1793, applied on this subject to the government of the United States, but was unsuccessful. He must refer to Mr. Genet's letter to Mr. Jefferson, dated July 9th, 1793 (the subject was resumed in terms still more extraordinary in his letter of July 25th, 1793), to which Mr. Jefferson answered on the 24th, declaring † "his belief that it cannot be doubted but that, by the general law of nations, the goods of a friend found in the vessel of an enemy, are lawful prize."—"It is true that sundry nations, desirous of avoiding the inconveniences of having their vessels stopped at sea, ransacked, carried into port and detained, under pretence of having enemy goods on board, have in many instances introduced, *by their special treaties*, another principle between them, that enemy bottoms shall make enemy goods, and friendly bottoms friendly goods;—but this is altogether the effect of particular treaty, controlling, in *special cases*, the *general principle* of the law of nations, and therefore taking effect between such nations only as have so agreed to control it." And it is plain, that it was to avoid the inconveniences resulting from this general rule of the law of nations, that France and the United States stipulated, in the 23d article of their commercial treaty, "That free ships should give freedom to goods; and that every thing should be deemed free which should be found on board the ships belonging to the subjects of either of the contracting parties, although the whole lading, or any part thereof, should appertain to the enemies of either, contraband goods being always excepted." It is also plain that this stipulation was intended to operate (indeed it was its sole object, and otherwise could have no operation at all) when one of the parties should be at war with a nation or nations with whom the other should be at peace. France, therefore, has now no right to complain if the goods of her enemies find protection on board American ships, or to pretend, that in order "to restore the balance of neutrality to its equilibrium," she may seize on such goods: the just equilibrium between her and the United States will be restored when we are at war and she at peace; at which

* Vol. ii. p. 252, 253.

† State Papers, p. 50. 53. 55.

time the goods of our enemies will find protection on board the vessels of her citizens.

2d. It is alleged, that we have abandoned the modern public law on contraband, and by our treaty with Great Britain *granted* to that power exclusively the free carriage of articles for the equipment and armament of vessels.

Here, as in the former case, the question recurs, What is the law of nations on the point in dispute? Vattel * defines contraband goods to be "commodities particularly used in war; such as arms, military and *naval* stores, *timber*, horses, and even provisions in certain junctures, when there are hopes of reducing the enemy by famine." In the treaty between France and Denmark, concluded on the 23d of August, 1742 †, "tar was declared contraband, together with rosin, sails, hemp, cordage, masts, and timber for ship-building."—"Thus, on this account," says Valin, "there would have been no cause for complaining of the conduct of the English, if they had not infringed particular treaties; for of right these things are now contraband, and have been so since the beginning of this century, which, however, was not the case formerly."—"The modern public law on contraband," mentioned by Mr. Adet and his predecessors, probably refers to the principles declared by the armed neutrality during the American war. This transaction is too remarkable to be passed unnoticed.

During that war, Great Britain and the other belligerent powers, exercising the rights assured to them by the law of nations, made prize of enemies property on board neutral vessels, and of contraband goods belonging to neutrals. Eager as neutral nations must be to seize the opportunity which war presents, of becoming the carriers for the belligerent nations, whose ships and mariners are wanted for military operations, it was perfectly natural that the former should desire to establish as a rule, that free ships should make free goods; or, in other words, that neutral bottoms should protect the goods on board, to whomsoever they belonged; and it was equally natural for them to desire to diminish the list of contraband. In respect to the latter, it must have been particularly interesting to the three northern maritime powers, from whose dominions chiefly the other maritime nations of Europe received supplies of timber and naval stores, to strike these from the list of contraband, or by some means to exempt them from capture.

With these dispositions, the Empress of Russia, in February, 1780, made public the principles on which she would maintain the commerce of her subjects. It is necessary here to recite only two of them: 1. That all the effects belonging to subjects of the nations at war should be free on board neutral vessels; contra-

* B. vii. s. 112. † Valin, vol. ii. p. 264.

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band goods excepted. 2. That the articles of contraband ſhould be regulated by the 10th and 11th articles of her treaty of commerce with Great Britain, extending the regulations of thoſe articles to all the belligerent powers.

To enforce the obſervance of theſe principles, ſhe gave orders for equipping a conſiderable part of her marine.

In July of the ſame year, Denmark acceded to the principles of the armed neutrality, and entered into a convention with Ruſſia, for maintaining them; aſſuming for her rule in determining what articles ſhould be deemed contraband, her treaty of commerce with Great Britain, concluded the 11th of July, 1670. In the third article of this treaty, the deſcription of contraband goods is in general terms: "Any proviſions of war, as ſoldiers, arms, machines, cannon, ſhips, or other things of neceſſary uſe in war." But by a convention concluded at London on the 4th of July, 1780, between Great Britain and Denmark, "to explain the treaty of commerce of 1670 between the two powers," the articles deemed contraband are particularly enumerated, and among them we ſee "timber for ſhip-building, tar, roſin, copper in ſheets, ſails, hemp, and cordage, and generally whatever ſerves directly for the equipment of a veſſel, unwrought iron and fir-planks excepted." It is remarkable, that theſe are the very articles admitted as contraband in the 18th article of our treaty of commerce with Great Britain, and for which admiſſion Mr. Adet declares, "all the commercial relations between France and the United States are entirely broken."

But it is further to be noticed, that this convention between Ruſſia and Denmark, concluded in the midſt of the American war, for maintaining the principles of the armed neutrality, and to which other European powers acceded, is explicitly declared in the 9th article *, to have been concluded and agreed on *for the time that war ſhould laſt* †; though it was to ſerve as a baſis to future engagements, which circumſtances might render neceſſary, on account of new naval wars in Europe. And with the latter view, the King of Sweden manifeſted the utmoſt ſolicitude leſt the war ſhould be cloſed without the intervention of the neutral powers. He therefore was urgent that the Empreſs, with all the parties to the maritime convention, "ſhould propoſe to the belligerent powers the eſtabliſhing of a congreſs, in which the different concerns both of the powers at war, and of the neutral ſtates, ſhould be examined and terminated ‡." And theſe concerns he afterwards mentions to be the pacification, *and the ſettling of a maritime code of laws*:" objects truly important, and meriting all the ſolicitude manifeſted on the occaſion by the King,

* Hiſt. Armed Neutrality, p. 77. † Marten's Treaties, vol. ii. p. 103.
‡ Hiſt. Arm. Neut. p. 147—150.

But these steps of the King of Sweden serve as additional proofs that the principles of the armed neutrality were not considered by the parties to the maritime convention as sanctioned by the existing law of nations. For permanently to establish those assumed principles, by introducing them into a maritime code, was obviously the influential motive with the King for desiring a congress, at which such a code might be settled with the assent of all the nations of Europe. But this project did not succeed: no congress was formed: the belligerent powers made peace at different periods, and with that war ended the maritime convention. This no nation has more reason to regret than our own, as well because the principles in question respect some very valuable portions of our exports, as because our disposition and our policy preserving us in peace, such an extended liberty of commerce would prove highly advantageous to us as carriers for the powers at war.

We have seen then that the law of nations, the marine laws of France, her own treaties as well as those of other nations, and even the system of the armed neutrality, incontestably establish these principles: That enemies goods on board neutral vessels are rightful subjects of capture and condemnation; and that timber and other articles for the equipment and armament of ships, are contraband of war; and, therefore, that the admission of these principles, in the treaty between the United States and Great Britain, not being a grant to her of any right, (for in what sense could we be said to give what she before possessed?) furnishes no just ground of offence to France. In what sense too can the United States be said to have "*refused* to other nations a right," which they and we voluntarily and mutually agreed to *renounce?* Or how are we chargeable with "partiality in favour of England," because we do not take arms to *compel* her also to *renounce* it?

But Mr. Adet, still resting on the idea, that not to *compel* Great Britain to *renounce*, is to *grant* her a *right*, seems to imagine that we shall attempt to obviate his complaints by saying, "That France having the right, by her treaty of 1778, to enjoy all the advantages in commerce and navigation which the United States have granted to England, is not injured by the stipulations of the treaty of 1794 (with Great Britain), relative to contraband of war; as they become common to her."—But we shall say no such thing. The second article to which he refers has no relation to this subject. Had we *granted* any particular *favour* to Great Britain, or to any other nation, in respect to commerce and navigation, we readily admit that by this article France would be immediately entitled to the same. But in regard to contraband of war, *we have granted nothing*; and therefore, under that article, *France can claim nothing*.

Under the influence of present and temporary interest, the very

nature

nature of the ſtipulations between France and the United States, on the ſubject of free commerce and the limitation of contraband, ſeems to be forgotten. They ſook for the baſis of their treaty "the moſt perfect equality and reciprocity"—would they then conſpire to their own hurt? Would they voluntarily and mutually ſtipulate for *injuries?* Or for *advantages?* Certainly the latter; and both conſidered the agreement reciprocally *advantageous*, which ſecured to each, in its turn, the freedom of commerce provided by the rules, that free ſhips ſhould make free goods; and that timber and naval ſtores ſhould be excluded from the liſt of contraband.

Connected with this ſubject is what concerns the article of *proviſions*. Mr. Adet ſays, that "after having aſſured to the Engliſh the carriage of naval ſtores, the federal government *wiſhed* to aſſure them that of meals; in a word, *it deſired to have commerce only with England.* Thus it ſtipulates by the 18th article, that the American veſſels laden with grain may be ſeized, under the *frivolous pretext*, that it is extremely difficult to define the caſes wherein proviſions, and other articles, which are generally excepted, could be claſſed in the liſt of contraband of war."

There are ſo many extraordinary aſſertions in Mr. Adet's notes, thoſe in the above paragraph excite no ſurpriſe. The federal government is conſtituted of citizens who have a common intereſt with their fellow-citizens of the United States: that common intereſt has a peculiar relation to commerce, on the freedom and extenſion of which the public revenue and the general proſperity of our country chiefly depend. Will it then be believed, that the government *wiſhed* this commerce to be *reſtrained*, particularly the commerce in *meals*, which compoſe the moſt valuable part of our exports? Eſpecially will it be believed, that the government *deſired* that our citizens might have commerce *only* with *England?* Let the general ſenſe of our fellow-citizens anſwer theſe charges: let the great maſs of our commercial brethren anſwer; they whoſe enterpriſe traverſes every ſea, and explores every region of the globe, to extend their gainful trade; citizens whoſe commercial adventures to France and her colonies have riſen annually to many millions; adventures by which many have hazarded their credit and their fortunes: yet, among all our citizens, none have been more ſolicitous to form a commercial treaty with Britain; none more decided in approving that which has been made.

For the reaſoning of our own government on this ſubject I beg leave to refer you to my letter of September 12th, 1795, written by the Preſident's direction to Mr. Monroe: therein it was attempted to ſhow the *neceſſity* and our *right* of forming that treaty with Great Britain; and I hope it will appear to you, that the con-

conclusion is there fairly drawn, that even the 18th article, as it respects provisions, would operate favourably to France.

Before the treaty with Great Britain, her cruisers captured neutral vessels bound to France with provisions. She asserted, that in certain cases provisions were contraband of war; consequently, that she might lawfully capture and confiscate such provisions. We opposed the principle and the practice. Britain insisted on her right. In this dilemma, it was agreed by the treaty, that whenever provisions becoming contraband by the law of nations should be captured, they should be paid for with a reasonable mercantile profit. This stipulation, without admitting the principle, by securing the American merchants from loss in case of capture, would certainly tend to promote, rather than to discourage, adventures in provisions to France.

But as this treaty has been the subject of serious complaint on the part of France, it is important to inquire with what foundation the complaint is made.

I might pass over the unworthy insinuations of the minister, that the treaty was entered into by us *in order to assure advantages to the English, and to furnish our own government with a reply to the claims of France, and peremptory motives for refusals to accede to them*; *that the true object of the negotiation was incessantly disguised under specious pretexts, and covered with the veil of dissimulation.* These insinuations have been indiscreetly addressed to the people of the United States. They will gain no belief. It may, however, be useful for you to be truly informed on the subject.

The President's message to the Senate on the 16th of April, 1794, does not declare (as Mr. Adet asserts) "that Mr. Jay was sent to London *only* to obtain a redress of wrongs." The President says, that Mr. Jay's mission would announce to the world "a solicitude for a friendly adjustment of our complaints," and that "going immediately from the United States, such an envoy would carry with him a full knowledge of the existing temper and sensibility of our country; and thus be taught to *vindicate our rights* with firmness, and to *cultivate peace* with sincerity." And shall the pursuit of either of these objects be denied to us? What were our complaints? The most urgent regarded the spoliations on our commerce, and the inexecution of the article of the treaty of peace respecting the posts. With the latter was connected the Indian war, with which we had been harassed for so many years; and with the former, the injury or ruin of our merchants, and the consequent extensive damage to agriculture. These being the most prominent objects of the mission, were of course most observable, and most talked of; and without them the mission probably would not at that time have been contemplated. But had we no other "complaints?" Did not the impressment of our seamen, like the spoliations on our commerce, excite

excite an universal complaint? Had we never manifested our uneasiness at Great Britain's avoiding a commercial treaty? Was it not even a subject of complaint and reproach? Was not the inducing her to enter into such a treaty the object of divers measures agitated in Congress? Had not a commercial treaty with Great Britain been earnestly sought for from the conclusion of the war to the time of Mr. Jay's mission? How also could Mr. Jay, after adjusting the primary objects of his mission, better prove the sincerity of our pacific disposition, and more effectually "cultivate peace," than by forming arrangements calculated to extend and protect our trade, to promote good neighbourhood, and a friendly and mutually beneficial intercourse; by prescribing a previous demand of justice and satisfaction to hasty reprisals, which naturally lead to war; and by agreeing on other regulations to prevent disputes, or to adjust them when they should arise? All these objects then, and whatever else would be the means of "cultivating peace," were clearly comprehended in the President's message.

But Mr. Adet says, "that Mr. Jay's negotiation was enveloped from its origin in the shadow of mystery." And to whom was our government bound to unveil it? To France, or to her minister? Mr. Adet should answer; or not have complained. And was it for this, to make us a dependence on the French empire, that our alliance was formed? Did we stipulate to submit the exercise of our sovereignty (if it is not a contradiction in terms) to the direction of the government of France? Let the treaty itself furnish the answer*: "The essential and direct end of the present defensive alliance is to maintain effectually the liberty, *sovereignty*, and *independence*, *absolute* and *unlimited*, of the said United States, as well in matters of *government* as of *commerce*." So likewise the treaty of amity and commerce in its preamble declares, that his most Christian Majesty and the United States, willing to fix the rules which ought to be followed relative to the correspondence and commerce which they desire to establish between their respective countries, have taken "for the basis of their agreement, the most perfect *equality* and *reciprocity*"—"and reserving withal to *each party* the liberty of admitting *at its pleasure other nations* to a participation of the same advantages." Corresponding with this declaration in our treaty of amity and commerce with France, is the declaration of the Marquis de Noailles, her ambassador at the court of London, on the 13th of March, 1778, five weeks after the treaty was signed. Some passages in this declaration are so pertinent to the subject in discussion, I shall quote them at length.

* Treaty of Alliance, article 2.

"The

" The underſigned ambaſſador of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty has received expreſs orders to make the following declaration to the court of London:

" The United States of North America, *who are in full poſſeſſion of independence*, as pronounced by them on the 4th of July, 1776, having propoſed to the King, to conſolidate by a formal convention the connexion begun to be eſtabliſhed betwen the two nations, the reſpective plenipotentiaries have ſigned a treaty of friendſhip and commerce, deſigned to ſerve as a foundation for their mutual good correſpondence.

" His Majeſty being determined to cultivate the good underſtanding ſubſiſting between France and Great Britain, by every means compatible with his dignity, and the good of his ſubjects, thinks it neceſſary to make this proceeding known to the court of London, and to declare, at the ſame time, that the contracting parties have paid great attention *not to ſtipulate any excluſive advantages in favour of the French nation, and that the United States have reſerved the liberty of treating with every nation whatever upon the ſame footing of equality and reciprocity.*" Why, after all this, do we hear from Mr. Adet the complaint, that the negotiations of the Britiſh treaty were ſecretly conducted? In other words, that in exerciſing their abſolute and unlimited rights of " government and commerce," the United States did not lay open to the French miniſter, or his government, the inſtructions to *our* envoy for ſettling *our own* diſputes, and *regulating our own commerce* with Great Britain? So far as candour and friendſhip required, a communication was made to the French miniſter. He was officially informed, " that Mr. Jay was inſtructed not to weaken our engagements to France." This inſtruction was obeyed, Mr. Jay having taken care to inſert in the 25th article of the treaty this explicit ſtipulation, that " nothing in this treaty contained ſhall be conſtrued or operate contrary to former and exiſting public treaties with other ſovereigns or ſtates."

The government gave a farther proof of its candour and friendſhip, by communicating to the French miniſter the *treaty itſelf*, prior to its ratification, " in order to enable him to make ſuch obſervations thereon as he might judge proper." Theſe obſervations you will ſee in Mr. Adet's letter to the ſecretary of ſtate, of June 30, 1795; and the refutation of his objections in the ſecretary's anſwer, dated the 6th of July following.

With theſe facts in view, facts, of which the chief are drawn from our treaties with France, and from her own acts and laws, what opinion is to be formed of Mr. Adet's declaration, " that the Executive Directory regards the treaty of commerce concluded with Great Britain, as a violation of the treaty made with France in 1778, and equivalent to a treaty of alliance with Great Britain?"

 I will

I will now advert to the charge, "That, far from offering the French the ſuccours which friendſhip might have given without compromitting it, the American government in this reſpect violated the letter of treaties."

As far as I can diſcover, the latter part of this charge is reſted wholly on the 17th article of the commercial treaty; which, therefore, it will be neceſſary to examine. The ſtipulations are mutual; but the examination will be ſimplified by conſidering their application to France alone. The 17th article then declares—

1ſt. That the ſhips of war and privateers of France may freely carry the ſhips and goods *taken from their enemies* into the ports of the United States, without being obliged to pay any fees to the officers of the admiralty, or any other judges.

2d. That ſuch prizes are not to be arreſted or ſeized when they enter the ports of the United States.

3d. That the officers of the United States ſhall not make any examination concerning the lawfulneſs of ſuch prizes: but,

4th. That they may hoiſt ſail at any time, and depart, and carry their prizes to the places expreſſed in their commiſſions.

5th. That, on the contrary, no ſhelter or refuge ſhall be given in the ports of the United States to ſuch as ſhall have made prize of the ſubjects, people, or property of France; but if ſuch ſhall come in, being forced by ſtreſs of weather, or the danger of the ſea, all proper means ſhall be vigorouſly uſed that they go out and retire from thence as ſoon as poſſible.

It will alſo be convenient here to notice the ſtipulations contained in the 22d article. Theſe are,

1ſt. That foreign *privateers* not belonging to French ſubjects or citizens, having commiſſions from any other prince or ſtate in enmity with France, ſhall not fit their ſhips in the ports of the United States;

2d. Nor ſell their prizes, nor in any other manner exchange their ſhips, merchandiſes, or any other lading;

3d. Nor purchaſe victuals, except ſuch as ſhall be neceſſary for their going to the neareſt port of the prince or ſtate from which they have commiſſions.

The caſes that have occurred in the courſe of the preſent war in relation to our treaty with France, particularly the 17th and 22d articles juſt mentioned, have led to numerous diſcuſſions, in which ſeveral points have been deliberately ſettled, either by legiſlative or executive acts, or by judicial deciſions.

The firſt important executive act was the proclamation of neutrality by the Preſident of the United States. This was iſſued on the 22d of April, 1793.

At the next meeting of Congreſs on the 3d of December, 1793, the Preſident laid this proclamation before both houſes. The

Senate,

Senate, in their addreſs in anſwer to the Preſident's ſpeech, thus expreſs their opinion of the proclamation:

"We deem it a meaſure well-timed, and wiſe; manifeſting a watchful ſolicitude for the welfare of the nation, and calculated to promote it."

The addreſs of the Houſe of Repreſentatives was *unanimouſly* agreed to. We read in it this paragraph: "The United States having taken no part in the war which had embraced, in Europe, the powers with whom they have the moſt extenſive relations, the maintenance of peace was juſtly to be regarded as one of the moſt important duties of the magiſtrate charged with the faithful execution of the laws. We accordingly witneſs, with approbation and pleaſure, the vigilance with which you have guarded againſt an interruption of that bleſſing by your proclamation, admoniſhing our citizens of the conſequences of illicit or hoſtile acts towards the belligerent parties; and promoting, by a declaration of the exiſting legal ſtate of things, an eaſier admiſſion of our right to the immunities belonging to our ſituation."

Yet this is the inſtrument, thus approved by Congreſs, and whoſe only object was to caution our citizens to avoid certain acts, which would violate the laws of nations, which Mr. Adet has ventured to call "an inſidious proclamation of neutrality!"

The next executive act noticed by Mr. Adet, is the letter of the 4th of Auguſt, 1793, written by the Preſident's command, by the ſecretary of the treaſury, to the collectors of the cuſtoms, and accompanied by the rules which the Preſident had adopted, for preventing all armaments in favour of any of the belligerent powers. Theſe rules were conſidered as juſt and neceſſary deductions from the laws of neutrality eſtabliſhed and received among nations. The letter from the ſecretary of the treaſury is explanatory of theſe rules; and among other inſtructions, particularly points the collectors to the 17th and 22d articles of our treaty with France: leſt by inattention, or miſconception of them, ſhe might be injured, and her enemies benefited. The letter concludes with enjoining the collectors to execute thoſe inſtructions "with vigilance, care, activity, and impartiality"—"becauſe omiſſions would tend to expoſe the government to injurious imputations and ſuſpicions, and proportionably to commit the good faith and peace of the country." How could ſuch rules, with ſuch reaſons to enforce them, not eſcape cenſure? They were framed and required to be executed with ſtrict impartiality; and conſequently, were to prevent Frenchmen continuing thoſe aggreſſions on our ſovereignty and neutrality, which had been commenced under Mr. Genet's orders, and which were calculated to involve us in a war with Britain, Spain, and Holland; for at that time theſe were all combined againſt France. Frenchmen were to have no other preferences *than thoſe ſecured to them by treaty* (except that they

were not forbidden to sell their *lawful* prizes in our ports); and our own citizens were to be restrained from committing hostilities under the banners of France, as well as those of other powers.

The third offensive act was the President's *submitting* to Congress these measures, and suggesting the expediency of extending our legal code, giving competent jurisdiction to the courts, and providing adequate penalties to prevent or punish violations of the laws of nations.

The next complaint respects the act of Congress passed on the 5th of June, 1794, "for the punishment of certain crimes against the United States;" being those to which their attention had been called by the President's speech. Mr. Adet asks, "What was its result?" and gives himself the following answer: "In consequence of this law, the greater part of the French privateers have been arrested, as well as their prizes; not upon formal depositions, not upon established testimony, not upon a necessary body of proofs, but upon the simple information of the consul of one of the powers at war with the French republic, frequently upon that of sailors of the enemy-powers, sometimes according to the orders of the governors, but often upon the demand of the district attornies, who assert, upon principles avowed by the government, that their conviction was sufficient to authorize them, without complaint or regular information, to cause the privateers to be prosecuted in virtue of the law above mentioned."—And "when the ministers of the republic have asked for justice of the government, for the vexations experienced by the privateers, in contempt of the 17th article of the treaty, they have *never* been able to obtain satisfaction."

Judging only by these declarations of Mr. Adet, a stranger would imagine there had been a combination of the general and state governments and of our courts, to harass and do injustice to Frenchmen engaged in privateering. But our own citizens place a different estimate on this impeachment of their President, their senators and representatives in Congress, their judges and other public officers: and an examination of the cases cited by Mr. Adet to support his assertions will manifest their incorrectness.

First case. The French privateer Sans Pareil, and her prize the Perseverance.

On the 26th August, 1794, Mr. Fauchet complained that the prize had been seized on the pretext that the *Sans Pareil* had been illegally armed in the United States. The answer of September 3d from the secretary of state, which Mr. Adet censures "as indicative of delay," assured him, that the secretary had urged the governor of Rhode Island, where the prize was carried, to report the circumstances of the case without delay. On the 27th of September, the secretary informed Mr. Fauchet, that the go-

vernor

vernor had decided that the prize ſhould be reſtored. On the 17th of October Mr. Fauchet renewed his complaint, for on the ſuit of the claimant the prize had again been arreſted by proceſs from the diſtrict court. The ſecretary of ſtate anſwered on the 22d, with information that ought to have ſatisfied Mr. Fauchet. For admitting, that agreeably to the law of the 5th of June, 1794, the courts had authority, and were bound in duty to take cogniſance of captures made within the juriſdiction of the United States, or by privateers illegally fitted in their ports (the right of doing which Mr. Fauchet did not conteſt), they could not refuſe it in the caſe of the prize of the Sans Pareil: the guard againſt vexatious proſecutions being the judgment for coſts and damages to which an unjuſt proſecutor is expoſed. The circular letter written on this occaſion to the governors of the ſtates manifeſts the ſolicitude of our government to prevent vexatious ſuits.

Second caſe. Glaſs and Gibbs.

By the copy of the proceedings in the ſupreme court of the United States, in this caſe, you will ſee that the court did not, as ſtated by Mr. Adet, determine, "That the tribunals could decide whether a prize belonged to enemies or to neutrals." The queſtion before the court was of the cogniſance of a captured veſſel and cargo, the former the property of a Swede, and the latter belonging partly to ſome Swedes and partly *to a citizen of the United States*. The opinion therefore pronounced by the ſupreme court applied to the caſe in which one of the claimants was a citizen of the United States. And after ſolemn argument, the court decided, "That the diſtrict court of Maryland had juriſdiction, and ſhould accordingly proceed to determine upon this caſe agreeably to law and right."

I will add only one more remark—That the 17th article, the letter of which we are charged with violating, in ſuffering our courts to take cogniſance of French prizes, expreſsly refers to "the ſhips and goods taken from their *enemies*;" and it is the "examination concerning the lawfulneſs of ſuch prizes," which the article forbids. But no examination of ſuch prizes has been attempted by our government or tribunals, unleſs on clear evidence, or reaſonable preſumption, that the captures were made in circumſtances, which amounted to a violation of our ſovereignty and territorial rights.

Third caſe. The French privateer *L'Ami de la Point à Petre*, Captain William Talbot, and her Dutch prize, the Vrouw Chriſtiana Magdalena.

To the information contained in the papers collected in this caſe, I have to add, that this cauſe was finally decided in the ſupreme court in Auguſt term, 1795. The court were unanimouſly of opinion that in the particular circumſtances of Talbot's caſe, notwithſtanding his French commiſſion, and his taking an oath

oath of allegiance to the French republic, he continued to be a citizen of the United States. But the cause, as I am informed, did not appear to have turned on this point. Talbot had associated with one Ballard, commanding an armed vessel called the *Ami de la Liberté*, which had been fitted out in the United States, *and had no commission*. Talbot and Ballard cruised together as consorts; and in fact it was Ballard's vessel that took the prize; Talbot not coming up till an hour after the capture. Ballard was afterwards tried before the circuit court for piracy.

The court were of opinion, from the tenour of the evidence, that Talbot's vessel was owned by citizens of the United States, to whom the prize-money would eventually find its way in case of restitution to the captors.

Ballard and Talbot were both citizens of Virginia. The attempt of the latter to become a French citizen was considered to be fraudulent, being made for the sole purpose of obtaining a commission, under colour of which he might plunder the subjects of nations with whom the United States were at peace.

An observation ought not to be omitted here—That although the captors, Talbot and others, had been defeated both in the district and circuit courts; yet they carried the cause up to the supreme court: thus using the legal right of appealing to the court in the last resort; a right which, alike exercised by the subjects of powers who were enemies to France, has formed a principal subject of Mr. Fauchet's and Mr. Adet's continued complaints.

4th. Under the head of complaints for vexatious prosecutions, Mr. Adet mentions only two cases in which damages and interest were allowed to the French captors, viz. one of *La Nuestra Senora del Carmen*, at Rhode Island; and the other of *La Princessa des Asturias*, at New York. "Yet (says he) the tribunals have *always* allowed damages to the captured, when they have declared the prizes illegal." How far the facts will warrant this last assertion, I am not possessed of documents to determine. I presume it is to be understood in a *general* sense only, and to admit of exceptions. And in this sense there will be no difficulty in admitting the truth of the assertion, and accounting for it. The captures here referred to, were made either within our jurisdictional line, or by *illegal privateers*, being such as were equipped in whole or in part in the ports of the United States. Of these material facts, the captors could not be ignorant: consequently they could have no apology for defending their unjust claims in our courts; and of course, were justly condemned in costs and damages.

In the case of the prizes of the privateer the *Citizen of Marseilles*, damages were claimed by the captors, but denied. For those prizes had been considered in the district court to be illegal. And although the sentence of that court was reversed in the circuit court, yet it was upon the introduction of *new testimony* on

the part of the captors. This laſt deciſion was affirmed in the ſupreme court, yet without damages; inaſmuch as the teſtimony was conſidered to be ſo ambiguous as to juſtify the appeal.

The ſame remarks apply to the prizes of the privateer *General Laveaux*; with this addition, that one of the judges diſſented from the opinion of the court, being firmly of opinion that this privateer was covered American property.

The privateer *La Pariſienne* had been regiſtered as an *American coaſting veſſel*, under the name of the *Hawk*. During the embargo, in the ſpring of 1794, ſhe ſlipped out of Charleſton and went to Port de Paix, where ſhe was ſold to one Blochos, a Frenchman, who armed her and provided her with a commiſſion. Having afterwards arrived at Charleſton, ſhe was recogniſed and proſecuted for a breach of the revenue laws, *in having gone to a foreign port* whilſt ſhe was in the legal predicament of a *coaſter*. The diſtrict court condemned her: but on the application of Blochos to have her reſtored on paying the appraiſed value, the judge permitted him to take her, *in a ſtate of warlike equipment*. Shortly afterwards ſhe put to ſea, and captured two valuable Britiſh prizes, the brigantines Cæſar and Favourite. On their arrival, the one at Charleſton, the other at Savannah, ſuits were commenced to obtain their reſtitution, as having been captured by an illegal privateer. The decrees of the courts were in favour of the captors, but without damages. The ſupreme court diſapproved of the reſtitution of the privateer without diſmantling her; and conſidered the miſtake committed in this reſpect a ſufficient reaſon to cover the party proſecuting from the payment of damages.

All the other caſes of captures by French privateers which have been brought up to the ſupreme court, were decided at laſt Auguſt term. In ſome of them, the circumſtances would not have warranted an award of damages; in others, *the counſel for the captors omitted to aſk for them.*—When demanded, you know that it is in the deſcretion of the court to grant or refuſe them: this diſcretion being regulated by all the circumſtances of each caſe. Hence, when a party is drawn before the court without good cauſe and vexatiouſly, damages are always given; but are denied when there appears a reaſonable cauſe of controverſy.

5th. Mr. Adet having briefly noticed ſeveral caſes by name, ſeems to reſerve thoſe of the Vengeance and Caſſius for a full diſplay of unwarrantable conduct in the government and courts of the United States, and therefore deſcants on them at ſome length; but with ſo many aberrations from the facts, with ſo many erroneous ideas concerning our juriſprudence, and ſo many injurious inſinuations reſpecting our courts and their officers, it will be neceſſary that you ſhould learn the true hiſtory of theſe caſes from authentic documents.

Caſe

Case of the French privateer La Vengeance.

For the full hiſtory of this privateer and her prize I muſt refer you to the documents in the caſe. The principal facts are theſe: about the latter end of June or beginning of July, 1795, the privateer *La Vengeance* arrived at New York with a valuable Spaniſh prize called the Princeſſa de las Aſturias. Don Diego Pintado the owner commenced a ſuit for his veſſel, on the ground that ſhe had been taken by an illegal privateer. The ſuit was inſtituted by Mr. Troup, not wantonly, but upon information which was afterwards verified by the oaths of ſeveral witneſſes. In the progreſs of the cauſe, theſe witneſſes were contradicted by the witneſſes produced on behalf of the captors, for whom a decree was finally given; the claſhing evidence preponderating, in the judge's opinion, in favour of the captors: but he expreſsly declared that there was probable cauſe for the ſeizure.

After this ſuit for the prize had been commenced, the Spaniſh conſul complained to Mr. Harriſon, the diſtrict attorney, in his official capacity, of a violation of law, on the part of the privateer La Vengeance, in conſequence of which a Spaniſh ſubject had been injured. Mr. Harriſon, upon inquiry, found at leaſt a probability that the complaint reſpecting the privateer was true. This probability aroſe from what he conſidered as affording the certainty of *material proof:* and therefore, in conformity with his official duty, commenced a proſecution on the act of Congreſs forbidding the arming of privateers in our ports. The deciſion of this and of the prize cauſe depended on the ſame evidence. The deciſion being in favour of the captors, Mr. Harriſon acquieſced in it as it reſpected the privateer: and he united with his aſſociate counſel in the prize cauſe in adviſing the like ſubmiſſion in that caſe. But the Spaniſh conſul deemed it his duty to purſue the claim to the court in the laſt reſort. This can warrant no complaint: for Mr. Harriſon remarks, that perhaps there never were cauſes in which more contradictory and irreconcileable evidence was offered, and in which the minds of the auditors were more divided as to the real ſtate of facts.

The ſecond public ſuit againſt the privateer was for exporting arms and ammunition from the United States, when ſuch exportation was prohibited by law. The evidence which appeared in the other cauſes, gave riſe to this proſecution; and upon the trial the judge condemned the privateer. An appeal from this ſentence was interpoſed by the French conſul. The appeal was heard in the circuit court; and, upon *new evidence,* the ſentence of the diſtrict court was reverſed.

Mr. Adet complains, that while one ſuit was pending for the prize, and another againſt the privateer, the diſtrict attorney ſhould exhibit a ſecond information againſt the privateer, on which ſhe was arreſted anew, for having exported arms in violation

tion of a law of the United States, which was in force when the Vengeance failed from New York; and that this information was filed on the fimple declaration of Mr. Giles, the marfhal of the court, who as informer was to fhare part of the confifcation. As Mr. Harrifon remarks, it was in favour of the privateer, that this fecond information was filed *while the firft was pending*; becaufe it faved time. Had he poftponed the latter until the firft had been decided, there might have been fome foundation for a charge of unneceffary delay. Mr. Harrifon's ftate of the cafe fhows that this fecond information was not made on the declaration of the marfhal, but on the evidence that appeared on the examination of the firft.

Mr. Adet having been pleafed to cenfure the conduct of the attorney, clerk, and marfhal of the diftrict court of New York, in juftice to them, I have added to the other documents in this cafe, the letters of Mr. Harrifon and Mr. Troup. They will anfwer the double purpofe of juftifying them and of vindicating our government and tribunals.

Mr. Adet particularly notices the papers he had received from St. Domingo, " proving (as he fays) in the moft convincing manner, that the Vengeur (La Vengeance) had arrived at Port de Paix without any armament or equipment whatever; and that fhe had been fold, armed, equipped wholly, and commiffioned as a privateer, on the territory of the republic. Thefe documents were certificates of the general, the ordonnateur, and of the greater part of the principal officers of St. Domingo," &c.—" He haftened to communicate to the fecretary of ftate, and to requeft him to order the attorney of New York diftrict to ftay the proceedings inftituted in the name of the government: there was nothing done with them, and Mr. Harrifon continued his profecution." It will appear by my letter of October 1ft, 1795, to Mr. Harrifon, that thefe papers were fent to him, and by his anfwer of October 3d, that he received them; that the bill of fale (one of the papers) was produced to the court in behalf of the claimant of the privateer, but that the certificate of General Laveaux could not be confidered as evidence in the caufe; and if it had been admiffible, " the claimant would be very cautious of producing it, *on account of its differing* from the witneffes."

6th. Cafe of the privateer Le Caffius.

For the full hiftory of this cafe, I muft alfo refer you to the documents; and here only prefent you with a concife ftatement.

The Caffius, under the name of Les Jumeaux, was fitted and armed for a veffel of war in the port of Philadelphia, in violation of a law of the United States. In December, 1794, having efcaped from the port to defcend the river, orders were given to the militia of the ftate of Delaware to intercept her. The attempt was made, and failed—the crew of Les Jumeaux, which was un-

 expectedly

expectedly found to be very numerous, resisted the officers who went on board, manned their cannon, and brought them to bear on the cutter in which the militia (about forty in number) were embarked. Their force being inadequate to the enterprise, they retired, with an intention to return the next day with a reinforcement. They did so: but Les Jumeaux had sailed and gone to sea. The agent, Mr. Guenet, by whom Les Jumeaux had been fitted out, was tried in the circuit court at Philadelphia, convicted of the offence, and received sentence of fine and imprisonment.

Les Jumeaux proceeded to St. Domingo. Samuel B. Davis, a citizen of the United States, there took the command of her, with a commission from the French government. Davis probably sailed from Philadelphia in Les Jumeaux for the purpose of finally taking the command of her. Her name was now changed to Le Cassius; and on a cruise, she took a schooner, called the William Lindsay, belonging to Messrs. Yard and Ketland of Philadelphia; Mr. Ketland having purchased an interest in her after her sailing. The schooner and her cargo were condemned as prize at St. Domingo. In August, 1795, Captain Davis, commanding Le Cassius, came with her to Philadelphia. She was immediately known. Mr. Yard, with a view of obtaining an indemnification for the loss of the schooner and her cargo, libelled Le Cassius in the district court; and caused the captain to be arrested. Soon after, the supreme court being in session, Captain Davis's counsel applied for and obtained a prohibition to the district court, to stop its proceedings; by which the suits both against him and Le Cassius were defeated. The prohibition was granted on this principle; that the trial of prizes, taken without the jurisdiction of the United States, and carried to places within the jurisdiction of France, for adjudication, by French vessels, and all questions incidental to it, belong exclusively to the French tribunals: and consequently, that its vessels of war and their officers are not liable to the process of our courts, predicated upon such capture and subsequent proceeding within the jurisdiction of the French government.

Messrs. Yard and Ketland having failed to obtain an indemnification in this mode, procured new proofs, on the information of Mr. Ketland, to be issued from the circuit court, by which Le Cassius was attached as a vessel armed and equipped as a ship of war in the port of Philadelphia, with intent to cruise and commit hostilities against nations with whom the United States were at peace; in violation of the act of Congress prohibiting such armaments. Mr. Adet complained that the process was taken out of the circuit court, because, as he alleged, it had no jurisdiction, and that it would be attended with delay—that court sitting but twice a year; whereas the district court, in which it was said the prosecution (if at all permitted) should have been commenced, was always

always open. I consulted gentlemen of legal knowledge on the point of jurisdiction in this case, and they were decided in their opinion that the circuit court had jurisdiction, and exclusively of the district court. You will see also, in Mr. Rawles's statement of this case, that this opinion was adopted, and supported by two gentlemen of eminence at the bar. You will further see in that statement, that the government of the United States had no part in originating this prosecution; and that the district attorney, in behalf of the United States, took measures at each term of the circuit court to prepare the cause for trial, and on a plea calculated to defeat the prosecution. At length, in October term, 1796, the cause was brought to a hearing. In the course of the argument, the question of jurisdiction presented itself. The court adjourned till the next day to consider of it, and on the following morning dismissed the suit. As soon as I had received notice of this event (on the 19th of October last), I wrote to Mr. Adet, informing him that Le Cassius remained in the custody of the marshal, but ready to be delivered to his order. To this no answer was returned: but he mentions the matter in the notes subjoined to his note of the 15th November, intimating that the United States were answerable in this case for a violation of treaties, and for the damages the Cassius had sustained. Here the affair rests.

In his letter of the 3d June, 1796, which you will find among the papers respecting the Cassius, Mr. Adet mentioned the affair of the Favourite at New York; and intimated an idea, that the executive might in like manner cause the prosecution against Le Cassius to cease. But the proceedings in the case of the Favourite were wholly in the hands of the executive officers, who were under the President's immediate control, and to whom, on evidence satisfactory to the executive, orders were given to discontinue the process. In this affair of the Favourite, we are fortunate in finding one case, in which Mr. Adet (contrary to his assertion in his note of November 15th) acknowledges that justice was done by our government. You will observe in Mr. Fauchet's letter of the 23d September, 1794, a very formidable complaint in this affair of the Favourite; that it was pretended, that a privateer, fitted for a cruise, had deposited arms on board her, and that this pretext was used for visiting and pillaging her: that she was a ship of war of the republic, then serving as a store-ship until she could be repaired: that the sovereignty of France was violated, and her flag insulted. Yet by the letter of John Lamb, Esq. collector of the port of New York, of the 22d of November, 1794, you will see, that at the time the seizure was made of the suspected articles on board the Favourite, "she having been totally dismantled, her crew sent on board other ships of war, and her sails, rigging, and other materials sold at public auction, she was considered as a *hulk*; otherwise the event would not have taken

taken place." The collector further declares, that the charge of pulling down the national flag, and hoisting another in its place, was groundless.

These are all the cases expressly mentioned by Mr. Adet, in which French privateers and their prizes have been brought under the cognizance of our courts of justice; and all, therefore, to which an answer can be directed. Had he cited the other cases, which he says would fill a volume, we have no doubt that there would be found in them, as in those which have been mentioned, abundant reason to justify the government and the tribunals.

Mr. Adet's complaints are not confined to imputations of injustice experienced by French privateers and their prizes from our courts.

1st. "He protests against the violation of the 17th article of the treaty, in contempt of which the American tribunals *have taken cognizance* of the validity of prizes made by French ships of war or privateers, under pretext of original armament, or augmentation of armament, in the United States; or of capture within their line of jurisdiction*." But his predecessor, Mr. Fauchet, after saying that our admiralty courts interfered in prize causes on the ground of "seizure within the jurisdictional line of the United States, or of armament, or augmentation of armament, of the capturing vessels in their ports," immediately adds, "On this subject, Sir, you request me to specify to you a circumstance in which a prize was arrested, which did not come under that denomination; and you take the trouble to establish that they have a right to interfere in every case that can be brought under those heads. In the first place, Sir, *I never have, at least to my recollection, contested the right of your courts, or of the government, to interfere in matters of the nature of those you mention*; but I complain of the *facility* with which prizes have been thrown into those two classes which do not belong to them." He then says, that he could cite a great number of affairs to which he alludes; but contents himself with mentioning only two. The first is the case of Talbot, of which I have already given some details, and which, with the documents referred to, will show this to have been an unfortunate instance to support his complaint. The other is that of the prizes of the Citizen of Marseilles, also already mentioned, and which will not justify a complaint; for although the final decision was in favour of the privateer, yet the sentence of the district court was not reversed in the circuit court but upon the introduction of *new testimony*; and the supreme court allowed no

* Letter, June 8, 1795.

damages,

damages, because the teſtimony was ſo ambiguous as to juſtify the appeal.

But quitting the contradictory declarations of the French miniſters, and referring you to the letter dated Auguſt 16, 1793*, from the ſecretary of ſtate to our miniſter at Paris (which has been publiſhed), for the reaſoning of our government on this ſubject, and the demonſtration of their right and duty, as a neutral power, to prohibit any of the belligerent powers arming their veſſels in our ports, conſequently to reſtore to their proper owners prizes taken and brought in by veſſels ſo unlawfully armed, or when taken within our line of juriſdiction; I will only add here, that the principles of the rules on this ſubject, firſt adopted by the Preſident, on the moſt mature deliberation, received afterwards the ſanction of Congreſs, by their act of the 5th of June, 1794, and of the judges in all their judicial proceedings in the prize cauſes in queſtion. If then the 17th article of the French treaty has been violated, the executive, the legiſlature and the judges of the federal courts have all deliberately concurred in the violation. This no American citizen will be inclined to believe, and we might ſuppoſe that the conſideration of ſuch concurrence in one opinion would any where produce a pauſe, and ſome diffidence in pronouncing it erroneous. Neither the rules adopted by the Preſident, nor the act of Congreſs, have made a new law reſpecting ſuch prizes: they have only directed the *modes of proceeding to fulfil our neutral duties agreeably to the univerſal law of nations.* The judges have applied this law, but not without due attention to the obligations of our treaties, which they regard as ſupreme laws of the land.

2d. Mr. Adet "proteſts againſt the violation of the 17th article of the treaty, in contempt of which Engliſh veſſels, which had made prize on Frenchmen, have been admitted into the ports of the United States." The conſtruction of this part of the 17th article, for which Mr. Adet, after his predeceſſor, Mr. Fauchet, contends, is this, that if a national ſhip of war of the enemies of France has *at any time*, and *in any part of the globe*, made prize of a French veſſel, ſuch ſhip of war is to be allowed no ſhelter or refuge in our ports, unleſs ſhe is driven in through ſtreſs of weather, and then ſhe is to be made to depart as ſoon as poſſible. On the contrary, the conſtruction adopted by the executive of the United States, and expreſſed in the rules before mentioned, which had been tranſmitted to the collectors in Auguſt, 1793, was this: that *privateers* only of the enemies of France were abſolutely excluded from our ports, except as before, when compelled to enter through ſtreſs of weather, purſuant to the 22d article of the treaty,

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* State Papers, p. 75.

while

while the *national* ſhips of any *any other nation* were entitled to an aſylum in our ports, excepting thoſe which ſhould have made prize of the people or property of France, *coming in with their prizes*.

On the 9th of September, 1793, the ſecretary of ſtate thus expreſſed to the Britiſh miniſter the determination of the executive: "*The public ſhips of war* of both nations (French and Engliſh) enjoy a perfect equality in our ports; 1ſt, in caſes of urgent neceſſity; 2d, in caſes of comfort and convenience; and 3d, in the time they choose to continue: and though the admiſſion of *prizes* and *privateers* of France is *excluſive*, yet it is the effect of treaty *," &c.

In ſupport of our conſtruction of the treaty, it has been obſerved, that "the firſt part of the 17th article relates to French ſhips of war and privateers entering our ports *with their prizes:* the ſecond contraſts the ſituation of the enemies of France by forbidding ſuch as ſhall have made prize of the French; intimating from this connexion of the two clauſes, that thoſe forbidden are thoſe which bring their prizes with them †." To theſe obſervations I will add, that if the *literal* conſtruction contended for by the French miniſters were admitted, then, although the *public* ſhips of war which *had* made prize of French people or property, would be excluded from our ports, yet the *prizes* of ſuch *public* ſhips might be received, and they might be *ſold* too; for the prohibition in the 22d article of the treaty applies only to *privateers* and *their prizes*; while the government of the United States judged that the 17th article was intended to exclude the *prizes* made on the French by *public* ſhips of war, as well as thoſe made by *privateers*, and gave directions accordingly to have them excluded. Further, if it had been intended to exclude from our ports the *public ſhips of war* of the enemies of France, coming *without any prize*, then they would doubtleſs have been comprehended in one proviſion with the *privateers* in the 22d article: for privateers are thereby excluded, whether they came with or without prizes. But *public* ſhips of war are not comprehended, or at all referred to, in the 22d article; whence the concluſion is fair, that it was not intended to forbid them coming *alone*, and conſequently that the excluſion provided in the 17th article applies to them only when they would come into our ports *with their prizes*; this laſt clauſe of the ſame article being in its form oppoſed to the firſt clauſe, which *admits* the entrance of French ſhips *with their prizes*. Beſides, if a *public ſhip of war* of the enemies of France comes into our ports *without any prize*, how is it to be known whether ſhe

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* State Papers, p. 77.

† Secretary of ſtate to Mr. Fauchet, Sept. 7, 1794.

has

has or has not made prize of the people or property of the French? Who is to create a tribunal to investigate and pronounce on the fact? But if she comes *with a prize*, the case presents no difficulty; she brings with her the evidence which goes to the exclusion of her and her prize.

I must now advert to some others of Mr. Adet's charges against the government of the United States.

1st. "It [the government of the United States] put in question whether it should execute the treaties, or receive the agents of the rebel and proscribed princes." And is there any thing in this unjustifiable or extraordinary? Was it easy for a nation, distant as ours, to obtain promptly such accurate information as would enable it duly to estimate the varying condition of France? In 1791, the constitution formed by the constituent assembly was accepted by Louis the Sixteenth; it was notified to the United States in March, 1792. Congress desired the President to communicate to the King of the French their congratulation on the occasion. In August, 1792, the King was suspended; in September royalty was abolished; and in January, 1793, Louis the Sixteenth, tried and condemned by the convention, suffered death. Was it easy to keep pace with the rapid succession of such revolutionary events? And was it unlawful for our government, under such circumstances, even to *deliberate?* I do not find that information of the death of the King was received from our minister at Paris until May 1st, 1793. The news, however, had previously arrived in such manner as to attract the attention of government; for in April the President had determined to receive a minister from the French republic; and it is remarkable that this was before he knew that a minister had arrived in the United States. This promptitude in deciding a leading question, does not bear any strong marks of hesitation. And was there no merit in this ready determination to acknowledge the French republic? Had it been before acknowledged by any power on the globe? How long did *France hesitate* to acknowledge the republic of the United States? A year and a half. And under what circumstances was the acknowledgment finally made? After the capture of a whole British army appeared to have established our independence. But of this more hereafter. In matters of importance (and what could be more important than the decision of a neutral and allied nation, on questions perhaps involving war or peace?) is it the part of wisdom to reject all deliberation, even on points which do not obviously present difficulties? Will not prudence dictate to him who is to decide great national questions, rather to deliberate long, than risk the consequences of hasty decisions?

2d. "It made an insidious proclamation of neutrality."

I have already remarked that this proclamation received the pointed approbation of Congress; and I might truly add, of the

great

great body of the citizens of the United States. And what was the general object of this proclamation ? To preserve us in a state of *peace*. And have not the ministers of France declared that their government did not desire us to enter into the war ? And how was peace to be preserved ? By an impartial neutrality. And was it not then the duty of the chief executive to proclaim this to our citizens, and to inform them what acts would be deemed departures from their neutral duties ? This was done by the proclamation. It declared it to be the duty, interest, and disposition of the United States to adopt and pursue a conduct friendly and impartial toward the belligerent powers : it warned the citizens to avoid all acts which might contravene that disposition : it declared that whosoever of the citizens should render himself liable to punishment or forfeiture, under the law of nations, by committing or abetting hostilities against any of those powers, or by carrying to any of them articles deemed contraband of war, would not receive the protection of the United States against such punishment and forfeiture : and that the President had given instructions to the proper officers to prosecute all persons who should violate the law of nations with respect to the powers at war, or any of them. To what in all this can the epithet *insidious* be applied ? On the contrary, is not the whole transaction stamped with *candour* and *good faith ?*

3d. " By its *chicaneries*, it abandoned French privateers to its courts of justice." *Abandoned them to its courts of justice !* Sir, you know many of the judges personally, and all of them by reputation, and that their characters need no vindication from such an insinuation. They are judges with whose administration of justice our citizens are satisfied ; and we believe they may challenge the world to furnish a proof that they have not administered justice with equal impartality to foreigners. I will only add here one remark—that the correspondences with the French ministers formerly published, joined to those now furnished you, with the other documents accompanying them, will show how loudly they can complain of the proceedings in our courts, and at the same time with how little justice.

4th. " It eluded the amicable mediation of the republic for breaking the chains of its citizens at Algiers." We did not entertain any doubt of the friendly disposition of the French republic to aid us in this business. But what was really done we have never known. You will find herewith Mr. Fauchet's letter of June 4th, 1794, and the answer of the secretary of state on the 6th, to which Mr. Adet refers. The information on the subject which Mr. Fauchet expected " in a little time from Europe," probably never arrived : at least it was never communicated to our government. There is surely in the secretary's answer no evidence that our government were unwilling to accept the mediation

of the republic. On the contrary, we have relied upon it to aid our negotiations with the Barbary powers. Accordingly, when Colonel Humphreys went from hence in 1795, clothed with powers for negotiating peace with those states, he was particularly instructed to solicit the mediation of the French republic; and for that purpose only, he went from Lisbon to Paris, where, through our minister, the committee of Public Safety manifested their disposition to contribute to the success of his mission. But Colonel Humphreys was at the same time authorized to depute Joseph Donaldson, Esquire (who had been appointed consul of the United States for Tunis and Tripoli, and who went with Colonel Humphreys from America), to negotiate immediately a treaty with Algiers: for in a country where a negotiation depended on so many contingencies, it was of the last importance to be ready to seize the favourable moment to effect a peace, whenever it should offer. Such a moment presented on Mr. Donaldson's arrival at Algiers. He had not been there forty-eight hours before the treaty was concluded. It is also a fact, that it was effected without the aid of the French consul at that place. However, with respect to Mr. Donaldson's negotiation, we are well informed, that "his not conferring with the consul of France was not his fault; and if he had done it, that it would have injured his cause; neither the republic nor her consul enjoying any credit with the Dey." But we are at the same time informed, that the cause of this was transitory, and ought not to hinder us from endeavouring to engage her interests for other places, and in that place for future occasions. Agreeably to this idea, the agent of the United States applied to the French consul, Herculais, at Algiers, the last spring, to recommend a suitable person to negotiate a treaty with Tunis. The person recommended was employed, and we have been informed, had in part succeeded, and was expected to complete a treaty of peace. This information was communicated to our minister at Paris, in a letter dated the 30th of August last, from the French minister for foreign affairs, accompanied by an extract of a letter from the consul Herculais.

In all these transactions, far from discovering a trace of evidence to support Mr. Adet's charge, the reverse is manifestly proved.

5th. "Notwithstanding treaty stipulations, it allowed to be arrested vessels of the state."

While we admit the fact that French vessels have been arrested, we deny that the arrests have infringed any treaty stipulations. The details in this letter, and the documents referred to, appear to us entirely to exculpate the government. And if neither the executive nor our tribunals could in any case take cognizance of the captures which the French privateers called *prizes*, then they might take our own vessels in our rivers and harbours,

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and our citizens be without redress. But "it is an essential attribute of the jurisdiction of every country to preserve peace, to punish acts in breach of it, and to restore property taken by force within its limits. Were the armed vessels of any nation to cut away one of our own from the wharfs of Philadelphia, and to choose to call it a prize, would this exclude us from the right of redressing the wrong? Were it the vessel of another nation, are we not equally bound to protect it, while within our limits? Were it seized in any other waters, or on the shores of the United States, the right of redressing is still the same; and humble, indeed, would be our condition, were we obliged to depend for that on the will of a foreign consul, or on negotiation with diplomatic agents *."

The same reasoning will apply to captures made by illegal privateers; that is, by such as were armed and equipped in the ports of the United States: for it being by the law of nations the right of our government, and as a neutral power its duty, to prevent such armaments, it must also be its right and duty, by all means in its power, to restrain the acts of such armaments, done in violation of its rights, and in defiance of its authority. And such were the armaments made by French people in the ports of the United States; and the most effectual means of defeating their unlawful practices, was the seizing of their prizes when brought within our jurisdiction. It is very possible, indeed, that in some cases the irritated subjects, or public agents of nations, whose property was taken by French privateers, might commence vexatious prosecutions: but this is no more than happens frequently among our own citizens, and in every nation in the world; and the only restraints on the vindictive passions of men, in such cases, which the policy of free governments has imposed, are the damages which the courts compel the malicious prosecutor to pay to the injured party. If, as Mr. Adet asserts, damages have in two cases only been granted by the courts to French privateers, even when the decisions have been in their favour, it has arisen from their own conduct, or the omission of their counsel, or from accidental circumstances, which, in the opinion of the courts, furnished reasonable presumptions against them of having violated the laws, either by illegally arming in our ports, or making the captures within our jurisdiction. If, on the other hand, they have, in the event of contrary decisions, been always condemned to pay damages, we may venture to say, it was because they were always in the wrong. For no one will find sufficient ground to impeach the discernment or integrity of our courts.

6th. "It suffered England, by insulting its neutrality, to interrupt its commerce with France."

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* Letter from the secretary of state to Mr. Morris, August 16, 1793. State Papers, p. 62.

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That our commerce has been interrupted by the armed veſſels of England, and ſometimes with circumſtances of inſult, we certainly ſhall not attempt to deny: the univerſal reſentment and indignation excited by thoſe injuries, were admiſſions of the fact; but that the government has *connived* at the practice (for that Mr. Adet muſt have intended to inſinuate by the word "ſuffered"), all its acts moſt forcibly contradict. It was becauſe of thoſe aggreſſions that preparations for war were commenced; and to demand ſatisfaction for them was the leading object of Mr. Jay's miſſion to London. Satisfaction was demanded; and the arrangements agreed on for rendering it, are now in execution at London. But if by "ſuffered," Mr. Adet means that we did not arm, that is, make war on England to obtain the indemnification, when humanity, reaſon, and the law of nations, preſcribe the mode of previous peaceable demand—to theſe very principles we may appeal for our juſtification; and if it is neceſſary to go further, we ſay, that, as an independent nation, we muſt be left to determine in what manner we can moſt beneficially obviate an evil, and when it is moſt proper for us to repel an injury. To deny us this right of judgment, is to deny our independence. We have not been inſenſible either to our honour or our intereſt. If we have manifeſted much long-ſuffering, we have not been ſingular. Neutral nations very commonly endure many temporary evils, becauſe theſe appear light when compared with the calamities of war; and they look forward, as we have done, to a period when returning juſtice may redreſs their wrongs. This period we truſt will arrive in regard to thoſe we are now ſuffering from the French republic. If a nation not bound to us by treaty, and between whom and ourſelves actual circumſtances, and many recollections, tended to excite peculiar paſſions, engaged to render us juſtice, ſhall we expect leſs of an avowed friend?

We may here probably inquire, what could have been the underſtanding of the parties on this point, when the treaty of 1788 was made between France and the United States? She knew that notwithſtanding the extent of our country, and its rapid increaſe in population, many years muſt elapſe before we could form a powerful navy to protect our commerce. She knew the conduct of maritime powers in all their wars: particularly ſhe was acquainted with the maxims and meaſures of England towards the commerce of neutral nations, in all her wars with France. And if, knowing theſe things, France then expected that in all ſubſequent wars we ſhould *compel* the maritime powers in general, and Great Britain in particular, to admit our commerce to perfect freedom, then, inſtead of a treaty of *commerce* containing regulations for conducting it, when France ſhould be at war, ſhe would have demanded from us a ſtipulation, that in every future war in which ſhe ſhould be engaged with any other maritime power, we alſo ſhould engage in it as her

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aſſociate. But this is a condition which France was too juſt to demand, and to which the United States would never have agreed.

7th. " Notwithſtanding the faith of treaties, it gave an aſylum to theſe ſame Engliſh, who, after having inſulted her flag, pillaged her citizens, came alſo to brave the American people in their ports, and to take a ſtation whence to cruiſe, on a favourable opportunity, againſt the French."

This, like moſt others of Mr. Adet's charges, is but the renewal of the complaints of his predeceſſor, Mr. Fauchet; and the vindication of the government will appear in the anſwers and communications from the ſecretary of ſtate to that miniſter, in the years 1794 and 1795. The caſes particularly noticed were thoſe of the Britiſh frigate Terpſichore and her prize La Montagne; and of the Britiſh ſhip Argonaut and her prize L'Eſperance. The Thetis and Huſſar Britiſh frigates, with their French prizes La Prevoyance and La Raiſon, are alſo mentioned, but without any facts or circumſtances as ſubjects of inquiry, which of courſe is precluded. That of the Terpſichore and her prize appears to have been the firſt caſe of the kind in which the executive of the United States, and thoſe of the particular ſtates, were called to interfere; and, therefore, it will not be thought extraordinary if the executive of Virginia was unprepared with arrangements to give inſtant effect to the ſtipulation of the 17th article of the treaty of 1778, forbidding an aſylum to the armed veſſels of the enemies of France and their prizes. What delay took place ſeems to have been the reſult of accident; certainly not of deſign. And by letters from this department the executives were earneſtly preſſed to take the neceſſary order for a prompt execution, in future, of this part of the treaty. But why ſhould the French miniſters complain with ſuch energy, that a Britiſh ſhip of war, with her prize, remained in one of our ports during perhaps twenty or five and twenty days; when, againſt the earneſt requeſts and orders of the executive, the French privateers, armed in our ports in violation of the laws, long continued to keep on our coaſt and enter our harbours, thence, on favourable opportunities, to cruiſe againſt their enemies? The Columbia, or Carmagnole, continued ſuch her unlawful acts for more than a year.

After all the zealous remonſtrances of Mr. Fauchet, now renewed by Mr. Adet, about the capture of the French corvette L'Eſperance by the Britiſh ſhip Argonaut, who went with her prize into Lynn Haven Bay, what were the facts? The governor of Virginia went perſonally to the French conſul at Norfolk for information concerning this declared violation of the treaty—but " received none which appeared to juſtify the uneaſineſs occaſioned by that event, *he charging no circumſtance as improper in the captors*; but rather ſeemed to conſider the introduction of the priſoners made on that occaſion, ſo ſoon into a place where the ex-

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change would be effected, as an alleviation of the misfortune of losing the vessel." The captain of the French corvette himself was desired to give evidence in the case; he promised, but failed to appear. He was called upon a second time to give information, but discovered an unwillingness to do it, observing that he had given the consul a circumstantial account of the transaction on his arrival. The governor having heard that a respectable pilot of the name of Butler was acquainted with the circumstances of this affair, he directed his deposition to be taken: it was taken, and imported that Admiral Murray himself purchased the prize L'Esperance, and manned and fitted her in Lynn Haven Bay for a cruise. But Butler's deposition was afterwards taken on the part of the British, in which he contradicted all the material facts recited in the former deposition; for which he accounted by saying that he could neither write nor read, and that there had been inserted in his first deposition what he had never said. Under these circumstances it was desirable to obtain further information. This was furnished by the British minister in the extract of a letter from Admiral Murray, which bears every mark of candour and humanity, and of respect for the United States. It is as follows: "The French sloop of war L'Esperance was brought into Lynn Haven Bay on the 11th of January (a few days after my arrival there), by Captain Ball, who had captured her fifteen leagues from the shore: the weather being very tempestuous, a lieutenant with a sufficient number of men only to navigate her (not being half the complement the French had in her), were sent on board from the Resolution and Argonaut; and so soon as the weather permitted those ships to supply her with water and provisions, I sent her to sea, that I might give no umbrage to the American States. An additional reason for bringing L'Esperance into Lynn Haven Bay was out of humanity to the French prisoners, whom, having had a long voyage, I sent to Norfolk as soon as prudence would permit: otherwise they must have been kept prisoners on board the whole winter, and sent to Halifax in the spring: nor was she equipped or armed then in any manner whatever; nor did the lieutenant receive any commission for her whilst in Lynn Haven Bay; and when at sea only an acting order to command her, which is customary and absolutely necessary in all captures; otherwise, if retaken by the enemy, he might be considered as a pirate."

8th. "It might be said that it applauded their (the English) audacity; all submission to their will, it allowed the French colonies to be declared in a state of blockade, and its citizens interdicted the right of trading to them."

If among the multitude of such complaints as Mr. Adet has exhibited any one should excite surprise, this charge is calculated to produce it. Here a formal charge is made against the govern-

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ment of the United States, that it did not control in another independent nation the right of judging of its own affairs—that it did not forbid and effectually prevent the officers of a foreign power, the Britiſh admirals and commanders in the Weſt Indies, declaring certain French colonies to be in a ſtate of blockade! "But the official legalization of a proclamation had been poſted up under our eyes, prohibiting our commerce with the French colonies, and ſuſpending *to us alone* the law of nations!" The anſwer to Mr. Fauchet from the ſecretary of ſtate repreſents this matter differently. The Britiſh conſul-general at Philadelphia, by a publication on the 10th of April, 1795, gave notice that he had received official communications that the iſlands of Guadaloupe, Marigalante and Deſirade, were, by proclamation iſſued by his Britannic Majeſty's general and vice-admiral commanding in the Weſt Indies, declared to be in an actual ſtate of blockade; and that *neutral* (not ſingly *American*) veſſels were thereby prohibited from attempting to enter any ports or places in thoſe iſlands with ſupplies of any kind, under the penalty of being "dealt with conformably to exiſting treaties, and as warranted by the eſtabliſhed laws of nations." And while exiſting treaties (our treaty with Great Britain had no operative exiſtence till ſix months after the conſul's advertiſement) and the laws of nations were avowed to be the rules by which the property of neutrals was in this caſe to be adjudged, had they reaſon to complain? If any neutral veſſels attempted to enter any of thoſe ports which were not in reality in a ſtate of blockade, and yet were captured, could they be condemned? Certainly not by the rules which the Britiſh preſcribed to themſelves, "treaties and the laws of nations." But if the Britiſh commanders proclaimed untruths, and iſſued arbitrary orders for capturing neutral veſſels; and their cruiſers and courts of admiralty executed them arbitrarily; could the American government prevent them? We could demand of the Britiſh government ſatisfaction for injuries to our own citizens, conſequent on ſuch orders: and if any ſuch were ſuſtained, the arrangements for making reparation are now in execution. But admitting that any ports in the French colonies were in fact blockaded; who ſhould notify it to neutral nations accuſtomed to trade with thoſe ports? Certainly the officers of that power whoſe fleets and armies formed the blockade; and in the United States no mode of giving univerſal notice could be ſo effectual as a publication in hand-bills and newſpapers.

9th. "It eluded all the advances made by the republic for renewing the treaties of commerce upon a more favourable footing to both nations; it excuſed itſelf on the moſt frivolous pretexts; whilſt it anticipated Great Britain, by ſoliciting a treaty, in which, proſtituting its neutrality, it ſacrificed France to her enemies; or rather looking upon her as obliterated from the map of the world,

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it forgot the services she had rendered it, and threw aside the duty of gratitude, as if ingratitude were a governmental duty."

Of the advances referred to, the first were made by Mr. Genet. These you will see in the printed correspondence between him and Mr. Jefferson. Mr. Genet's letter is dated the 23d of May, 1793, in which he informed the government that he was authorized to propose a treaty on a "liberal and fraternal basis *." Mr. Jefferson's letter to Mr. Morris, our minister at Paris, dated the 23d of August, 1793, assigns the reason for postponing the negotiation. "The senate (says he †) being then in recess, and not to meet again till the fall, I apprised Mr. Genet that the participation in matters of treaty, given by the constitution to that branch of our government, would of course delay any *definitive* answer to his friendly proposition. As he was sensible of this circumstance, the matter has been understood to lie over till the meeting of the senate." Congress were not to meet until December; consequently there was no necessity of precipitating the business. But with the best dispositions to form new commercial arrangements, mutually more beneficial than those of the treaty of 1778, the unwarrantable conduct of Mr. Genet, from the moment he landed at Charleston, until the date of his letter on the subject of the negotiation, was sufficient to excite caution in the American government. He had there violated the sovereignty of the United States, "by authorizing the fitting and arming of vessels in that port, enlisting men, citizens and foreigners, and giving them commissions to cruise and commit hostilities on nations at peace with us ‡," and with whom we had extensive commercial connexions. "These privateers were taking and bringing prizes into our ports, and the consuls of France were assuming to hold courts of admiralty on them, to try, condemn, and authorize their sale as legal prize." Nevertheless the government, really desirous of forming a new and more advantageous commercial treaty with France, instructed the minister of the United States at Paris to manifest the same to the executive of France §, and to suggest for this purpose that the powers of Mr. Genet be renewed to his successor. It is true that in his letter, dated the 30th of September, Mr. Genet had renewed the proposition of negotiating a commercial treaty; but how was it possible for the government to undertake a negotiation with that minister, after "the correspondence which had taken place between the executive and him", (a correspondence on his part replete with insults), "and the acts which he had thought proper to

* State Papers, p. 15. † Ibid. p. 68.

‡ Letter to Mr. Morris, August 16th, 1793. State Papers, p. 58.

§ State Papers, p. 68.

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do and to countenance in oppofition to the laws of the land?" after the government had inftructed our minifter at Paris to defire Mr. Genet's recall, and to declare to the government of France "the neceffity of their having a reprefentative here difpofed to refpect the laws and authority of the country, and to do the beft for their intereft which thefe would permit:" "and when it was only an anxious regard for thofe interefts, and a defire that they might not fuffer, which induced the executive, in the mean time, to receive his communications in writing, and to admit the continuance of his functions fo long as they fhould be reftrained within the limits of the law, as theretofore announced to him, or fhould be of the tenour ufually obferved towards independent nations, by the reprefentative of a friendly power refiding with them?" Under fuch circumftances what anfwer could the executive return to Mr. Genet more proper, and more marked with attention to France, than "that his letter would be confidered with all the refpect and intereft which its *object* neceffarily required?"

It is probable that the powers to negotiate a commercial treaty were not renewed to Mr. Genet's fucceffor; certainly they were not communicated to our government.

We now come to the frefh overtures of a commercial negotiation made by Mr. Adet.

The firft notices of them are found in memoranda of facts, dated the 27th and 29th of June, 1795, and fubfcribed by the fecretary of ftate. By thefe it appears, that on the 13th of June Mr. Adet arrived at Philadelphia. On the 15th Mr. Fauchet introduced him to the fecretary of ftate: on the 16th Mr. Adet informed the fecretary that he fhould the next day fend him fome act of the French government, relative to commerce: but it was not fent. On the 22d of June Mr. Adet was reminded of the promifed communication. He faid it was copying, and gave reafon to fuppofe that he fhould forward it on that day: but on that day nothing was received.

On the 29th of June, 1795, Mr. Adet had an interview with the fecretary of ftate: he obferved that he brought with him the commercial decrees which Mr. Genet had formerly propounded to our government, and was inftructed to negotiate a treaty of commerce upon their bafis. He was afked whether he had any documents to communicate. He replied, that he would fend them that day. He faid he had to communicate fome inquietudes refpecting the late treaty between the United States and Great Britain. He obferved, that it was underftood that the United States had difabled themfelves from entering into a new commercial treaty, upon a liberal fcale, with France. The fecretary anfwered, that he had determined, before he came, to afk the permiffion of the Prefident to communicate to him a copy of the treaty; and then he might fay in what part he fuppofed that any

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impropriety with respect to France existed. The President having afterwards assented, the secretary on the same day delivered to Mr. Adet a printed copy of the treaty, on which he promised to communicate his remarks.

These remarks, dated June 30th, and the secretary's answer, dated July 6th, refuting the objections they contained, I have already noticed. The subsequent proceedings will show either that those objections did not make any strong impressions on Mr. Adet's mind, or that the secretary's answer had removed them.

On the 30th June, 1795, Mr. Adet communicated a part of his instructions relative to "a new commercial treaty, and a new consular convention, to be entered into between France and the United States." The instructions imported that he was only to "*prepare* with the American government the means and arrangements" of these treaties, and then to communicate them to the committee of Public Safety. The object of the new treaty was declared to be "to found the commercial relations of the two republics upon stipulations *more reciprocally* advantageous and more clearly worded than that of 1778, and the object of the consular convention to secure the execution of the commercial treaty."

The secretary of state answered, on the 1st of July, expressing the readiness of the government to open the proposed negotiation, and requested a communication of the dates of the decrees to which Mr. Adet's instruction referred.

On the 8th of July, 1795, Mr. Adet replied to the secretary of state, "That he neither knew nor possessed any other decree relative to the new negotiation to be opened between France and the United States, than that of the 5th of February, 1793*, communicated to us by Citizen Genet." This letter of the 8th was received the 12th, accompanied by a note of the latter date, apologizing for the delay on account of sickness. On the 12th the secretary of state had written to him, *pressing him* on the subject of the new negotiation.

On the 16th of July, 1795, the secretary of state again wrote to Mr. Adet; and after informing him that as *he* was not clothed with any very formal authority upon this subject, the President of the United States had thought proper to place *him (the secretary of state)* upon the same and no other footing—the secretary proposed that the negotiation should be conducted in writing, unless when either thought it expedient to have an interview on any particular difficulty. And then assuring Mr. Adet that no unnecessary procrastination should be found in the secretary of state, further proposed, that Mr. Adet should state first, the parts of the

* Mr. Adet has since corrected this date, the decree intended being dated Feb. 19, 1793. This is already published with the State Papers of that year, page 15.

treaty which he wiſhed to be aboliſhed; ſecondly, thoſe parts which he wiſhed to be corrected; and, thirdly, *any additions* which ſeemed to him deſirable: but expreſſed the readineſs of the ſecretary to adopt any other better mode of conducting the negotiation, if ſuch occurred to Mr. Adet.

On the 20th of July, 1795, Mr. Adet, mentioning his ſickneſs, which for fifteen days had obliged him to abſtain from buſineſs, replied on the ſubject of the negotiation in theſe words: "In a few days I ſhall have the honour of ſeeing you, and of taking the neceſſary meaſures in order to commence the buſineſs relative to the digeſting of the new treaty and new conſular convention."

From this detail it muſt, I conceive, be no eaſy taſk to find any facts by which Mr. Adet's charge can be ſupported. What he affects to call "frivolous pretexts" are ſubſtantial reaſons; and in reſpect to his own advances to treat, the conduct of our government manifeſts an *eagerneſs* to enter on the negotiation: certainly you will diſcover in it no diſpoſition to elude or to procraſtinate.

You will be pleaſed to obſerve, Sir, that the letter from the ſecretary of ſtate to Mr. Adet, explaining the manner in which they ſhould proceed in the negotiation, is dated the 16th of July, and that Mr. Adet's anſwer, agreeing ſhortly to meet the ſecretary, in order to take the neceſſary meaſures for commencing the buſineſs, is dated the 20th of July; yet in his note of November 15th, 1796, after having charged the government of the United States "with eluding all advances made by the republic for renewing the treaties of commerce, and excuſing itſelf on the moſt frivolous pretexts;" after acknowledging that the Preſident had authorized the ſecretary of ſtate to negotiate, and that the latter had explained the manner of proceeding, he aſks, "But at what time? When the ratification of the treaty concluded between Lord Grenville and Mr. Jay, no longer permitted the underſigned to purſue that negotiation." I am ſorry, Sir, in this place, to call your attention to dates. The Britiſh treaty was not ratified until the 14th of Auguſt, 1795, that is, about a month after the plan of negotiating with Mr. Adet had been propoſed to him by the ſecretary of ſtate, and twenty-five days after he had agreed to proceed in it. And if that ratification finally induced him to abandon the idea of negotiating a new treaty between France and the United States, it did not inſtantly produce this determination. He doubtleſs perceived that his own objections to the Britiſh treaty were obviated by the anſwer from the ſecretary of ſtate; and when he acknowledged the receipt of it, he had given up the right of judging of the treaty, whether it was good or bad: I ſhall (ſays he, in his letter of July 20th, 1795) "tranſmit it (the ſecretary's anſwer) to the French government, together with my obſer-

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vations and the treaty. In ſuch important circumſtances, it is excluſively the province of my government to judge; and I cannot permit myſelf to decide at all." And then immediately adds —"In a few days I ſhall have the honour of ſeeing you, and of taking the neceſſary meaſures in order to commence the buſineſs relative to the digeſting of the new treaty and new conſular convention." The Britiſh treaty then did not obſtruct the negotiation, the principles of which might have been agreed on, and the articles drawn into form to be ſubmitted to the reſpective governments: for that was all the reſpective negotiators were authorized to do.

Will the miniſters of the French republic never ceaſe to reproach us with "ingratitude?" If, indeed, "France *wrought*" as well as "*guaranteed*" the independence of the United States," as Mr. Adet aſſerts, "at a time when ſhe might, as the price of that very independence, have granted them leſs liberal conditions," our obligations are greater than we have hitherto imagined. But it is time that theſe claims to our gratitude were inveſtigated, and their extent aſcertained. We have citizens yet alive who were actors and witneſſes of the declaration of our independence, and of the efforts to maintain it, with their effects, prior to our treaty with France. But laying no ſtreſs on our own recollections or conſciouſneſs, we will reſort to the teſtimony of France herſelf.

France, by her miniſter the Marquis de Noailles, having in the declaration of the 13th of March, 1778, which I have already quoted, announced to the court of London the treaty of friendſhip and commerce ſhe had formed with the United States; and that, to maintain the commerce of his ſubjects with them, which was the object of that treaty, his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty had "taken eventual meaſures in concert with the United States of North America;" that court publiſhed a juſtificative memorial to vindicate to the world the war ſhe had determined to wage againſt France. In the Obſervations of the court of France on this Britiſh memorial*, we find the following declarations on the part of France: "While the ambaſſador of England put the King's patience to the ſtrongeſt proofs, and while the court of London was conſtantly repeating denials of juſtice to his Majeſty's ſubjects, at the ſame time that the Britiſh officers continued to deſolate them on the ſea, an event came to paſs in America, which eſſentially changed the face of things in that quarter of the world. This event was the defeat of the army under General Burgoyne. The news of this unexpected diſaſter, which arrived in Europe in Nov. 1777, aſtoniſhed the Britiſh miniſters, and muſt have the more ſenſibly affected them, *as it overthrew the plan they had laid for the reduction of the colonies*." The Obſervations then ſuggeſt that this great event induced, in the Britiſh

* Obſ. p. 60.

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cabinet, the idea of conciliation with America, and of a coalition against the crown of France, in revenge for the ſuppoſed aid rendered by her to the United States; and to gratify "their moſt dear and conſtant wiſh—that of humbling France."—"It was natural for the Britiſh miniſtry, *unable to ſubdue her colonies*, to ſeek to be reconciled to them, and to engage them to eſpouſe her reſentment. They might ſo much the more flatter themſelves that they ſhould ſucceed herein, as the proceedings of France, with regard to American privateers, *and eſpecially the diſlike the King had at all times manifeſted to any engagement with the Congreſs*, muſt have given diſguſt and diſſatisfaction to their deputies, and induce them, notwithſtanding their well-known averſion, to ſeek, even in England, the ſafety of their country, when they failed to find it in France*."

"The King, well informed of the plan of the court of London, and of the preparations which were the conſequence of it, perceived that no more time was to be loſt, if he would prevent the deſigns of his enemies. His Majeſty determined, therefore, to take into conſideration, *at length*, the overtures of the Congreſs†."

"The commiſſioners (from the United States) propoſed to the King a treaty of amity and commerce, and an alliance offenſive and defenſive, by which his Majeſty ſhould engage not only to acknowledge ſimply and purely the independence of the United States, but alſo to guarantee and defend it by force of arms. The King ordered an anſwer to be given, that he could indeed look upon the independence of the United States as exiſting; but that it did not belong to him to acknowledge it, becauſe he had not any right to judge of it; neither could he guarantee it, *as he did not intend to enter into a war for its ſupport*. His Majeſty in conſequence refuſed an offenſive alliance, and confined himſelf to the *treaty of amity and commerce*. But as it was more than probable that the court of London HAD *formed a deſign of attacking France*, his Majeſty thought he ought to enter into an alliance with the United States, *eventual* and *purely defenſive*. The ſtipulations contained in this ſecond treaty are in ſubſtance, that *if* France *ſhould be* attacked by the court of London, before the ceſſation of hoſtilities between that court and its colonies, then the King and the United States ſhould mutually aſſiſt each other againſt the common enemy: that the King ſhould guarantee the independence and ſovereignty of the United States, and that he ſhould not lay down his arms till it ſhould be acknowledged by Great Britain‡."

Thus it is manifeſt that the United States were to be left ſtill to fight their own battles, *unleſs Great Britain ſhould chooſe to increaſe*

* Obſ. p. 64. † Obſ. p. 66. ‡ Obſ. p. 67.

the

the number of her enemies by attacking France, in which case it would be as truly the interest of France, as of the United States, to make it a common cause.

"This last treaty remained secret, because it was not in force at the time of concluding it; but that of commerce was notified at the court of London, March 13, 1778." The first words of the notification are these: "The United States of North America, *who are in full possession of independence*," &c. The whole paragraph has been already quoted. The notification further expressed, "that the King, being determined to protect effectually the lawful commerce of his subjects, and to maintain the dignity of his flag, his Majesty has, in consequence, taken eventual measures, in concert with the United States of North America." The court of London chose to consider this notification as a declaration of war, of which they accuse the King as being the author, and represent him as the violator of laws, divine and human, &c. &c. "The act, however, which has drawn upon the King such odious imputations, has for its foundation *two incontestable truths*; the first, *that at the period of the 6th of February*, 1778, *the Americans had the public possession of their independence*; the second, that the King had the right to look upon this independence as existing, without being obliged to examine the legality of it, and that no law forbade him to form connexions with the Americans *."

The Observations then reciting that the fruitless attempts of the colonies to obtain redress from their mother-country, in the mode of supplication, had induced them to league together to maintain their privileges sword in hand; and soon after to publish the solemn act, whereby they declared themselves independent, say †—"This act, which is of the 4th of July, 1776, induced the court of London to give way to her resentment; she displayed her power to chastise the Americans, and to reduce them by conquest. But what has been the fruit of their efforts? Have they not served to *demonstrate* to America, to all Europe, and to the court of London herself, her impotence, and the *impossibility of her ever hereafter bringing the Americans again under her yoke?*" That she had given this demonstration to *America*, is evident by the manner in which Congress received the *conciliatory bills* hastily sent from the court of London to America, and communicated by Lord and General Howe. Congress were then uninformed of the treaties which their commissioners had lately concluded at Paris. Yet, confident in the strength and spirit of their country, and of the inability of Britain to subdue it, they resolved ‡ *unanimously* to reject these overtures for peace and conciliation, and to hold no conference or

* Obs. p. 69. † Obs. p. 73. ‡ Journals of Congress, April 22, 1778.

treaty

treaty with any commiſſioners on the part of Great Britain, unleſs, as a preliminary, they withdrew their fleets and armies, or in poſitive terms acknowledged the independence of theſe ſtates.

Again—" It is ſufficient for the juſtification of his Majeſty, that the colonies, which form a nation conſiderable as well for the number of their inhabitants, as for the extent of their dominion, have *eſtabliſhed their independence*, not only by a ſolemn declaration, *but alſo in fact*; and that they have ſupported it againſt the efforts of their mother-country. Such was, in effect, the ſituation of the United States *when the King began to negotiate with them*. His Majeſty had full liberty of conſidering them as independent, or as the ſubjects of Britain. He choſe the firſt part, becauſe his SAFETY, *the* INTEREST OF HIS PEOPLE, invariable policy, and, above all, the *ſecret projects* of the court of London, *imperiouſly laid him under the neceſſity* *." The *ſecret projects* here referred to, were thoſe of reconciliation on terms which might ſatisfy the United States, and produce a re-union and coalition, for the purpoſe of *falling upon France*. To avoid the riſk of this combined attack, to avoid greater danger in future, by preventing the poſſibility of uniting again the great portions of the Britiſh empire, *ſeparated in fact*, and thus eſſentially to diminiſh its power, were the avowed inducements with the court of France to conſider the United States as independent.

Having ſtated theſe things, they " aſk if there is a ſovereign, who, in the ſame ſituation with his Majeſty, would not have imitated his example †?"

Again—" He (the King of France) had the right to conſider as independent the confederate inhabitants of an immenſe continent, who preſented themſelves to him with this character, eſpecially after their ancient ſovereign had *demonſtrated*, by efforts as continual as painful, *the impoſſibility of bringing them back to obedience* ‡."

" To complete the juſtification of his Majeſty, nothing remains but to examine, whether what are called *reaſons of ſtate*, could have determined his Majeſty to connect himſelf with the Americans. To treat this queſtion with all the clearneſs of which it is ſuſceptible, the political intereſt of France muſt be viewed under two different relations; the firſt reſpects the other powers of Europe; the ſecond reſpects Great Britain §."

" In treating with the Americans, *after they became independent*, the King exerciſed the right inherent in his ſovereignty, WITH NO OTHER VIEW *than to put an end to the predominant power, which England abuſed in every quarter of the globe*." The Obſervations then ſuggeſt, that by this conduct the King has eſſentially

* Obſ. p. 77. † Obſ. p. 78. ‡ Obſ. p. 82. § Obſ. p. 88.

watched

watched over the intereſt of all the ſovereigns of Europe, "by contributing to reſtrain a power which has always carried to exceſs the abuſe of her reſources*."

The court of London having charged the King of France with ambition, and the project of *demoliſhing* the power of England, by his engagements with the Americans, the Obſervations declare, that "Nothing more will be diſcovered in them (his engagements with the United States), on the moſt accurate ſcrutiny, than a diminution of this power, a diminution which England has herſelf provoked, by a conduct the moſt unjuſt and moſt irregular; and which the tranquillity and happineſs of Europe have for a long time required†."

"The moſt vigilant and conſummate prudence could not deviſe adequate precautions againſt the enterpriſes of ſuch a power; ſo that the only means of being ſecured from it was, *to ſeize the opportunity of diminiſhing it*‡."

"It may then be truly ſaid, that on examination of the conduct of the King, it was not only *juſt* and *lawful*, but even *neceſſary*, as well for the *individual intereſt of France*, as for that of all Europe §."

I will trouble you with but one more extract from the juſtificatory Obſervations of the court of France.

"To deceive the other nations with regard to the real motives which have directed the conduct of the King, the Britiſh miniſtry maintain, that he entered into treaty with the Americans, not becauſe he feared the ſecret views of Great Britain, but becauſe he foreſaw that the Americans, defeated, diſcouraged, without ſupport, and without reſources, were about to return to their mother-country; and that there was not a moment to be loſt in reanimating and confirming them in their oppoſition. It was, without doubt, for the ſake of this aſſertion, that the Britiſh miniſtry have thought it beneath the dignity of their ſovereign, to ſearch for the period at which France formed connexions with the United States; it might with greater truth be ſaid, that this reſearch did not coincide with their plan of defence. The King is willing to ſpare the Britiſh miniſtry a taſk ſo diſagreeable and embarraſſing, by obſerving for them, that the converſations which led to the treaties of the 6th of February, 1778, *were conſiderably poſterior* to the capitulation of General Burgoyne. Now it is notorious, that this event elevated the courage and the hopes of the Americans, as much as it dejected the Britiſh nation, and principally the court of London. If then the King has liſtened to the propoſitions of Congreſs, *after this period*, ſo diſaſtrous to the Britiſh, *it has not been, and could not have been for any other reaſon, but*

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* Obſ. p. 89. † Obſ. p. 90. ‡ Obſ. p. 91. § Obſ. p. 92.

becauſe

*becauſe he thought, with the United States, that their independence was thenceforward irrevocable**."

In theſe extracts from the Obſervations of the court of France, we ſee an open avowal of her motives for entering into treaties with the United States during our revolution: but do ſuch motives afford any ſtrong claims to our gratitude? She rejoiced at the proſpect of a final ſeparation of the thirteen colonies from Great Britain: ſhe ſaw them erected by their ſolemn declaration into independent ſtates; but during near three years of our conteſt, ſhe continued waiting for ſome fortunate event, that ſhould inſure ſtability and ultimate ſucceſs to our enterpriſe. This event took place in the capture of a whole Britiſh army. "Then the King liſtened to the propoſitions of Congreſs, becauſe he thought, with the United States, that *their independence was irrevocable*." He then treated with the Americans, "*with no other view*, than to put an end to the predominant power which England exerciſed in every quarter of the globe. A *diminution* of this power (ſays the King), the tranquillity and happineſs of Europe have for a long time required: the only means of being ſecured from it, *was to ſeize the opportunity of diminiſhing it*; and *he did ſeize it*," becauſe "HIS SAFETY, the INTEREST of HIS PEOPLE, invariable policy, and, above all, the *ſecret projects* of the court of London, *imperiouſly laid him under the neceſſity*."

After theſe repeated declarations on the part of France, that her only view in contracting engagements with the United States was to diminiſh the Britiſh power, and thereby promote the ſafety and intereſt of her own people, and the tranquillity of Europe—very unexpected indeed are the modern claims of boundleſs and perpetual gratitude! Nevertheleſs, animated as we always have been, with ſincere deſires to maintain thoſe uſeful and friendly connexions with France which had their foundation in our revolution, we ſhould have remained ſilent on theſe claims, had not the frequency and manner in which they have been urged compelled their diſcuſſion. We are not now diſpoſed to queſtion the importance of the aid we actually derived from France in the war of our revolution; nor to retract the grateful acknowledgments that all America has from that time offered to that nation: we were in the habit of expreſſing our *gratitude* to her for the benefits which we received, although they reſulted from her exertions to advance *her own intereſt* and ſecure *her own ſafety*. But if thoſe benefits had been rendered from *pure benevolence*, from *diſintereſted good-will to us*, and we had been remiſs in acknowledging them, is it the part of generoſity, of magnanimity, conſtantly to upbraid the receivers of their favours with ingratitude? Do not ſuch reproaches cancel the obligation? But if for favours, apparently

* Obſ. p. 95, 96.

generous,

generous, *ſubſtantial* returns are demanded, the ſuppoſed liberal act degenerates, and becomes a mercenary bargain.

If ſuch only are the motives for our gratitude towards France at the commencement of her political and commercial connexions with us in the midſt of our war with Great Britain, what more can we diſcover at the concluſion of that war? Let us examine.

In 1781, with the aſſiſtance of a French army by land, and a powerful fleet by ſea, a ſecond Britiſh army was captured.

This event made even the Britiſh government deſpair of bringing the United States again under her ſubjection. The miniſtry was changed; and the parliament paſſed an act to authorize the King to make peace. In the ſummer of 1782, an agent on the part of Great Britain repaired to Paris, to negotiate with the commiſſioners of the United States. For ſome time Dr. Franklin and Mr. Jay were alone at Paris. The commiſſion to Mr. Oſwald (the Britiſh negotiator) authorized him to treat and conclude a peace or truce with any commiſſioner, or commiſſioners, named, or to be named, by the *colonies* or *plantations* of New Hampſhire, &c. (naming the thirteen), or with any of them ſeparately, with parts of them, or with any perſons whatſoever. Mr. Jay was not ſatisfied with this commiſſion to Mr. Oſwald: the independence of the Thirteen States was no where intimated. Agreeably to their inſtructions from Congreſs to take advice of the court of France, the commiſſioners communicated Mr. Oſwald's commiſſion to the prime miniſter, the Count de Vergennes. The Count expreſſed his opinion that the commiſſion was ſufficient; that it was ſuch an one as we might have expected it would be: "That an acknowledgment of our independence, inſtead of *preceding*, muſt in the natural courſe of things be the *effect* of the treaty." This opinion the Count continued from time to time to repeat. In ſhort, "it was evident the Count did not wiſh to ſee our independence acknowledged by Britain until they had made all their uſes of us." Mr. Jay ſtill continued unmoved. He conferred with Mr. Oſwald, and "urged in the ſtrongeſt terms, the great impropriety, and, conſequently, the utter impoſſibility of our ever treating with Great Britain on any other than an *equal footing*; and told him plainly, that he (Mr. Jay) would have no concern in any negotiation in which we were not conſidered as an *independent people*."

It was on this occaſion that Mr. Oſwald communicated to Mr. Jay this article of his inſtructions: "In caſe you find the American commiſſioners are not at liberty to treat on any terms ſhort of independence, you are to declare to them, that you have our authority to make that ceſſion: our ardent wiſh for peace diſpoſing us to purchaſe it at the price of acceding to the complete independence of the thirteen colonies."

The Britiſh miniſtry approved of this communication; but ſtill

were for *treating* with us as *colonies*, and making an acknowledgment of our independence *only an article of the treaty*. Mr. Jay's discernment discovered the source of the backwardness, at this time, in the British court, to admit our independence *previous* to the negotiating of the treaty, and mentioned it, with his reasons, to Mr. Oswald; who, far from contradicting Mr. Jay's inference, told him a fact, which confirmed his opinion that it originated in the court of France, and was communicated to that of London by the British commissioner then in Paris to treat of peace between France and Great Britain. Mr. Jay then explained to Mr. Oswald what he supposed to be the natural policy of the French court, and showed him, "that it was the interest of Britain to render us as independent on France, as we were resolved to be on Britain." Mr. Oswald was convinced. Mr. Jay reminded him of the several resolutions of Congress, passed at different periods, not to treat with British commissioners on any other footing than that of absolute independence; and proposed to give to him in writing what he had before expressed in conversation—*his determination not to treat but on the footing of equality*. Mr. Oswald preferred having it in writing. Mr. Jay prepared the draft of a letter, to be signed by him and Doctor Franklin, expressing their determination not to treat but on terms of equality, as an independent nation; and exhibiting the reasons of this determination. Doctor Franklin thought the letter "rather too positive, and, therefore, rather imprudent; for that in case Britain should remain firm, and future circumstances should compel us to submit to their mode of treating, we should do it with an ill grace, after such a decided and peremptory refusal. Besides, the Doctor seemed much perplexed and fettered by the instructions from Congress, *to be guided by the advice of the French court*. Neither of these considerations affected Mr. Jay. For as to the first, he could not conceive of any event which would render it proper, and therefore possible, for America to treat in any other character than as an independent nation. And as to the second, he could not believe that Congress intended they should follow *any advice which might be repugnant to their dignity and interest*."

Doctor Franklin's doubts prevented this letter being signed. Mr. Oswald was disappointed; and desired to see the draft. He saw it, and requested a copy of it. After taking time for consideration, Mr. Jay complied with the request. "For though unsigned, it would convey to the British ministry the sentiments and opinions he wished to impress; and if finally they should not be content to treat with us as independent, they were not yet ripe for peace or treaty with us. Besides, he could not be persuaded that Great Britain, after what the House of Commons had declared, after various other acts of that government manifesting the intention to acknowledge it, would persist in refusing to admit our independ-

independence, provided they really believed that we had firmly resolved not to treat on more humble terms.

"With the copy of this draft, Mr. Jay gave Mr. Oswald copies of the various resolutions of Congress, which evinced their adherence to their independence. These papers Mr. Oswald sent by express to London, and warmly recommended the issuing a new commission, to remove all further delay."

Mr. Jay having afterwards ascertained that the Count de Vergennes had sent a confidential agent to London, but whose journey was intended to have been a secret, for purposes evidently hostile to the interest of the United States, determined immediately to counteract the project, by an agent on whom he could rely, to make to the court of London such representations as he thought the occasion demanded. He succeeded; and in about two weeks Mr. Oswald received a new commission, in the form for which Mr. Jay had contended.

Mr. Jay remarked, that, agreeably to the declaration of independence, the United States, as free and independent, had full power to levy war, *conclude peace*, contract alliances, &c.: that by the act of confederation, the style of the confederacy was declared to be, THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, and by that act Congress were vested with the sole and *exclusive* right and power of determining on *peace* and war, and of entering into *treaties* and alliances: that being of right, and in fact, free and independent states, their representatives in Congress granted a commission to certain gentlemen, of whom Doctor Franklin and he were two, *in their name* to confer, treat, and conclude with ambassadors or commissioners, *vested with equal powers*, relating to the re-establishing of peace, &c. But the first commission to Mr. Oswald was not equivalent: the United States were not named in it, nor *their* commissioners, who consequently were not the persons with whom Mr. Oswald was authorized to treat. And if the commissioners had consented to treat with Mr. Oswald under such a commission, what would have been the condition of the people of the United States in the interval between the commencement of the negotiation and the conclusion of peace? They would have been *not independent citizens*; but, by our own acknowledgment, *British subjects!* Mr. Jay would not consent to this degradation, after we had maintained our independence six years, after we had established it in fact, and after Congress had by firm and repeated resolutions refused to treat with Great Britain, unless, as a *preliminary*, she withdrew her fleets and armies, or else *in positive and express terms acknowledged the independence of the United States.* At the same time Congress manifested their readiness to attend to such terms of peace as might consist with the *honour of independent nations:* but the honour of an *independent nation* forbade their treating in a *subordinate* capacity. Even the dignity of France, who four

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years before treated with us as an independent nation, required that we ſhould not degrade ourſelves when going to treat with her enemy. And why then ſhould her miniſters deſire us to do it? eſpecially when the treaty of defenſive alliance declared the "eſſential and direct end of it was, to maintain effectually the liberty, ſovereignty, and *independence*, abſolute and unlimited, of the United States, as well in matters of *government* as of commerce." There were ſeveral reaſons. The two parties, France and the United States, engaged not to lay down their arms until the independence of the United States ſhould be attained. The explicit acknowledgment of their independence by Great Britain, would ſhow, that for the eſſential and direct object of the alliance, there was no neceſſity of continuing the war. But ſince making this treaty of alliance with the United States, France had formed *other connexions*, with whoſe views we had no concern, and for whoſe ſake we were not bound to poſtpone the offered peace. We have ſeen the explicit avowal of the King of France, that he entered into a treaty with the United States, with the view to promote the ſafety and intereſt of his kingdom and ſubjects, by diminiſhing the power of England; but in doing this, and eventually facilitating our independence on Great Britain, it became apparent that there would be no objection to our dependence on France, particularly in "leaving the King maſter of the terms of the treaty of peace." And to keep us thus far dependent, was manifeſtly the object of certain meaſures of the French court, calculated to deprive the United States of an immenſe weſtern territory; of the navigation of the Miſſiſippi; and of the fiſheries, except on our own coaſt. A combination of facts and circumſtances leave no doubt of the intentions of the French court as to the objects above mentioned. I cannot undertake the lengthy detail, and will only juſt mention, in regard to *territory*, what was propoſed and urged by one whoſe official ſtation rendered it impoſſible to believe that he was expreſſing only his own ſentiments, or that he was not acting by the direction of the French court. He propoſed what he called a conciliatory line between the United States and Spain. This was to begin at the diviſion of Eaſt from Weſt Florida, and run thence to fort Toulouſe on the river Alabama, thence by different courſes to Cumberland river, and down the Cumberland to the Ohio. It was inſiſted that the United States could have no pretenſions weſtward of this line: that "as to the courſe and navigation of the Miſſiſippi, they followed the property, and would belong therefore to the nation to which the two banks belonged; the United States could have no pretenſions, not being maſters of either border of the river:" and that "as to what reſpects the lands ſituated to the northward of the Ohio, there was reaſon to preſume that Spain could form no pretenſions thereto: their fate muſt be regulated with the court of London."

London." It is certain that, originally, Spain made no pretenſions to any lands eaſtward of the Miſſiſippi to the northward of the Floridas; and it is clear, that the idea of her finally making the claim was ſuggeſted by the court of France.

We are now prepared to underſtand the declarations made in the inſtructions to Citizen Genet, miniſter plenipotentiary from the French republic to the United States. Theſe inſtructions are dated the 4th of January, 1793, and were publiſhed in December of that year, in Philadelphia, by Mr. Genet, in vindication of his extraordinary meaſures, which had induced our government to deſire his recall. In theſe inſtructions we find the following paſſages: "The executive council has called for the inſtructions given to Citizen Genet's predeceſſors in America, and has ſeen in them, with indignation, that at the very time the good people of America expreſſed their gratitude to us in the moſt feeling manner, and gave us every proof of their friendſhip, Vergennes and Montmorin thought that it was right for France to hinder the United States from taking that political ſtability of which they were capable, becauſe they would ſoon acquire a ſtrength, which it was probable they would be eager to abuſe." —"The ſame machiavelian principle influenced the operations of the war for independence: *the ſame duplicity reigned over the negotiations for peace.*"

We ſee then, that, in forming connexions with us in 1778, the court of France, the actual organ of the nation, had no regard to the intereſt of the United States; but that their object was, by ſeizing the occaſion of diſmembering the Britiſh empire, to diminiſh the power of a formidable rival: and that when, after we had carried on a diſtreſſing war for ſeven years, the great object for which we had contended, independence, was within our reach, that court endeavoured to poſtpone the acknowledgment of it by Great Britain, and eventually to deprive us of its faireſt fruits, a juſt extent of territory, the navigation of the Miſſiſippi, and the fiſhery.

Such being the motives and conduct of France, what inſpired our truly grateful ſentiments towards that nation? The ardent affection, the ſincere friendſhip of Americans to Frenchmen. We were engaged in a common cauſe againſt Great Britain—we received loans of money—we were aided by troops and ſhips in attacking and conquering the common enemy in the boſom of our country; and this aſſociation in war produced acquaintance and perſonal friendſhip; and experiencing theſe benefits, we gave way to our feelings, without inquiring into the motives from which they were rendered.

But why are we ſo often reminded of the debt of gratitude? Is it really becauſe more than *gratitude*—becauſe *compenſation* is expected to cancel it? If compenſation is the object,, the treaty of alliance

alliance has absolved the claim. "The contracting parties declare, that being resolved to fulfil, each on its own part, the clauses and conditions of the present treaty of alliance, according to its own power and circumstances, *there shall be no after-claim of compensation*, on one side or the other, whatever may be the event of the war."

I am here naturally led to notice Mr. Adet's charge already mentioned, *that we have not offered to France the succours which friendship might have given, without compromitting the government.*

If Mr. Adet had specified the kind of succours which might thus have been offered, we could better judge of the correctness of his assertion.

But is it true that we have rendered no succours to France? Read the following passages in the secretary of state's letter of the 16th of August, 1793, to Mr. Morris: "We recollect with satisfaction, that in the course of two years, by unceasing exertions, we paid up seven years arrearages and instalments of our debt to France, which the inefficacy of our first form of government had suffered to be accumulating; that pressing on still to the entire fulfilment of our engagements, we have facilitated to Mr. Genet the effect of the instalments of the present year, to enable him to send relief to his fellow-citizens in France, threatened with famine; that in the first moment of the insurrection which threatened the colony of St. Domingo, we stepped forward to their relief with arms and money, taking freely on ourselves the risk of an unauthorized aid, when delay would have been denial; that we have given the exclusive admission to sell here the prizes made by France on her enemies in the present war, though unstipulated in our treaties, and unfounded in her own practice, or in that of other nations, as we believe."

To this detail I have to add, that of all the loans and supplies received from France in the American war, amounting nearly to fifty-three millions of livres, the United States, under their late government, had been enabled to pay not two millions and a half of livres; that the present government, after paying up the arrearages and instalments mentioned by Mr. Jefferson, has been continually anticipating the subsequent instalments, until, in the year 1795, the whole of our debt to France was discharged, by anticipating the payments of eleven millions and a half of livres; no part of which would have become due until the 2d of September, 1796, and then only one million and a half; the residue at subsequent periods; the last not until the year 1802.

There remain yet various passages in Mr. Adet's notes, on which some observations are to be made.

In my letter of the 1st of November last, in answer to Mr. Adet's note of October 27th, in which he communicated the decree of the Executive Directory of the 2d of July last, declaring that the flag of the republic of France should treat the flag of

neutrals

neutrals in the ſame manner as theſe ſhall ſuffer it to be treated by the Engliſh, I aſked an explanation of the decree, mentioning the circumſtanees which excited doubts. There ſeemed to be ſufficient cauſe for inquiry. Had the decree referred to the *paſt* captures by the Engliſh, our knowledge of *them* would have been ſome guide in forming our opinion of the threatened captures by the French: but the operation of the decree was to depend on the *future* conduct of the Engliſh: the French were to treat the flag of neutrals as theſe *ſhall* ſuffer it to be treated by the Engliſh. As this could not be aſcertained beforehand, we wiſhed to know whether the reſtraints then exerciſed by the Britiſh government were conſidered as of a nature to juſtify a denial of thoſe rights which were pledged to us by our treaty with France? Whether the orders had actually been given to capture the veſſels of the United States? and, if given, what were the preciſe terms of thoſe orders? Mr. Adet, in his reply, ſays, that I appear not to have underſtood either the decree of the Directory, or his note, which accompanied it. The meaning of the decree is certainly not very obvious. The manner of executing it was declared to depend on a contingency—the future conduct of the Engliſh. How were French cruiſers in the four quarters of the world to determine what was the conduct of the Engliſh at any given time? If he could have furniſhed a copy of the orders actually given to French armed veſſels, under the decree, we might have ſeen clearly what were the intentions of the Directory. If we are to take the practice of the French armed veſſels, and of ſome of the French tribunals, as the true illuſtration of the decree, Mr. Adet's own explanation will be very defective. He has ſpecified only two caſes, the taking of Engliſh (or other enemy's) property on board American veſſels, and the ſeizure of all the goods claſſed as contraband in our treaty with Great Britain. In the caſe of contraband goods, the ſeizure of them is lawful only when they are deſtined to the ports of their enemies; and the *contraband goods only* are liable to confiſcation. But the ſpecial agents of the Directory in the Weſt Indies order the ſeizure of all veſſels having on board contraband goods, no matter whether deſtined to an enemy's, or to a neutral, or even to a French port; and when ſeized, they confiſcate not merely the contraband articles, but all other goods, and the veſſel herſelf in which they are laden. They alſo aſſign in their decrees of confiſcation, another cauſe of capture and condemnation, that the American veſſel has ſailed to or from a port in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh. We are not informed that the Engliſh take any neutral veſſels for this cauſe. We have heard of ſeveral American veſſels being captured and confiſcated by the French, merely becauſe they had not a ſea-letter, when no doubt could have been entertained of the property being American: yet it is conceived that the want of a ſea-letter was never intended to exclude other proofs of property.

Further, ought we to have imagined that the Executive Directory intended to leave it to the discretion of every privateer, and of every inferior tribunal, to judge what at any time *subsequent* to their decree was the *actual* treatment received by American vessels from the British? Ought we to have imagined that the decree was formed in such indefinite terms, on purpose to give scope for arbitrary constructions, and consequently for unlimited oppression? Ought we to have imagined what Mr. Adet has himself declared to be the meaning of the decree, that the French armed vessels were not to content themselves with capturing American vessels having English property or contraband goods on board, and getting such property and goods condemned by their tribunals; but if any English commanders were to practise "*vexations*" towards Americans, that Frenchmen were to do the same? Ought we to have imagined that the Directory intended the citizens of France should be encouraged to take revenge on their friends for the outrages of their enemies? And what is to limit these vexations? If one English commander in a hundred perversely and wantonly abuses his power, is every French officer to become his rival in dishonour? Or if we are to suffer only measure for measure (and surely the decree goes not beyond this), who is to designate the every hundredth French officer who is to be the instrument of similar oppression?

But French armed vessels are to make all these captures in violation of the treaty, and we are to suffer all these vexations in violation of reason and humanity, while we endure them from the English "without an efficacious opposition!" And what opposition will be deemed *efficacious?* For all captures made by the British contrary to the law of nations, we have, agreeably to that law, demanded satisfaction. The British have engaged to make us satisfaction; and commissioners are now sitting to liquidate those demands. What opposition could have been more efficacious? What further opposition can be lawful?

Instead of further comments on this subject, let me present to you some passages in Mr. Adet's letter of the 14th of July, 1795 *. In this letter, he communicated to the secretary of state, the decree of the committee of Public Safety, of the 3d of January, 1795, repealing the 5th article of the decree of the 15th of November, 1794 †. The latter violated our treaty by subjecting the property of the enemies of France on board American vessels to capture, and by adding to the list of articles contraband: it was, therefore, repealed by the former. Mr. Adet seized this occasion to make the following declaration: "You will see, Sir (said he), in both (the decrees) the undisguised disposition and sincere desire of the French government religiously to observe the engagements it has contracted with its allies, and its readiness to redress infractions

* Fourteenth Nivosé, 3d year. † Twenty-fifth Brumaire, 3d year.

which

which have never taken place but from the impulse of circumstances."—"It is amidst her triumphs that the republic loves to give this striking mark of her fidelity. Victorious France knows no other concern than that of justice—no other diplomatic language than that of truth."—To this truth, to this justice, to this fidelity, we now make our appeal.

From the style of Mr. Adet's complaint, of the British being *suffered* to arm in our ports, it might be imagined the instances were numerous. None were *permitted*: the *actual* armaments were few, and are as old as the year 1793, and were represented by Mr. Genet to the secretary of state. "What answer (asks Mr. Adet) did the government give to the representations of the minister of the French republic in this respect? It said, that these vessels sailed too suddenly; that it was not able to cause them to be stopped." The answer was given by the secretary of state in different words *: "Those from Charleston and Philadelphia have gone off *before it was known* to the government; and the former, indeed, in the first moments of the war, and before preventive measures could be taken in so distant a port." In the case of the Trusty, Captain Hale, at Baltimore, the governor of Maryland, having been informed that he had been *buying guns*, had given orders to examine the fact; "but she got off before the officer could get on board, having cleared out three or four days before."—I have not observed that Mr. Genet ever renewed his complaint with regard to any of these vessels; whence, I suppose, he was satisfied with the answer: as indeed he ought to have been. The two English vessels that sailed from Philadelphia, escaped even the vigilance of the French consul †—both had departed many days before he had been informed of them. This is stated by the consul himself, in his report of the 21st of June, 1793, to Mr. Genet. And yet the government is now charged by Mr. Adet with violating the treaty, because it did not stop them!—Although the officers of the United States had been required to be watchful, and to report all illegal armaments in our ports, yet it was natural for the government to expect to derive information from the French consuls, who doubtless were charged by their own government to be particularly vigilant in regard to all attempts at such armaments by the enemies of the republic. Mr. Adet remarks that "some inhabitants of the United States had aided in these illegal armaments of the enemies of France:" and asks, "what measures were taken against them? Was any search made to discover them—to prosecute them? Never."—Yet the very letter from Mr. Genet to the secretary of state, in which, and its enclosures, Mr. Adet has found this subject of complaint, sug-

* State Papers, p. 41. June 30, 1793.

† Ibid. p. 41.

gests a different conclusion. "I learn with pleasure (says Mr. Genet) by your letter of the 23d of this month (June, 1793) that the government of Georgia have caused to be stopped a vessel armed in that state, for the purpose of cruising against the French, and that the persons interested in this vessel will be prosecuted *."

I shall say but a few words on the subject of the letters, of which Mr. Adet complained that they remained unanswered. The first (of September 29th, 1795) contained those reproachful insinuations which were recited in my letter of the 1st of November last. Why were these introduced by him if they were not to be applied? An answer was draughted on the subject of his letter, with animadversions on those insinuations: but desiring to avoid irritations, the answer was not sent. It was deemed of the less consequence, seeing in my letter to Mr. Monroe of the 12th of September, 1795, the sentiments and reasonings of the government on that and other subjects relating to France had been fully expressed, to enable him to make immediate communications to the French government itself; and it was hoped, that the information given in that letter, and in others written to him the preceding summer, would have furnished materials (and that these materials would have been timely used) for such representations as would have satisfied the French government, that the United States, in forming the treaty with Great Britain, had only exercised an indisputable right: and neither by that treaty nor any other act had infringed a single article of our treaties with France.

On the subject of the impresses of our seamen, mentioned in Mr. Adet's letters of March and April, 1796, I shall only add, that nothing was more notorious than that those impresses had excited universal resentment in the United States, and been the subject of repeated remonstrance from our government to the British court. Thus in Mr. Pinckney's note to Lord Grenville in August, 1793, which was published here that year, in the same collection of state papers with Mr. Jefferson's letter of September 7th †, which Mr. Adet has quoted, and on the 5th page next succeeding it, we find the following: "Under this head it may be observed, that for want of arrangements being made for the security of American seamen in the ports of this country (England), they are subject to the various hardships Mr. Pinckney has *so frequently detailed* to Lord Grenville." And in the next page, in his letter to Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Pinckney says, "The protection afforded our seamen, remains also on the same footing; they (the British government) profess a willingness to secure to us all real American seamen, when proved to be such; but the proof they will not dispense with." To remove as far as possible the

* State Papers, p. 40. † Mr. Adet, by mistake, dates it September 13th.

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embarraſſments ariſing from this cauſe, and more effectually to protect our ſeamen, was the object of a bill pending in Congreſs, and the ſubject of public debate, at the time I received Mr. Adet's letters. This bill was paſſed into a law.

All theſe acts demonſtrated that the government did not aſſent, but on the contrary that they reſiſted the impreſſment of American ſeamen: and this reſiſtance has been continued; conſequently, we cannot be charged on this ground with a violation of our neutrality.

Among the former ſubjects of complaint not now renewed by Mr. Adet, is that againſt the government, for permitting the purchaſe and exportation of horſes by Britiſh agents, in the courſe of the laſt winter and ſpring. The correſpondence on this ſubject is lengthy; and yet the queſtion lies within a very narrow compaſs.

Perhaps no rule is now better eſtabliſhed, than that neutral nations have a right to trade freely with nations at war; either by carrying and ſelling to them all kinds of merchandiſe, or permitting them to come and purchaſe the ſame commodities in the neutral territory; in the latter caſe, not refuſing to one power at war what it permits another to purchaſe; with this exception in reſpect to articles contraband, that if the cruiſers of one of the belligerent powers meet at ſea with neutral veſſels laden with ſuch articles, deſtined to the ports of their enemies, the neutral veſſels may be captured, and the contraband goods will be lawful prize to the captors: but the reſidue of their cargo and the veſſels themſelves are to be diſcharged.

But if there were any doubt on this point under the law of nations, there can be none in relation to France and the United States; becauſe this matter is ſpecially regulated by their treaty of commerce. This treaty, ſo far from *reſtraining* the trade of either party remaining neutral, while the other is engaged in war, *provides regulations agreeably to which it ſhould be conducted.*

The 12th and 13th articles authorize either party that is at war, to ſtop the neutral merchant veſſels of the other deſtined to the ports of an enemy, upon juſt grounds of ſuſpicion concerning the voyage or the lading. If, on examining the ſhip's papers, it appears there are any contraband goods on board, "conſigned for a port under the obedience of his enemies," ſhe may be carried into port, and the contraband articles may, by regular proceedings in the admiralty, be confiſcated: "ſaving always as well the ſhip itſelf as any other goods found therein, which by this treaty are to be eſteemed free: neither may they be detained on pretence of their being as it were infected by the prohibited goods, much leſs ſhall they be confiſcated as lawful prize."—It further provides, that if the maſter of the neutral ſhip ſhall be willing to deliver the contraband goods to the captor, and the latter receives them, then is the

neutral ſhip to be forthwith diſcharged, and allowed freely to proſecute her voyage. The 23d article goes further—if the neutral ſhip ſhall have on board the *enemies* of the other, "they are not to be taken out, unleſs they are *ſoldiers in actual ſervice.*"

Theſe articles are ſo explicit, it may ſeem ſtrange that a doubt ſhould ariſe concerning them; I preſume no doubt did ariſe: for Mr. Adet, overlooking theſe proviſions of the treaty, demanded that the government ſhould ſtop the exportation of horſes by the Britiſh, upon the principle that it was a neutral duty required by the law of nations. An anſwer was given to his demands, in which the regulations of our treaty with France were particularly brought into view, as well as the rules of the law of nations. Mr. Adet, however, after ſome time, renewed his claims; but again kept the treaty out of ſight. An anſwer was given to theſe renewed claims; and we heard no more of the ſubject until the French privateers in the Weſt Indies began to capture American veſſels which had *horſes* on board. You will find among the documents on this ſubject the copy of a decree of the citizens Victor Hugues and Lebas, the ſpecial agents of the Executive Directory in the Windward Iſlands, condemning an *American veſſel* and her *entire cargo*, for having a ſmall number of *horſes* on board—not bound to their *enemy*'s, but to a *neutral* port. And the ſpecial agents ground their decree *on the advice they received from Mr. Adet*, under the date of 14th Meſſidor, being July 2d, 1796. This veſſel and cargo were thus condemned without the ſight of a ſingle paper belonging to her: the maſter had them in his pocket, and would have brought them home, but for the recollection of the interpreter, ſome hours after the ſentence of condemnation had been paſſed. Theſe citizens exerciſe indeed a very brief authority. The proceſs in the caſe of a ſecond American veſſel, which, to complete her lading, had taken on board nineteen horſes, but which was alſo bound to a neutral port, was in this form: The captain having come before one of the agents, he without any previous examination or hearing, addreſſing himſelf to the captain, pronounced ſentence in theſe words—"I have confiſcated your veſſel and cargo"—cloſing the ſentence with opprobrious language.

Mr. Adet, on the 18th of May laſt, revived his predeceſſor's claim of *right*, by treaty, to ſell their prizes in our ports. This occaſioned the correſpondence on this ſubject, which you will find among the documents collected on this occaſion. He contents himſelf, however, with conſidering it as a right granted, not poſitively, but by *implication*. That is, becauſe the treaty *forbids* the *enemies* of *France* to ſell *their* prizes in our ports—therefore it *grants* to *her* a right of ſelling *her* prizes; as if my friend's *denial* of a favour to my *enemy*, was in fact *a grant* of the ſame favour to *me*. The ſimple ſtatement of the ground of the claim, would ſeem ſufficient to ſhow that the treaty will not ſupport it.

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That the sales of French prizes have been at all permitted, has been owing to the *indulgence* of the government. This indulgence was continued until it interfered with a new positive obligation: an obligation precisely the same as France herself contracted eight years *subsequent* to her treaty with us, *and with the same power*. This obligation is found in the 24th article of our treaty, and the 16th of the French treaty, with *Great Britain*. Thus France and the United States alike engaged to permit no enemy of Great Britain to arm privateers in their ports, *or to sell their prizes there*, or in any manner to exchange them. Consequently, had France remained at peace, and we engaged in a war with Great Britain, our privateers would not be permitted to sell their prizes in French ports. And by the maritime law of France*, prizes, except they are taken from her enemies, can stay in her ports no more than twenty-four hours, unless compelled by tempest to remain longer; and the sales of such prizes are forbidden under severe penalties. But notwithstanding the certainty of our right to forbid the *sales* of prizes in our ports, and notwithstanding the express legal command of the chief justice of the United States, holding a circuit court in South Carolina, in May last, prohibiting the sale of a particular prize (the British ship Amity) at Charleston, the French agents sold the prize *vessel*; and the sale received the formal sanction of the French consul. Yet even this affair has been made a subject of complaint by Mr. Adet, because the collector of that port refused a clearance to the prize vessel, thus sold in defiance of the authority of the United States; and because he also delayed, until, in a new case, he should get advice, to permit the exportation of the cargo of the prize ship, which, on a survey, had been reported to be irreparable.

Indeed, the French minister has discovered an aptitude to complain. I may cite as instances his letters of the 9th of January and 3d of March, 1796: the former, because the colours of France, which he had presented to the United States, were not permanently fixed and displayed before Congress: the latter, because some printers of almanacks or other periodical publications in the United States, in arranging the names of foreign ministers and agents resident amongst us, had placed those of Great Britain before those of France and Spain. Mr. Adet desired my declaration in writing, that the government of the United States had no concern in printing the works in which the agents of the French republic were registered after those of Great Britain, and that the works themselves might be suppressed. I gave him an answer in writing, with my consent, to his publishing it in the newspapers, agreeably to his request. The answer states, that in matters of

* Valin, vol. ii. p. 272.

this

this kind, the government did not, and could not interfere. With regard to the colours, I muſt obſerve, that in what concerns our foreign relations, the Preſident being the ſole repreſentative of the people of the United States, they were properly preſented to him. He received them with all poſſible reſpect, and directed them to be depoſited with our national archives, that both might be preſerved with equal care.

It remains to notice a ſummary of complaints exhibited by M. De la Croix, the French miniſter for foreign affairs, to Mr. Monroe, our miniſter at Paris, under the date of March 9th, 1796, to which the latter returned an anſwer, under the date of March 15th. Theſe were incloſed in Mr. Monroe's letter of the 2d of May, and received at the department of ſtate on the 19th of July. Copies of both papers, and an extract of ſo much of his letter as relates to this ſubject, are among the documents now collected.

Friſt complaint.—The inexecution of treaties. 1ſt. The courts of juſtice have taken, and ſtill take cognizance of prizes brought by French privateers into the ports of the United States.

Second, Engliſh ſhips of war have been admitted into thoſe ports, even in caſes prohibited by the 17th article of the treaty; that is, when they have made prizes on the French republic or its citizens; and have alſo conducted thither their prizes.

Third, The conſular convention has in two points become illuſory. 1ſt, For want of giving to the conſuls the means of having their deciſions executed in all diſputes between Frenchmen, of which the conſuls have the excluſive cognizance: 2d, Becauſe the judges charged with iſſuing warrants for apprehending French mariners who deſert, require the original roll of the crew to be firſt produced. 4th, The arreſt of the corvette Le Caſſius and her captain.

Second complaint.—The impunity of the outrage committed on the republic in the perſon of its miniſter, the citizen Fauchet, by the Engliſh ſhip Africa, in concert with the vice-conſul of that nation, within the waters of the United States.

Third complaint.—The treaty concluded in November, 1794, between the United States and Great Britain.

Excepting the ſecond complaint, relative to the attempt of the Engliſh ſhip Africa to ſeize Mr. Fauchet and his papers, and the third article under the firſt complaint, relative to the conſular convention, all the charges in this ſummary have been already examined, and, we think, proved to be unfounded.

As to the conſular convention, many inconveniencies would attend the giving to the conſuls a juriſdiction to the extent contended for on the part of the French republic, to be exerciſed by French conſuls in the United States, and conſequently by American conſuls in France. The inconveniencies are manifeſtly ſo great, as to require very explicit language in the convention of the

the two nations on this ſubject, to authorize the concluſion, that ſuch an enlarged juriſdiction was intended. It would be to erect in foreign countries complete courts of juſtice, with effectual proceſs to compel the appearance of parties and witneſſes, and to execute their deciſions. And as the tranſactions in commerce and navigation could not in the nature of things be confined to the foreigners alone, the citizens of the country muſt often be neceſſary witneſſes to thoſe tranſactions, and of courſe rendered amenable to this foreign juriſdiction in their own country: whereas the juriſdiction demanded is only of French conſuls over French citizens in the United States; and reciprocally of American conſuls over the citizens of the United States in France. From theſe conſiderations a preſumption would ariſe, that the juriſdiction contemplated in the conſular convention was to be merely *voluntary*, but at the ſame time *excluſive of the courts of the country*. An examination of the convention, we believe, will ſupport this and no other conſtruction. The 12th article provides, that all differences and ſuits between Frenchmen and the United States, and between citizens of the United States in France, and particularly all diſputes between ſeamen and their captains, and between captains of different veſſels of their nation, ſhall be, determined by the reſpective conſuls, either by a *reference to arbitrators*, or by a ſummary judgment, and *without coſts*. "No officer of the country, civil or military, ſhall interfere therein, or take any part whatever in the matter."—This laſt clauſe alone would ſeem ſufficient to repel the claim we are conſidering. Sheriffs, marſhals, and their deputies, cannot aid in the execution of conſular deciſions, becauſe they are "officers of the country," expreſsly forbidden to "take any part in the matter." But was it meant that the laws ſhould give conſuls the power to appoint ſuch executive officers of their own nation? We find no ſuch thing in the convention. On the contrary, in the caſe of deſerters from veſſels, mentioned in the 9th article, whom the conſuls are authorized to cauſe to be arreſted, they are expreſsly directed to apply in writing to the "courts, judges, and officers, competent" to make the arreſts; meaning the courts, judges, and officers of the country where the conſuls reſide. Beſides, if power could be given to conſuls to appoint officers to execute their deciſions, theſe officers muſt of courſe have their fees of compenſation, to be paid by one or other of the parties; but the 12th article declares, that the conſular judgments ſhall be "without coſts."—To theſe obſervations I ſubjoin the deliberate opinions of two reſpectable lawyers, Mr. Harriſon, of New York, and Mr. Bradford, the late attorney general of the United States.

"I have conſidered the 12th article of the convention between his late moſt Chriſtian Majeſty and the United States of America, and alſo the act of Congreſs concerning conſuls and vice-

vice-consuls, as far as it prescribes the duty of marshals of the United States; and it is my opinion, that the marshals are not bound by law to execute any sentence of a French consul, arising under the said article.

"RICHARD HARRISON,
"Attorney United States, for the New York district."
New York, 6th March, 1794.

"I have considered the convention and act above referred to, and I perfectly coincide in the opinion given by the attorney of the United States, for the district of New York.
Philadelphia, 14th March, 1794. "WM. BRADFORD."

The other complaint under this head is, that the judges, who are charged (by an act of Congress) to issue warrants of arrest against deserters from French vessels, have required the *original* ship's roll, to prove that the men alleged to have deserted were a part of the crew; in contempt of the 5th article, which admits, in the tribunals of both countries, copies certified by the consul.

If we look at the 9th article of the consular treaty, we shall see that the consuls who demand the arrests of deserters from vessels of their nation, must prove "by an exhibition of the registers of the vessels or ship's roll, that those men were a part of the crew." It is apparent that the original roll, and not a copy, is here referred to; nor indeed is the contrary pretended: but it is said, that the 5th article admits certified consular copies as evidence in the courts of both nations. But the 5th article appears to have no relation to the subject of the 9th. It stipulates, that "the consuls respectively shall have the exclusive right of receiving in their chancery, or on board of vessels, the declarations and all other acts which the captains, masters, crews, passengers, and merchants of their nation may choose to make there, even their testaments and their disposals by last will: and the copies of *the said acts*, duly authenticated by the said consuls, under the seal of their consulate, shall receive faith in law, equally as their originals would." The ship's roll (or shipping paper) of a vessel's crew is not an act to be done before the consul, but the evidence of a private agreement between the captain of a vessel and his crew; and when he alleges that any of them have deserted, the 9th article requires this original evidence of the fact to be produced to the judge, as the ground on which he shall issue his warrant to arrest them. And this is the construction put on this article by the judges; and, for aught I know, without any diversity of opinion. The difference alleged by Mr. Fauchet, in one of his letters to the secretary of state, I have inquired into; and find he was under a mistake. And the mistake arose probably from this circumstance, that when, from the information of the consul, there was danger that the deserter would

would wholly escape, unless instantly apprehended, the judge has issued his warrant to arrest and bring before him the alleged deserter; but when brought, that judge has not committed the man, or delivered him to the consul, unless the original roll was produced to prove him one of the ship's crew.

As to the outrage against Mr. Fauchet by the Africa man of war, in attempting to seize him and his papers within the jurisdiction of the United States, and Captain Home's insult on their authority, I do not know what measures more efficacious could have been taken by the executive than those which were adopted, to obtain satisfaction. After waiting a reasonable time for explanations on the part of Captain Home, and of Mr. Moore, the English vice-consul, and receiving none, the President revoked the exequatur of the vice-consul, and desired the governor of Rhode Island, where the Africa had been lying, to communicate to Captain Home the demand of the President—that he should immediately remove from a station within the jurisdiction of the United States where he had violated their rights; and further to make known to him, that in forty-eight hours after the requisition should be communicated to him, all intercourse between the citizens of the United States and his ship would be forbidden. It is very true that the exequatur of the British vice-consul was withdrawn expressly for his knowingly transmitting to the governor of Rhode Island a most insulting letter from Captain Home; because, although he was on board the Africa when the attempt was made against Mr. Fauchet, the President had no evidence of his co-operation. The minister of the United States in London was directed to represent to that court the conduct of Captain Home, and to demand his exemplary punishment. It was not to be expected that he would be judged unheard; and consequently much delay must have ensued. From her station on the coast of North America, the Africa went to the West Indies. Seeing some time since, by an article in the newspapers, that the Africa was returning to England, our minister in London was reminded of this affair, that the demand of satisfaction might be renewed.

Although the subject of M. De la Croix's third and last complaint (the British treaty) has been already discussed, allow me here to make a few remarks. He says, "It will be easy to prove that the United States, in this treaty, have knowingly and evidently sacrificed their connexions with the republic, and the most essential and least contested prerogatives of neutrality."— The *reverse* of what the minister considers so *easy to prove*, we think has been *demonstrated*. Our legally binding connexions with France we always considered as being formed by our treaties: and we say with confidence that we have not "knowingly"

violated thefe in a fingle article. If individuals have at any time infringed them, the government has been fincere and diligent in its endeavours to redrefs the wrong. If the ties of affection, of warm, enthufiaftic friendfhip, have been weakened, the caufe is to be fought for not in the acts of the American government; which have been conftantly directed to the prefervation of our peace with all nations. Thefe ties did not depend on treaties. It was our friendfhip to France, contracted during *our* revolution, and our partiality for the caufe of liberty and felf-government, for which fhe engaged in *her own*, that made us endure numerous injuries, almoft without complaining. We were not willing to afcribe to the republic the outrages of her minifters againft the laws, the fovereignty, and the dignity of the United States, or the exceptionable ftyle of their communications. Even when, for fuch flagrant aggreffions, often repeated, we defired the recall of one of her minifters, it was done in the moft foothing language; and in the mean time, left the interefts of the republic fhould fuffer, he was permitted to exercife his functions in all cafes in which thofe interefts could be affected. When his fucceffor arrived, he officially requefted that the offending minifter might be apprehended, that he might be fent to France. But the government, fatisfied by his removal, declined the meafure. Some irritations were experienced from that fucceffor. What fenfations have been produced by Mr. Adet's notes, your own feelings, on the perufal, will enable you to judge. If he intended to excite the general indignation of our citizens, he is not difappointed: but it is prefumed this was not the object. After an exhibition of complaints, in a ftyle fo exceptionable, he could add but one more improper act, that of publifhing his notes in the newfpapers. He had fcarcely tranfmitted them to the executive, before he forwarded them to the printer for publication.

From the foregoing ftatement we truft it will appear, that there has been no attempt in the government of the United States to violate our treaty, or weaken our engagements with France: that whatever refiftance it has oppofed to the meafures of her agents, the maintenance of the laws, and fovereignty of the United States, and their neutral obligations, have rendered indifpenfable: that it has never acquiefced in any acts violating our rights, or interfering with the advantages ftipulated to France; but, on the contrary, has oppofed them by all the means in its power: that it has withheld no fuccours from France that were compatible with the duties of neutrality to grant: that, as well by their independent political rights, as by the exprefs provifions of the commercial treaty with France, the United States were at full liberty to enter into commercial treaties with any other nation, and confequently with Great Britain: that no facts, manifefting

ing a partiality to that country, have been, and I add, that none ſuch can be produced.

On the propriety and juſtneſs of theſe concluſions you will endeavour to ſatisfy the French government; and conſcious of the rectitude of our own proceedings, during the whole courſe of the preſent war, we cannot but entertain the moſt ſanguine expectations that they will be ſatisfied. We even hope that this has been already accompliſhed, and that you will be ſaved from the pain of renewing a diſcuſſion which the government has entered upon with regret. Your miſſion and inſtructions prove its ſolicitude to have prevented this neceſſity, and the ſincerity of its preſent hopes, that your endeavours, agreeably to thoſe inſtructions, "To remove jealouſies and obviate complaints, by ſhowing that they are groundleſs—to reſtore confidence ſo unfortunately and injuriouſly impaired—to explain the relative intereſts of both countries, and the real ſentiments of your own," have been attended with ſucceſs. And as a conſequence thereof, we rely on the repeal of the decrees and orders which expoſe our commerce to indefinite injuries, which militate with the obligations of treaties, and our rights as a neutral nation.

I have the honour to be, with great reſpect,

Sir,

Your moſt obedient ſervant,

Timothy Pickering.

Carefully collated with the original in the office of the department of ſtate.

Geo. Taylor, jun. Chief Clerk.

Speech of the Preſident, Adams, to the Congreſs, Tueſday, May 16, 1797.

Gentlemen of the Senate, and Gentlemen of the Houſe of Repreſentatives,

THE perſonal inconveniencies to the members of the Senate and of the Houſe of Repreſentatives, in leaving their families, and private affairs, at this ſeaſon of the year, are ſo obvious, that I the more regret the extraordinary occaſion which had rendered the convention of Congreſs indiſpenſable.

It would have afforded me the higheſt ſatisfaction to have been able to congratulate you on a reſtoration of peace to the nations of Europe, whoſe animoſities have endangered our tranquillity; but we have ſtill abundant cauſe of gratitude to the Supreme Diſpenſer of national bleſſings, for general health and promiſing ſeaſons; for domeſtic and ſocial happineſs; for the rapid progreſs

 and

and ample acquiſitions of induſtry, through extenſive territories; for civil, political, and religious liberty. While other ſtates are deſolated with foreign war, or convulſed with inteſtine diviſions, the United States preſent the pleaſing proſpect of a nation, governed by mild and equal laws; generally ſatisfied with the poſſeſſion of their rights; neither envying the advantages, nor fearing the power of other nations; ſolicitous only for the maintenance of order and juſtice, and the preſervation of liberty; increaſing daily in the attachment to a ſyſtem of government, in proportion to their experience of its utility; yielding a ready and general obedience to laws flowing from the reaſon, and reſting on the only ſolid foundation, the affection of the people.

It is with extreme regret that I ſhall be obliged to turn your thoughts to other circumſtances, which admoniſh us that ſome of theſe felicities may not be laſting; but if the tide of our proſperity is full, and a reflux commencing, a vigilant circumſpection becomes us, that we may meet our reverſes with fortitude, and extricate ourſelves from their conſequences, with all the ſkill we poſſeſs, and all the efforts in our power.

In giving to Congreſs information of the ſtate of the union, and recommending to their conſideration ſuch meaſures as appear to me to be expedient or neceſſary, according to my conſtitutional duty, the cauſes and the objects of the preſent extraordinary ſeſſion will be explained.

After the Preſident of the United States received information, that the French government had expreſſed ſerious diſcontents at ſome proceedings of the government of theſe States, ſaid to affect the intereſts of France, he thought it expedient to ſend to that country a new miniſter, fully inſtructed to enter on ſuch amicable diſcuſſions, and to give ſuch candid explanations, as might happily remove the diſcontents and ſuſpicions of the French government, and vindicate the conduct of the United States. For this purpoſe he ſelected from among his fellow-citizens a character, whoſe integrity, talents, experience, and ſervices, had placed him in the rank of the moſt eſteemed and reſpected in the nation. The direct object of his miſſion was expreſſed in his letter of credence to the French republic, being "to maintain that good underſtanding, which from the commencement of the alliance had ſubſiſted between the two nations; and to efface unfavourable impreſſions; baniſh ſuſpicions, and reſtore that cordiality, which was at once the evidence and pledge of a friendly union." And his inſtructions were to the ſame effect, "faithfully to repreſent the diſpoſition of the government and people of the United States, their diſpoſition being one, to remove jealouſies, and obviate complaints, by ſhowing that they were groundleſs; to reſtore that mutual confidence which had been ſo unfortuuately and injuriouſl

impaired; and to explain the relative interefts of both countries, and the real fentiments of his own."

A minifter thus fpecially commiffioned, it was expected, would have proved the inftrument of reftoring mutual confidence between the two republics: the firft ftep of the French government correfponded with that expectation; a few days before his arrival at Paris, the French minifter of foreign relations informed the American minifter, then refident at Paris, of the formalities to be obferved by himfelf in taking leave, and by his fucceffor, preparatory to his reception. Thefe formalities they obferved; and on the ninth of December prefented officially to the minifter of foreign relations, the one a copy of his letter of recall, the other a copy of his letters of credence. Thefe were laid before the Executive Directory; two days afterwards, the minifter of foreign relations informed the recalled American minifter, that the Executive Directory had determined not to receive another minifter plenipotentiary from the United States, until after the redrefs of grievances demanded of the American government, and which the French republic had a right to expect from it. The American minifter immediately endeavoured to afcertain whether, by refufing to receive him, it was intended that he fhould retire from the territories of the French republic; and verbal anfwers were given, that fuch was the intention of the Directory. For his own juftification he defired a written anfwer; but obtained none until towards the laft of January; when, receiving notice in writing to quit the territories of the republic, he proceeded to Amfterdam, where he propofed to wait for inftructions from this government. During his refidence at Paris cards of hofpitality were refufed him, and he was threatened with being fubjected to the jurifdiction of the minifter of police—but with becoming firmnefs he infifted on the protection of the law of nations, due to him as the known minifter of a foreign power. You will derive further information from his difpatches, which will be laid before you.

As it is often neceffary that nations fhould treat, for the mutual advantage of their affairs, and efpecially to accommodate and terminate differences, and as they can treat only by minifters, the right of embaffy is well known, and eftablifhed by the law and ufage of nations: the refufal on the part of France to receive and hear our minifter, is then the denial of a right; but the refufal to receive him, until we have acceded to their demands, without difcuffion, and without inveftigation, is to treat us neither as allies, nor as friends, nor as a fovereign ftate.

With this conduct of the French government, it will be proper to take into view the public audience given to the late minifter of the United States, on his taking leave of the Executive Directory. The fpeech of the Prefident difclofes fentiments more alarming than

than the refusal of a minister, because more dangerous to our independence and union; and at the same time studiously marked with indignities towards the government of the United States. It evinces a disposition to separate the people of the United States from the government; to persuade them that they have different affections, principles, and interests, from those of their fellow-citizens, whom they themselves have chosen to manage their common concerns, and thus to produce divisions fatal to our peace. Such attempts ought to be repelled, with a decision which shall convince France, and the world, that we are not a degraded people, humiliated under a colonial spirit of fear, and sense of inferiority, fitted to be the miserable instruments of foreign influence, and regardless of national honour, character, and interest.

I should have been happy to have thrown a veil over these transactions, if it had been possible to conceal them; but they have passed on the great theatre of the world in the face of all Europe and America, and with such circumstances of publicity and solemnity, that they cannot be disguised, and will not soon be forgotten: they have inflicted a wound in the American breast. It is my sincere desire, however, that it may be healed. It is my sincere desire, and in this I presume I concur with you, and with our constituents, to preserve peace and friendship with all nations: and believing that neither the honour nor the interest of the United States, absolutely forbid the repetition of advances for securing these desirable objects with France, I shall institute a fresh attempt at negotiation; and shall not fail to promote and accelerate an accommodation, on terms compatible with the rights, duties, interests, and honour of the nation. If we have committed errors, and these can be demonstrated, we shall be willing to correct them; if we have done injuries, we shall be willing on conviction to redress them; and equal measures of justice we have a right to expect from France, and every other nation. The diplomatic intercourse between the United States and France, being at present suspended, the government has no means of obtaining official information from that country; nevertheless there is reason to believe, that the Executive Directory passed a decree on the 2d of March last, contravening in part the treaty of amity and commerce of 1778, injurious to our lawful commerce, and endangering the lives of our citizens. A copy of this decree will be laid before you.

While we are endeavouring to adjust all our differences with France by amicable negotiation, the progress of the war in Europe, the depredations on our commerce, the personal injuries to our citizens, and the general complexion of affairs, render it my indispensable duty to recommend to your consideration effectual measures of defence.

The commerce of the United States has become an interesting object

object of attention, whether we consider it in relation to the wealth and finances, or the strength and resources of the nation. With a sea-coast of near two thousand miles in extent, opening a wide field for fisheries, navigation, and commerce, a great portion of our citizens naturally apply their industry and enterprise to these objects. Any serious and permanent injury to commerce, would not fail to produce the most embarrassing disorders: to prevent it from being undermined and destroyed, it is essential that it receive an adequate protection.

The naval establishment must occur to every man who considers the injuries committed on our commerce, the insults offered to our citizens, and the description of the vessels by which these abuses have been practised. As the sufferings of our mercantile and seafaring citizens cannot be ascribed to the omission of duties demandable, considering the neutral situation of our country, they are to be attributed to the hope of impunity, arising from a supposed inability on our part to afford protection. To resist the consequences of such impressions on the minds of foreign nations, and to guard against the degradation and servility which they must finally stamp on the American character, is an important duty of government.

A naval power, next to the militia, is the natural defence of the United States. The experience of the last war would be sufficient to show, that a moderate naval force, such as would be easily within the present abilities of the Union, would have been sufficient to have baffled many formidable transportations of troops from one state to another, which were then practised. Our sea-coasts, from their great extent, are more easily annoyed, and more easily defended by a naval force than any other; with all the materials our country abounds; in skill our naval architects and navigators are equal to any; and commanders and seamen will not be wanting.

But although the establishment of a permanent system of naval defence appears to be requisite, I am sensible it cannot be formed so speedily and extensively as the present crisis demands. Hitherto I have thought proper to prevent the sailing of armed vessels, except on voyages to the East Indies, where general usage, and the danger from pirates, appeared to render the permission proper; yet the restriction has originated solely from a wish to prevent collusions with the powers at war, contravening the act of Congress of June, 1794, and not from any doubt entertained by me, of the policy and propriety of permitting our vessels to employ means of defence, while engaged in a lawful foreign commerce. It remains for Congress to prescribe such regulations as will enable our seafaring citizens to defend themselves against violations of the law of nations, and at the same time restrain them from committing acts of hostility against the powers at war. In

addition

addition to theſe voluntary proviſions for defence by individual citizens, it appears to me neceſſary to equip the frigates, and provide other veſſels of inferior force, to take under convoy ſuch merchant veſſels as ſhall remain unarmed.

The greater part of the cruiſers, whoſe depredations have been moſt injurious, have been built, and ſome of them partially equipped, in the United States. Although an effectual remedy may be attended with difficulty, yet I have thought it my duty to preſent the ſubject generally to your conſideration. If a mode can be deviſed by the wiſdom of Congreſs, to prevent the reſources of the United States from being converted into the means of annoying our trade, a great evil will be prevented. With the ſame view, I think it proper to mention, that ſome of our citizens reſident abroad have fitted out privateers, and others have voluntarily taken the command, or entered on board of them, and committed ſpoliations on the commerce of the United States. Such unnatural and iniquitous practices can be reſtrained only by ſevere puniſhments.

But beſides a protection of our commerce on the ſeas, I think it highly neceſſary to protect it at home, where it is collected in our moſt important ports. The diſtance of the United States from Europe, and the well-known promptitude, ardour, and courage of the people, in defence of their country, happily diminiſh the probability of invaſion: nevertheleſs, to guard againſt ſudden and predatory incurſions, the ſituation of ſome of our principal ſea-ports demands your conſideration; and as our country is vulnerable in other intereſts beſides thoſe of its commerce, you will ſeriouſly deliberate, whether the means of general defence ought not to be increaſed, by an addition to the regular artillery and cavalry, and by arrangements for forming a proviſional army.

With the ſame view, and as a meaſure, which, even in time of univerſal peace, ought not to be neglected, I recommend to your conſideration a reviſion of the laws for organizing, arming, and diſciplining the militia, to render that natural and ſafe defence of the country efficacious. Although it is very true, that we ought not to involve ourſelves in the political ſyſtem of Europe, but to keep ourſelves always diſtinct and ſeparate from it if we can; yet to effect this ſeparation, early, punctual, and continual information of the current chain of events, and of the political projects in contemplation, is no leſs neceſſary, than if we were directly concerned in them. It is neceſſary, in order to the diſcovery of the efforts made to draw us into the vortex, in ſeaſon to make preparation againſt them. However we may conſider ourſelves, the maritime and commercial powers of the world will conſider the United States of America as forming a weight in that balance of power in Europe, which never can be forgotten or neglected. It would not only be againſt our intereſt, but it would be doing

wrong to one half of Europe at leaſt, if we ſhould voluntarily throw ourſelves into either ſcale. It is a natural policy for a nation that ſtudies to be neutral, to conſult with other nations engaged in the ſame ſtudies and purſuits: at the ſame time that meaſures might be purſued with this view, our treaties with Pruſſia and Sweden, one of which is expired, might be renewed.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Repreſentatives,

It is particularly your province to conſider the ſtate of our public finances, and to adopt ſuch meaſures reſpecting them, as exigencies ſhall be found to require; the preſervation of public credit, the regular extinguiſhment of the public debt, and a proviſion of funds to defray any extraordinary expenſes, will, of courſe, call for your ſerious attention. Although the impoſition of new burdens cannot be in itſelf agreeable, yet there is no ground to doubt, that the American people will expect from you ſuch meaſures, as their actual engagements, their preſent ſecurity, and future intereſt demand.

Gentlemen of the Senate, and Gentlemen of the Houſe of Repreſentatives,

The preſent ſituation of our country impoſes an obligation on all the departments of government, to adopt an explicit and decided conduct. In my ſituation, an expoſition of the principles by which my adminiſtration will be governed, ought not to be omitted.

It is impoſſible to conceal from ourſelves, or the world, what has been before obſerved, that endeavours have been employed to foſter and eſtabliſh a diviſion between the government and people of the United States. To inveſtigate the cauſes which have encouraged this attempt is not neceſſary; but to repel, by decided and united councils, inſinuations ſo derogatory to the honour, and aggreſſions ſo dangerous to the conſtitution, union, and even independence of the nation, is an indiſpenſable duty.

It muſt not be permitted to be doubted, whether the people of the United States will ſupport the government, eſtabliſhed by their voluntary conſent, and appointed by their free choice; or whether, by ſurrendering themſelves to the direction of foreign and domeſtic factions, in oppoſition to their own government, they will forfeit the honourable ſtation they have hitherto maintained.

For myſelf, having never been indifferent to what concerned the intereſts of my country, devoted the beſt part of my life to obtain and ſupport its independence, and conſtantly witneſſed the patriotiſm, fidelity, and perſeverance of my fellow-citizens, on the moſt trying occaſions, it is not for me to heſitate, or abandon a cauſe in which my heart has been ſo long engaged.

Convinced that the conduct of the government has been juſt and impartial to foreign nations; that thoſe internal regulations, which have been eſtabliſhed by law for the preſervation of peace, are in their nature proper, and that they have been fairly executed; nothing will ever be done by me to impair the national engagements, to innovate upon principles which have been ſo deliberately and uprightly eſtabliſhed; or to ſurrender in any manner the rights of the government. To enable me to maintain this declaration, I rely, under God, with entire confidence on the firm and enlightened ſupport of the national legiſlature, and upon the virtue and patriotiſm of my fellow-citizens.

JOHN ADAMS.

Documents referred to in the Preſident's Speech to both Houſes of Congreſs, on the 16th of May, 1797.

No. I.

Dear Sir, *Paris, 30th Frimaire (Dec. 20th, 1796).*

WE left Bourdeaux on the 25th of November, having been detained there until that time; firſt by the badneſs of the weather, which prevented the unloading of the baggage, and afterwards by ſome neceſſary alterations being made to my carriage, to encounter the bad roads we were threatened with. The roads were even worſe than the horrible deſcription we had heard of them, and we broke down twice, and were obliged to get three new wheels, out of four, before we reached this city, which we at length did on the evening of the 5th of December. I here met my ſecretary, Major Henry Rutledge; and on the morning of the next day (December 6) I tranſmitted by him to Mr. Monroe, his letters of recall, with my compliments, and that I would wait upon him at any hour he would appoint. I received for anſwer, that Mr. Monroe would ſee me whenever I pleaſed. I immediately waited on him, and we had a long converſation on the affairs of America; in which he with a great deal of frankneſs communicated all the late meaſures of this government with reſpect to ours, and of which you muſt long before this have been appriſed, both by Mr. Adet, and the diſpatches of Mr. Monroe. He alſo ſhowed me a letter which he had received from M. De la Croix, the miniſter of foreign affairs, in the following words:

"*Paris,*

"*Paris*, 12 *Frimaire*, 5*th Year of the French Republic.*

"The minifter of foreign affairs, to citizen Monroe, minifter plenipotentiary of the United States.

"Citizen Minifter,

"The arrival of Mr. Pinckney at Paris appearing to be near at hand, if it has not already taken place, I conceive that I fhould communicate to you certain formalities which you are to fulfil on the occafion. The ufage is, that the minifter recalled, and his fucceffor, fend to the minifter for foreign affairs, a copy of their letters of credence and recall. As I prefume your letters of recall have already been fent to you, I requeft you to communicate them to me as foon as poffible.

"Greeting and fraternity.

(Signed) "CH. DE LA CROIX."

I told Mr. Monroe that I thought it would be more refpectful to the minifter to acquaint him with my arrival, and to inform him, that he would wait upon him at any hour he fhould appoint, with my letters of credence, and his letters of recall. Accordingly, Mr. Monroe, in my prefence, and with my approbation, fent him the following letter:

"*Paris*, 6*th Dec.* 1796 (16 *Frimaire*), 21*ft Year of the Independence of the United States of America.*

"The minifter plenipotentiary of the United States of America, to the minifter of foreign affairs of the French republic.

"Citizen Minifter,

"I have the honour to inform you, that my fucceffor, Mr. Pinckney, is arrived, and is defirous of waiting upon you, for the purpofe of prefenting a copy of his letter of credence for the Directoire Executif of the French republic. By him I have alfo received my letter of recall. Permit me therefore to requeft that you will be fo obliging as to appoint a time when Mr. Pinckney and myfelf fhall have the honour to attend you for the purpofe of prefenting you copies of thofe documents. Accept the affurance of my refpect.

(Signed) "JAMES MONROE."

On Friday morning (December 9) I received a letter from Mr. Monroe, informing me, that M. De la Croix had appointed that day, between one and four o'clock, P. M. to receive us. M. De la Croix's letter was conceived in the following terms:

"*Paris*, 19 *Frimaire*, 5*th Year* (*Dec.* 9, 1796).

"The minifter for foreign affairs, to citizen Monroe, minifter plenipotentiary of the United States of America.

"Citizen Minifter,

"I have received the letter which you did me the honour to write to me, in which you requeft an interview with citizen Pinckney, defignated for your fucceffor, for the purpofe of delivering copies of his letters of credence, and your letters of recall. I fhall be glad to receive you between the hours of one and four o'clock, this afternoon, if convenient to you. I pray you to propofe this to citizen Pinckney.

"Greeting and fraternity.

(Signed) "CH. DE LA CROIX."

Mr. Monroe and myfelf, with my fecretary, Major Rutledge, about two o'clock waited upon M. De la Croix, and I was introduced by Mr. Monroe as the perfon appointed as his fucceffor. The minifter at firft received us with great ftiffnefs, but afterwards, on our converfing on fome general fubjects, he unbent and behaved with civility; and on receiving the official copies of our letters of credence and recall, faid, he would deliver them without delay to the Directory. He defired Major Rutledge to let him have our names of baptifm, and our ages, that cards of hofpitality might be made out, which he faid were neceffary to refide here unmolefted. This requifition was immediately complied with, and he promifed to fend the cards the next morning. When this interview was known, the reports which had been fpread abroad before my arrival, of my not being received by the Directory, vanifhed, and the general idea feemed to be, that there would be no objection to receive me as minifter from America. At eleven o'clock on Monday (Dec. 12th) Mr. Prévoft) Mr. Monroe's fecretary) called upon me, and told me that Mr. Monroe had juft received a letter from M. De la Croix, and defired to know if I had received one.—I faid, No; he then fhowed me M. De la Croix's to Mr. Monroe, which was as follows:

"*Paris*, 21 *Frimaire*, 5*th Year of the French Republic, one and indivifible.*

"The minifter of foreign affairs, to citizen Monroe, minifter plenipotentiary of the United States of America.

"Citizen Minifter,

"I haftened to lay before the Executive Directory the copies of your letters of recall, and of the letters of credence of Mr. Pinckney, whom the Prefident of the United States has appointed to fucceed you, in quality of minifter plenipotentiary of the United

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States near the French republic. The Directory has charged me to notify to you, 'that it will not acknowledge nor receive another miniſter plenipotentiary from the United States, until after the redreſs of the grievances demanded of the American government, and which the French republic has a right to expect from it.'

"I pray you to be perſuaded, citizen miniſter, that this determination having become neceſſary, allows to ſubſiſt between the French republic and the American people, the affection founded upon former benefits and reciprocal intereſts, an affection which you yourſelf have taken a pleaſure in cultivating by every means in your power.

"Accept, citizen miniſter, the aſſurance of my perfect conſideration.

"CH. DE LA CROIX."

I waited until the next morning, expecting to receive a notification from M. De la Croix, when, not hearing from him, I wrote him the following letter:

"Citizen Miniſter,

"Colonel Monroe has been ſo good as to communicate to me your letter to him of the 21ſt Frimaire, wherein you inform him that you had ſubmitted to the Executive Directory his letters of recall, and my letters of credence as miniſter plenipotentiary from the United States of America, and that the Directory has inſtructed you to notify to him, 'that it will not acknowledge nor receive another miniſter plenipotentiary from the United States, until after the redreſs of the grievances demanded of the American government, and which the French republic has a right to expect from it.' This communication has filled me with real ſorrow, as I am thoroughly convinced that the ſentiments of America and its government, for they are one, are miſunderſtood, and that I am not permitted even to attempt to explain them, or, in the terms of my letters of credence, to endeavour 'to efface unfavourable impreſſions, to baniſh ſuſpicions, and to reſtore that cordiality which was at once the evidence and pledge of a friendly union.'—Devoted as I am to the liberty, proſperity, and independence of my own country, the freedom, happineſs, and perfect eſtabliſhment of the French republic have always been dear to me; and to have been inſtrumental in cementing the good underſtanding, which from the commencement of their alliance has ſubſiſted between the two nations, would have been the height of my ambition. I moſt fervently pray that there may be a ſpeedy and candid inveſtigation of thoſe points in which you differ from us, that affection may baniſh diſtruſt, and that the alliance of the two republics may be perpetual.

"In

" In your letter to Colonel Monroe, you do not deſire him to make any communication to me, and I am indebted to his politeneſs for the knowledge I have of the intentions of the Directory. I ſubmit to you, citizen miniſter, that as the letters of recall had been received by Mr. Monroe, and official copies of his letters of recall, and my letters of credence, had been delivered to you, that the ſentiments of the Directory ſhould be communicated by you immediately to me, that I may without delay tranſmit them as from the executive of this republic to the government of the United States; and that I may be informed by you, whether it is the intention of the Directory that I ſhould immediately quit the territories of the republic, or whether I and my family may remain until I hear from my government. And as I have not received the cards which in your interview you ſaid I ought to poſſeſs in order to enable me to reſide here, and that they ſhould be tranſmitted to me the next morning, I am the more doubtful on this ſubject than I ſhould otherwiſe be. Accept my beſt reſpects.

" CHARLES C. PINCKNEY.

" *Paris, Dec. 13th, in the 21ſt Year of the Independence of the United States of America.*

" *To Citizen De la Croix, miniſter of foreign affairs of the French republic.*"

This letter I ſent by Major Rutledge, who delivered it to M. De la Croix, and made the following report of what paſſed between them, which he immediately reduced to writing.

" *Paris, 23d Frimaire (13th Dec.).*

" I this day waited upon M. De la Croix, the miniſter of foreign affairs, at two o'clock, as bearer of a letter from General Pinckney. I was admitted immediately on ſending in my name, and delivered the letter. Having informed him from whom it came, and that there was a French tranſlation annexed, he opened it, and proceded to read the letter in my preſence, which when he had finiſhed, he deſired me to return to General Pinckney as his anſwer, ' that the Executive Directory knew of no miniſter plenipotentiary from the United States of America, ſince the preſentation of Mr. Monroe's letters of recall, and that the Executive Directory had charged him to notify to Mr. Monroe (here he read the quotation contained in the letter) *qu'il ne reconnoitra et ne recevra plus de miniſtre plenipotentiaire des Etats Unis, juſqu' âpres le redreſſement des griefs demandée au gouvernement Americain, et que la republique Françoiſe eſt en droit d'en attendre.* Which notification the Directory relied upon Mr. Monroe's imparting to his own government, as well as communicating to General Pinckney.' Upon my aſking him if I underſtood rightly, he ſtopped me, by repeating the ſubſtance of what I have mentioned, with the altera-

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tion when he came to the notification of the word *American* into *Federal*. He then went on to ſay, that, with reſpect to the ſecond ſubject of General Pinckney's letter, he could return no anſwer until it was laid before the Directory. I then ſuggeſted to him the inconveniences to which General Pinckney was expoſed; he replied, that he would take an early opportunity of ſubmitting his letter to the Directory; probably the next day. I aſked if General Pinckney ſhould expect an anſwer; he replied, that their intentions ſhould be ſignified either to himſelf or to Mr. Monroe. I then took my leave, and withdrew.

"HENRY M. RUTLEDGE."

On the 25th of Frimaire (15th of December), about three o'clock in the afternoon, a Mr. Giraudet called on me and ſaid, he was chief ſecretary in the department of foreign affairs; that he came on the part of the miniſter of foreign affairs, to ſignify to me that, with reſpect to my letter to him (which he produced, together with the tranſlation), he could not directly communicate with me on it, as ſuch direct communication would be acknowledging me as miniſter, when the Directory had determined not to receive me; that as to the other part of my letter, relative to my remaining here, he ſuppoſed I was acquainted with the laws of France, as they applied to ſtrangers. I told him that I was not acquainted with the local laws of the republic. He ſaid that there was a decree which prevented all foreigners from remaining at Paris without particular permiſſion, which as the Directory did not mean to grant to me, of courſe the general law would operate. I anſwered, that I could not conceive the having a direct communication with me would involve the conſequences he ſtated; that if Mr. Monroe had died before my arrival, the information that they would not acknowledge me, muſt of courſe have been made to myſelf: Mr. Monroe having received his letter of recall from our government, could not now act officially any more than if he had ceaſed to exiſt; that I was indebted to Mr. Monroe's politeneſs for the information I had received of the intention of the Directory not to acknowledge me, but that he had not intended it as an official communication; that with regard to the laws of France relative to ſtrangers, the law which he had cited did not apply to the requiſition of my letter, which was to know whether it was the intention of the Directory that I ſhould quit the territories of the republic, or whether I might remain here until I ſhould hear from my government. He ſaid he rather believed that it was their intention that I ſhould quit the territories of the republic; but as it admitted of a doubt, he would mention it to the miniſter, with whom he was to dine, and acquaint me with the reſult in the evening. I told him I ſhould be obliged to him, ſhould it be the intention of the Directory that I ſhould quit the republic, to inform

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me in what time I was to ſet out, as my baggage was not arrived from Bourdeaux; that I meant not to aſk any perſonal favour, but to have the intention of the Directory clearly expreſſed, as it related to me in the ſituation in which I came to France. He ſaid he would, and expreſſed a regret at being the bearer of diſagreeable information, and then departed. His behaviour and manners were very polite.

In the evening, about eight o'clock, he returned, and informed me, that in anſwer to the doubt which had been entertained in the morning (a doubt which he obſerved had proceeded from his own inattention to the words of M. De la Croix), the miniſter could only reply, that he underſtood the Directory to mean the territory of the republic, and not Paris alone, which was to be quitted; that as to the time in which it was neceſſary to depart, the miniſter could not deſignate it, but that he would have another communication with the Directory, and that their intentions ſhould be made known to me in a more explicit manner upon both points; that at the ſame time he muſt inform me, that in all probability M. De la Croix would not be the organ through which they would be addreſſed, as the miniſter of the police general would be the officer under whoſe department my caſe would come. I replied, that I apprehended M. De la Croix was the proper organ through which information ſhould come to me, as he knew the capacity in which I had come to France; whereas the miniſter of police might regard me as a mere ſtranger, and throw me into confinement: that it was in the power of the Directory to receive me or not, but they could not diveſt themſelves of the knowledge which they had of the public character in which I came to France: that before I arrived, M. De la Croix had, on the 12th of Frimaire, written to Mr. Monroe, that as my arrival at Paris might be ſoon expected, if it had not already taken place, that the cuſtom was, for the recalled miniſter and his ſucceſſor, to ſend reſpectively, copies of their letters of credence and recall to the miniſter of foreign affairs; that in conſequence of this notification, M. De la Croix was informed in writing, on the 16th Frimaire, the morning after my arrival, by Mr. Monroe, that I was arrived as his ſucceſſor, and was deſirous of waiting on him for the purpoſe of preſenting a copy of my letter of credence for the Executive Directory of the French republic; that on the 19th of Frimaire, M. De la Croix informed Mr. Monroe by letter, that he would receive us with our letters of credence and recall, between the hours of one and four, if it ſuited us: agreeably to which notification, we waited on him, and I was introduced to him by Mr. Monroe as his ſucceſſor; that we preſented official copies of our letters of recall and credence; that he promiſed to lay them before the Directory, and alſo promiſed that cards of hoſpitality ſhould be ſent me and Major Rutledge the next morning; that M. de la Croix on the 21ſt Frimaire wrote to Mr. Monroe, and informed him,

"that he had laid before the Directory the copy of his letters of recall, and of the letters of credence of Mr. Pinckney, whom the President of the United States had named to succeed him in quality of minister plenipotentiary of the said states, near the French republic." From all which circumstances, the character with which I was invested must be apparent both to the Directory and to the minister of foreign affairs, and that in that character I was entitled to the protection of the laws of nations, whether the Directory received me or not: if they permitted me to remain until I heard from my government, I was under the protection of those laws: if they ordered me to quit the territories of the republic, I was still entitled to letters of safe conduct, and passports on my journey out; that this was the case even with ministers of belligerent powers, much more ought it to apply between us who were at peace.

He said, supposing M. De la Croix had been mistaken in having desired my letters of credence, in seeing me, and in his laying those letters of credence before the Directory, such mistake of the minister could not be binding on the Directory. I replied, that it was impossible for me to admit that the minister of foreign affairs had committed a mistake in his official duty; he was held forth to the world as minister, all his acts must be accredited as performed within the line of his duty, and under a competent authority, and that his letter to Mr. Monroe showed he was desirous that the established usage should be complied with. He said he did not allege that there was a mistake; he had only for argument sake urged a supposition which might be unfounded; that he would communicate what I said to M. De la Croix: I desired him at the same time to inform M. De la Croix, that I requested whatever further passed might be in writing, that no mistakes might happen by verbal communication, and that I might know explicitly what were the intentions of the Directory.

Since this conversation I have not heard from the Directory, or any of the ministers or agents. My situation, as you may easily conceive, is unpleasant; but if I can ultimately render any services to my country, I shall be fully compensated; at all events, it shall be my study to avoid increasing the discontent of this government, without committing the honour, dignity, and respect due to our own. Should I fail in doing this, or should I err in the measures I pursue to accomplish it, the failing will not be in my zeal, but should be charged to my want of ability; at present, I think the ground I have taken has puzzled them; they wish me gone, but they apprehend that it would be too harsh a measure to send off in a peremptory manner, the minister of my country; though there is no saying what their conduct will ultimately be, as I am informed that they have already sent off thirteen foreign ministers; and a late emigrant, now here, has assured

ſured them, that America is not of greater conſequence to them, nor ought to be treated with greater reſpect than Geneva or Genoa. Thoſe who regard us as being of ſome conſequence, ſeem to have taken up an idea that our government acts upon principles oppoſed to the real ſentiments of a large majority of our people, and they are willing to temporiſe until the event of the election of Preſident is known, thinking that if one public character is choſen, he will be attached to the intereſt of Great Britain, and that if another character is elected, he will be (to uſe the expreſſion of Du Pont de Nemours in the council of Ancients) devoted to the intereſt of France; entertaining the humiliating idea, that we are a people divided by party, the mere creatures of foreign influence, and regardleſs of our national character, honour, and intereſt. To eradicate this ill-conceived and unfounded opinion, will be a work of time and labour, ſo greatly have they been prejudiced by miſrepreſentation. The reaſons that are alleged here for the conduct of the preſent government of this country to us, you have already been appriſed of from Mr. Adet and Mr. Monroe; the letter of the 21ſt Frimaire, from M. De la Croix to Mr. Monroe, above recited, ſhows the diſtinction which this government attempts to make between the American people and their government; at the ſame time, Major Mount Florence's report to me, which I encloſe, ſhows that the property of the American citizens is not reſpected in the caſes he mentions. I truſt that America will ſhow that her ſentiments and thoſe of her government are one, and that ſhe will never ſuffer any foreign nation to interfere in her concerns, and that an attempt to divide her citizens will be the "ſigne de ralliement*," and render them the more united. As much as I am averſe to a ſea-voyage, I ſhould immediately have ſailed for Philadelphia, on knowing the determination of the Directory not to acknowledge me, that I might receive perſonally the inſtructions of the adminiſtration of our government, more particularly at a time when Congreſs was ſitting; but as I am informed the orders to Mr. Adet were iſſued about the 19th of Auguſt, and that the veſſel which carried them ſailed from l'Orient about the 7th of September, I thought it probable that new inſtructions might be forwarded to me before I could arrive in America, and I have therefore determined, if the Directory will not ſuffer me to remain upon the territory of the republic, until I hear from you, to proceed to Amſterdam, and ſtay there until I ſhall receive orders how to act, or whether to return home.

I have ſeen Mr. Monroe very often ſince my arrival; his conduct has been open and candid, and I believe he has made me every

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* Signal for rallying.

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communication which he thought would be of ſervice to our country. He undoubtedly felt himſelf hurt at his being ſuperſeded, but I am convinced he has not on that account left any thing undone which he thought could promote the objects of my miſſion. The Directory and miniſters had, for ſome time before they were informed of his removal, treated him with great coolneſs; but as ſoon as they heard of his recall, their attentions to him were renewed. Should this government attempt to make any further communications to me, through him, he has promiſed me to inform them that he cannot comply with their deſire, as his powers have ceaſed.

I remain, with great reſpect and eſteem,
Your moſt obedient humble ſervant,
CHARLES COLTESWORTH PINCKNEY.

Colonel Pickering, Secretary of State.

No. II.

Major Mount Florence's Report, given in to General Pinckney, the 19th December, 1796.

CONSULAT AMERICAN.

Sir, *Paris, Dec. 18th, 1796.*

IN the abſence of Mr. Skipwith, I will endeavour, at your deſire, to make you a ſuccinct general report of the preſent ſituation of our commercial intereſts in this country, in the beſt manner that the ſhortneſs of the time will admit of.

Since ſeveral months, the Directory Executive has given evident ſymptoms of diſpleaſure towards our government, which has been generally attributed to the treaty of commerce with Great Britain. In conſequence of which, orders have been iſſued to their cruiſers to viſit every neutral veſſel going in, or coming from an Engliſh port; *but theſe orders are common to the Daniſh and Swediſh veſſels, as well as to our own.* Numbers of our veſſels have been brought into the ports of France by virtue of theſe orders; and in a ſubſequent report I ſhall have the honour of ſubmitting to you a nominative liſt of all of them, informing you of the ſeveral proceedings reſpecting each of them: ſeveral of them have been already releaſed, ſome of the cargoes temporarily ſequeſtered, and others now libelled before the tribunals of commerce. During the government of the Convention, the committee of Public Safety had excluſively the cognizance of all matters reſpecting prizes or captures at ſea; which committee gave judgment on the reports of the executive commiſſion of marine; but ſince the organization of the preſent conſtitution, the legiſlature has paſſed a law on the 27th of April laſt, giving power to the tribunals

tribunals of commerce in every port of France, to take cognizance, in the firſt inſtance, of every matter relative to captures at ſea; from whoſe judgments appeals may be carried before the civil tribunals of the reſpective departments; and one of the articles of the aforeſaid law enacts, that in caſes of appeals before the departmental tribunals, ſhould the intereſts of neutrals be concerned, the commiſſaries of the Executive Directory near the tribunals (whoſe duties are ſimilar to thoſe of our attornies general) may, if they ſee cauſe, refer the whole proceedings to the miniſter of juſtice, to take the opinion of the Directory thereon, before judgment be given by the ſaid tribunals. I deemed it neceſſary, Sir, to enter into theſe particulars, in order to elucidate the proceedings which have lately taken place in reſpect to ſome of our veſſels, captured and libelled. The tribunals of commerce are chiefly compoſed of merchants, and moſt of them are directly or indirectly, more or leſs, intereſted in the fitting out of privateers, and therefore are often parties concerned in the controverſies they are to determine upon. This happened in the caſe of Captain John Bryant, of Norfolk, in Virginia, which I beg leave to relate to you: Captain John Bryant, maſter of the Fanny, of Portſmouth, Virginia, loſt that veſſel at ſea, having a ſea-letter, which he preſerved, and was taken up by the brig Frances, of Salem, and carried to Spain; from whence he returned to Norfolk, where having received the command of the Powhattan, of Richmond, he proceeded in her to London, where the ſaid veſſel was ſold by the owners. He purchaſed in England, from our conſul, Mr. Joſhua Johnſon, a prize veſſel, the Royal Captain, and traded with her under the flag of the United States, and made ſeveral coaſting voyages from one French port to another, his ſhip's papers having been found regular. But lately, bound from Fluſhing to Bourdeaux, with a cargo belonging to him, he was captured by a privateer from Boulogne, and brought into that port. The judges of the tribunal were moſt of them concerned in the privateer, and of courſe declared the Royal Captain a lawful prize, under pretence that ſhe had no ſea-letter. Appeal has been made from that judgment, and the caſe referred to the miniſter of juſtice.

Mr. Skipwith and myſelf waited on the miniſter, and had a long conference with him on the proper conſtruction to be made of the 25th article of the treaty of commerce between the United States and France. The miniſter having acknowledged the Royal Captain and her cargo to be American property, but inſiſting upon its being liable to condemnation, not being furniſhed with a ſea-letter, we urged to him, that the very article of the treaty upon which he founded his opinion, did not ſpecify ſeizure or confiſcation of veſſels which ſhould not be provided with ſea-letters—that every penal law was to be conſtrued liberally—that the

the object of the treaty muſt have been reciprocal benefit for the merchants and commerce of both countries—that the interpretation given by him to that article would operate in a quite oppoſite manner, and place the merchants of the United States in a worſe ſituation than if there had been no treaty, which moſt certainly could never have been the intention of either of the contracting parties; for if there exiſted no treaty, moſt undoubtedly an American veſſel being brought into a French port would be immediately releaſed, upon due proof being made of her being American property, and conſequently neutral.—Beſides, we alleged, that this doctrine had been ſanctioned in France ſince the commencement of hoſtilities, ſeveral hundred of our veſſels having viſited their ports, and no exception being taken to the want of ſea-letters; indeed they have never been heretofore aſked for—that the French government had ſold a very conſiderable number of prize veſſels to our merchants, in payment of ſupplies by them furniſhed, or otherwiſe; ſome of which had been chartered by the very agents of the government, for ſundry voyages, in Europe, all of which had no ſea-letters, nor could they ever obtain any before they made a voyage to the United States. All we could obtain from the miniſter was his ſaying, that he would reconſider the matter, and take the deciſion of the Directory. Nothing yet has tranſpired on this ſubject; but two days ago, letters from Breſt mentioned that the Diana, Captain Ingraham, from Savannah to Europe, ſent into Breſt by a French privateer, has been condemned by the tribunal of commerce of that port, and that the only motive for condemnation was the want of a ſea-letter. I have wrote to Mr. Barnet, the conſular agent at Breſt, to inſtruct the counſellor, on the appeal, to apply to the commiſſary of the Directory near the tribunal of the department, to have the matter referred to the miniſter of juſtice.—Should the Directory, Sir, decide this important queſtion upon the conſtruction of the 25th article, in the ſame manner as the tribunals of commerce have done, it would be very alarming to our trade, as we have a vaſt number of veſſels in that predicament, many of which are now in the ſeveral ports of France. As to the ſeveral claims of the American citizens againſt the French government, for ſupplies furniſhed here and in the Weſt Indies, ſpoliations, embargoes at Bourdeaux, and at Breſt, and other ports, indemnities for illegal captures and detention of our veſſels, freights of veſſels chartered by the French agents in the United States, drafts of the colonial adminiſtrations upon the national treaſury, delegations of the ſaid adminiſtrations on the miniſters of France near the United States; nothing can be done with them for the moment: but this ſuſpenſion is common to all the claimants of other neutral nations, as likewiſe to the French creditors; for, indeed, the embarraſſment of their finances is ſuch, that many of the officers

ficers of government cannot obtain the payment of the arrears due them. I deem it alſo my duty, Sir, to inform you, that a foreign-built ſloop, the Nancy, Captain Berry, having been detained at Calais, by the cuſtom-houſe officers of that port, the tribunal of commerce ordered her to be releaſed, provided the miniſter of the United States near the French republic would counterſign her ſhip's papers. Having at this moment no miniſter acknowledged by the French republic, Captain Berry writing a very preſſing letter, to be able to comply with the orders of the aforeſaid tribunal, which orders are conformable to a late regulation of the Directory, I have waited on the miniſter of foreign relations, to ſubmit the difficulty we labour under in that reſpect, and ſhall have the honour of communicating to you his anſwer, when it ſhall be given.

With great reſpect, I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your moſt obedient and moſt humble ſervant,

(Signed) J. C. MOUNTFLORENCE.

Major General Pinckney, Miniſter Plenipotentiary of the United States of America, Paris.

(A true copy.)

HENRY M. RUTLEDGE, Secretary.

No. III.

Extract of a Letter from General Pinckney to the Secretary of State, Paris, 6th January, 1797.

Dear Sir,

THE ceſſation of Mr. Monroe's functions, and the dormancy of mine in this country, have been attended with many inconveniences to our fellow-citizens; among others, the difficulty of obtaining paſſports to come from the out-ports to Paris, and to go from Paris out of the republic, were complained of; and I conceived it my duty, though not acknowledged by this government, to endeavour to remedy this grievance; for to our countrymen arriving here from the territories of a power at war with the republic, it was really ſo, as they were put into confinement on their arrival at the port, unleſs they could give ſecurity for their good behaviour until they could obtain paſſports from our miniſter at Paris—which paſſports were counterſigned by the miniſter of foreign affairs; and preſent circumſtances did not even admit of theſe dilatory paſſports: I therefore requeſted my ſecretary, Major Henry Rutledge, to wait upon M. De la Croix on this ſubject, and deſired him, at the ſame time, to obtain from him, unofficially,

officially, an account of what the Directory had resolved, with regard to the points concerning my residence, which Mr. Giraudet had informed me M. De la Croix would submit to their determination—Major Rutledge waited upon M. De la Croix, and made me the following report:

" *Paris, December 26th*, 1796.

" I this day, at twelve o'clock, called upon the minister of foreign affairs, and being admitted, after waiting some little time, I informed him, that I came on the part of General Pinckney, who had desired me to say, that although he had not the honour to address him in an official capacity, yet his feelings would not excuse him from communicating an article of intelligence, in which the humanity of both nations was interested—it was upon the subject of such of our citizens as had of late arrived in the different ports of France: that in conformity to the regulations of the police, all foreigners, upon their arrival on the territories of the republic, were arrested, and put into confinement, until they had obtained from the ministers of their respective countries, near the republic, a passport, countersigned by the minister of foreign affairs: that the circumstance of having no minister acknowledged by the French republic, had thrown the American citizens into a predicament which had rendered them incapable of complying with the accustomed forms: that the consequence was, their having remained for some time past in prison, which, at the present season, was a situation from which they could not be too soon released; it was, therefore, to know in what manner to answer their various applications, and to be informed, to what authority he should refer them for relief, that General Pinckney had at this moment taken the liberty to trouble him. The minister replied, that an arrette had been made on the subject, and that, in future, all petitions for passports on behalf of the American citizens, should be addressed to the minister of the police general: that he would, however, charge himself with any that General Pinckney might have at that moment by him, if he preferred the channel of his department. I thanked him for his politeness, and made a motion to go, but stopped and asked him, if he had heard any thing farther from the Directory, as to their intentions respecting General Pinckney's remaining where he was. He answered, with marks of great surprise, that he thought he had already explained himself with sufficient clearness on the subject—that he had signified to General Pinckney, long since, the impossibility of his staying—that he thought he had exercised much condescendence, in having been so long silent; which he had been induced to do, by General Pinckney's having complained of the delay of his baggage, which he supposed must by this time have arrived from Bourdeaux—that, in short,

ſhort, he ſhould be ſorry if his farther ſtay ſhould compel him to give information to the miniſter of the police. To this I replied, that, if he would permit me, I ſhould recall his recollection to the communication which he had been pleaſed to make to General Pinckney, through his ſecretary Mr. Giraudet: that that gentleman had called on General Pinckney, and had very clearly expreſſed the wiſhes of the Directory, in anſwer to a letter which he had written to the miniſter of foreign affairs, requeſting to know their will—which deſire was, that General Pinckney ſhould conſider himſelf in the light of any common ſtranger to whom a card of hoſpitality was refuſed, and who was compelled by the laws reſpecting foreigners, to withdraw from the territories of the republic: that General Pinckney had refuſed to regard himſelf in any other light than the one in which he had entered France, which had not been in a private capacity, but in a public character; which circumſtance had been officially announced to the Directory, by his having delivered to the miniſter of foreign affairs a copy of his letters of credence, and by other acts: that this precluded all laws relative to ſtrangers from operating on him, and put him under the protection of the law of nations, which he claimed in his favour: that Mr. Giraudet had taken leave, with a promiſe to communicate to the miniſter of foreign affairs the ground which General Pinckney had taken: that he returned again in the evening, and then ſaid, that the miniſter would again lay General Pinckney's letter before the Directory, and that their intentions ſhould be made known to him as ſoon as poſſible.—All this had, no doubt, been faithfully related to him by his ſecretary. He anſwered, that General Pinckney muſt have miſtaken Mr. Giraudet, as to his intention of again laying his letter before the Directory. I told him that it was impoſſible, for that I had been preſent at both converſations, in which the material points had paſſed in Engliſh, and been repeated in French. He then ſaid, Mr. Giraudet had acted without his authority. I replied, that General Pinckney had, however, waited until this moment, in expectation of hearing from him, agreeably to Mr. Giraudet's promiſe;—that he was very far from intending to diſpute the will of the Executive Directory; what he wanted was a communication of their wiſhes in *writing*. He ſaid, that it had already been given. I deſired to know when—he anſwered, in the notification which he had made, by their order, to Mr. Monroe; that it had contained their ſentiments on Mr. Pinckney's ſtaying, in as much as that his not being received, implied that he ſhould depart. I denied that it was a fair deduction—he inſiſted that it was—I declared that it had not ſtruck the General or any perſon with whom he had converſed; but that, however, if ſuch was the conſtruction which he had put upon it, I flattered myſelf that he could have no objection to throwing his

5 idea

idea upon paper, that General Pinckney might have ſomething more ſubſtantial than the authenticity of the *word* of his ſecretary, to juſtify himſelf to his own government, for quitting a ſpot to which he had come in obedience to their orders. The miniſter here turned from me with ſome warmth, and ſaid he ſhould do no ſuch thing—that General Pinckney might make his own deductions—he deſired to have no more communications with him. I only replied by a bow, ſatisfied to end a converſation which had already laſted near half an hour; during which I had not been admitted to the honour of a ſeat.

"HENRY M. RUTLEDGE."

This behaviour of M. De la Croix's did not induce me to alter my conduct; I conſidered that I was at the poſt where my duty required me to remain until I received orders from my government how to conduct myſelf, or till this government ſhould give me a written mandate to depart, or ſend me paſſports as a miniſter of my country whom they would not ſuffer to remain here; or would do ſome unequivocal act reſpecting me, as would juſtify me in going. M. De la Croix's converſation with Major Rutledge I did not deem ſuch—I have therefore ſtaid; though, notwithſtanding the inclemency of a journey for my family, at this ſeaſon of the year, to Amſterdam, it would have been more agreeable to me to have gone away than to have remained here in this ſituation. This interview, however, prevented me, until three days ago, from changing my lodgings, which were very expenſive and inconvenient; when not receiving any further intimation to depart, I changed them, and have not yet heard from M. De la Croix.—When I was ſending away the triplicate and quadruplicate of No. 2, the ſpeech of M. Barras, preſident of the Directory, to Mr. Monroe appeared; I therefore tranſmitted it to you in thoſe encloſures. I need not comment on ſo ſtrange a compoſition; it however evinces the diſpoſition of the Directors of this country towards us, and the ſyſtem which they have adopted, by endeavouring to perſuade our countrymen that they can have a different intereſt from their fellow-citizens, whom themſelves have choſen to manage their joint concerns. One circumſtance, however, attending this ſpeech, you ought not to be unacquainted with; Mr. Monroe aſſures me that the Directory were not acquainted with a ſyllable contained in the valedictory addreſs he delivered, till the moment he pronounced it; and that as ſoon as he finiſhed, preſident Barras read his own ſpeech. Of courſe, the ſpeech of M. Barras was not an anſwer to Mr. Monroe's ſpecific harangue, but was an anſwer to every ſpeech which, on that occaſion, could poſſibly have been made. This anecdote does not make the preſent ſentiments and views of the Directory, reſpecting our country, leſs evident.

What-

Whatever the decifion of this country may prove with regard to me, be affured that I fhall endeavour to behave in fuch a manner as fhall neither injure nor compromit the refpect due to our own; and that no perfonal flights can prevent me from moft earneftly praying, that the independence and liberty of France may be firmly fecured by a fpeedy and honourable peace.

No. IV.

Extract of a Letter from General Pinckney to the Secretary of State, dated Amfterdam, February 18, 1797.

(No. 7.)

Dear Sir,

I ARRIVED here laft night, after an expenfive and tedious journey, through fome very bad roads, from Paris.——My letter No. 6, of which I forwarded to you quadruplicates from that city, will inform you that the day after accounts were received of Buonaparte's fucceffes in Italy, M. De la Croix gave me, by direction of the Executive Directory, official notice *in writing*, to quit the territories of the French republic: as this was complying with what I had declared to be a requifite preliminary to my departure, I did not think it proper to remain longer at Paris than was neceffary to prepare for my journey; and, having received the cuftomary paffports for this city, I fet out with my family and fecretary on the fifth inftant. I fhall remain here, or in fome part of the United Provinces, till I receive directions from you how to act. I regret that my miffion to Europe, at the fame time that it has been very unpleafant to myfelf, fhould be both expenfive and unprofitable to my country; could I be of any fervice, I fhould difregard perfonal inconvenience; and the idea of benefiting my country would foften the afperities of a fituation rendered particularly difagreeable by the conduct of a government with whom we wifh to be on the moft amicable terms, and yet who difregards and annihilates the ufual mode of conciliatory explanation eftablifhed between independent nations. Mr. Giraudet, the chief fecretary in the department of foreign affairs at Paris, mentioned to Major Rutledge, a few days before I left Paris, that as we were not going far, he hoped he fhould foon fee us return. This I imagine was only the language of politenefs; it certainly was not fpoken officially, and I have not the leaft idea that I fhall receive any invitation from France; though I ardently wifh for a return of the good fenfe and good humour of that republic.

No. V.

Extract of a Letter from General C. C. Pinckney to the Secretary of State, dated Amſterdam, March 5, 1797.

SOME time before I left Paris, I was informed that the Directory had requeſted the Dutch to join them in treating neutral veſſels in the ſame manner as, by their decree in Meſſidor, they had determined to treat them. As I did not obtain this information from a ſource that I could depend on, I did not trouble you with it; but I have ſince had reaſon to believe that it was either true, or the Dutch were apprehenſive ſuch requiſition would be made; for I have juſt received intelligence, which I am perſuaded I may rely on, that the Dutch have informed the Directory, that it would be exceedingly prejudicial to them to join in ſo hoſtile a meaſure, for that they would thereby loſe the friendſhip and trade of America, which (conſidering their commercial loſſes) were of extenſive benefit to them, and they would be deprived of the means of affording the French thoſe aids which their commerce enabled them to do. In theſe reaſons, my information adds, the French have acquieſced, and there is now no apprehenſion that our commerce will be moleſted by the Dutch. If the French had not conſented to this, there is little doubt but the Dutch would have been obliged to have treated us as the French do, for there are 25,000 French troops in Batavia, and it is here no ſecret, that they can direct what meaſures they pleaſe.

I tranſmit you extracts of Major Mountflorence's letters to me of the 14th and 21ſt of February, relative to the infamous conduct of ſome of our countrymen (I bluſh to call them ſo), in fitting out privateers under French colours, and plundering our fellow-citizens. Something energetic, I truſt, will be done by our government with reſpect to theſe unprincipled marauders.

No. VI.

Extract of a Letter from Major Mountflorence to General Pinckney, dated Paris, February 14th, 1797.

A LETTER from Mr. Barnet, our conſular agent at Breſt, under date of the third inſtant, informs me, that a French privateer, owned by Captain Cowel, a citizen native of the United States, and formerly maſter of the Jane, has captured lately two of our veſſels, and ſent them to L'Orient; one of them is a ſhip of four hundred tons, belonging to Boſton, and bound from New Orleans to London; the other is a brig, from Baltimore to London, with a very rich cargo of ſugar, cotton, &c. Another letter of the ſaid agent, of the ſeventh, informs me, that though

he is certain that these two vessels and their cargoes are American property, yet it is generally believed that, by the intrigues of the aforesaid Captain Cowel, and of a certain Captain Benjamin Lewis, of Marblehead, that the whole will be condemned. I blush when I think on the conduct of some of our countrymen, in this country, not satisfied with violating the laws of the United States respecting our neutrality, but arming vessels under French colours, to plunder their co-citizens. Besides, Sir, I have it from good authority, that those Americans who are interested in fitting out privateers, are constantly teazing this government with applications for more severe orders to cruise against our vessels; and it is really our own countrymen who endeavour to irritate matters between us. The same agent informs me, that a large number of our sailors, found on board of English vessels, are now detained as prisoners of war at Brest. I had formerly recommended to that officer to use all his endeavours to procure the release of such as he should be satisfied were really Americans; and that he has done: but his last letter mentions, that the minister of the marine has lately given orders not to release any more of the citizens of the United States who may be taken on board British vessels. A new embargo was laid on the seventh instant, at Brest, which is the third since General Hoche's expedition.

No. VII.

Extract of a Letter from Major Mountflorence to General Pinckney, dated Paris, 21st February, 1797.

WITHOUT any of your favours to answer, it is my duty to inform you, that a letter from Mr. Vail, our consular agent at L'Orient, under date of the 12th instant, informs, that the American ships, Hope, Captain Rogers, and Antelope, of Boston, Captain Benjamin Hilton, captured by the privateer Hardy, Captain Cowel (the man I mentioned in my last), and carried into L'Orient, are now libelled; and the only reason upon which this American captor grounds his claim, is, that the seamen's articles are not countersigned by an American public officer. I cannot find that the laws of the United States require that formality; and the truth is, that not an American vessel in an hundred has the seamen's articles countersigned in that manner; but Cowel's attorney pretends that an antiquated, an *obsolete ordonnance* of France, of the year 1750, authorizes all ships of war to arrest such vessels as have them not as pirates. The tribunal of commerce has refused pronouncing in this question till they receive instructions from the executive, having written on the subject to the three ministers, of justice, marine, and foreign relations; and I am going to do the same; but my application will be

be ſigned by Mr. Skipwith. Mr. Vail further adds, with much truth, "The American commerce very much depends upon the fate of theſe two veſſels; and the hopes of the privateers are placed greatly on theſe veſſels being condemned;" and in another place he writes, that moſt of the privateers are owned or commanded by Americans, who create theſe difficulties.

Another letter from Mr. Le Baron Fils, our conſular agent at Dieppe, informs, that the American ſhip Hare, of New York, Captain Nathan Haley, of the burden of 280 tons, has been ſent into Dieppe, on the 17th inſtant, having been captured by a French privateer. Theſe captures alarm very much our traders. If this government ſanctions the doctrine held out at the tribunal at L'Orient, it would be tantamount to a ſtate of warfare, as almoſt every veſſel we have now in Europe are in that predicament.

(Signed) J. C. Mountflorence.

Major-General Pinckney.

(A true copy)

Henry M. Rutledge.

No. VIII.

Extract of a Letter from General Pinckney to the Secretary of State, dated Amſterdam, March 8th, 1797.

I HAVE juſt received intelligence from Major Mountflorence, that the tribunal civil of the department of the Pas de Calais has confirmed the judgment of the tribunal of commerce, condemning as lawful prize the American veſſel Royal Captain, John Bryant maſter and owner, for want of a ſea-letter. I underſtand that it is a Captain Nathan Haley, an American, who commanded the privateer under French colours, which captured and carried into Dieppe, the 17th ultimo, the American ſhip Hare, commanded by a name-ſake and couſin of his, bound from England to New York, with a cargo, it is ſaid, of fifty thouſand pounds ſterling. Mr. Barnet, our conſular agent at Breſt, informs me, that ſeveral citizens of the United States who were captured in Britiſh veſſels, on board of whom they had been preſſed, are at preſent confined in the priſons of that place as priſoners of war, and ſuffer much by cloſe confinement and bad proviſions; and that all his ſolicitations in their behalf, ſince the latter end of January, have been in vain. Theſe injurious acts to our countrymen and trade are exceedingly diſtreſſing, nor can it be ſaid when they will ceaſe. It is thought by many, and I believe juſtly, that the election of their new third will determine France either to conciliation or avowed hoſtilities; as much as I wiſh for the former, I wiſh the meaſures of our government will be diſpaſſionate and candid, but firm. Mean ſubmiſſions are generally returned with contempt and renewed oppreſſion.

No.

No. XI.

Extract of a Letter from John Q. Adams, Esq. Minister Resident of the United States near the Batavian Republic, to the Secretary of State, dated the Hague, November 4th, 1796.

IN the letter from the committee of foreign affairs, a copy of which was enclosed with my last, they have raised pretensions and used expressions upon which I have not thought it necessary to anticipate the opinion which you will form of the notice which you may think proper to take of them. But as it is possible that the tone and ideas may appear extraordinary, I think it necessary to add a few observations and some particulars of information which will make them more accountable.

The general disposition, even of the patriotic party of this country, favours cordially and sincerely the neutrality of the United States. They have a very substantial reason for this disposition, as they are continually receiving remittances of interest upon their monies loaned to the United States; and as these are almost the only public funds upon which the payments are still punctual, they apprehend, that the difficulties and the necessities of war might produce a suspension or postponements on the part of the United States, similar to those of which many of the belligerent powers have given examples. But, at the same time, the patriotic party can have no avowed will different from that which may give satisfaction to the government of France. They feel a dependence so absolute and irremovable upon their good will, that they sacrifice every other inclination, and silence every other interest when the pleasure of the French government is signified to them in such a manner as makes an election necessary.

I received not long ago an intimation, that one of the members of the committee of foreign affairs had confidentially communicated to a friend, a circumstance which was intended to be kept profoundly secret. It was, that the French government had determined to defeat, if possible, the treaty lately concluded between the United States and Great Britain, and had signified to the committee of foreign affairs here their expectation, that they would concur with all their influence towards the same object. The tenour of their letter strongly serves to show the accuracy of the information. The object which the last paragraph of their letter aims at, is not at all equivocal; but in considering the manner in which they urge their proposals, the address with which they pursue their point may be ranged on a level with their logic. After having undertaken formally to justify the condemnation of the Wilmington Packet's cargo, because they concluded it to be French property, they make no difficulty to assume a right to *insist* upon the protection of Batavian property on board of American

4 vessels.

veſſels. They call very loudly upon the United States to go to war with Great Britain, and make a *common cauſe* with the French and Batavian republics. The whole of this ſingular paſſage might have excited a ſtronger ſentiment than it did, had I not previouſly received the intimation mentioned above. Conſidering their language as dictated by an irreſiſtible external impulſe, an excuſe for its ſingularity was derived from the neceſſities of their ſituation. In the anſwer which I have given, therefore, it was my endeavour to avoid every unneceſſary diſcuſſion, and, as far as poſſible, every unpleaſant expreſſion. But the inconſiſtency of their pretenſions with their own argument could not be paſſed without notice. Their oblique inſinuation of treaties formed by the United States militating with that before contracted with this republic, I thought it neceſſary to repel in the moſt decided and explicit manner. Their aſſertion of *numerous ſervices* rendered by their republic to the American nation authorized the reference in the anſwer to the reciprocal ſervices and common utility, upon which I conceived the engagements between the two nations to be founded. As they very clearly hint a wiſh, that the United States ſhould violate ſome treaty concluded after that with the Batavian republic, and make a common cauſe with them and France, I thought the honour and dignity of my country and its government required an explicit declaration in anſwer, that they would inviolably maintain their engagements with all other nations as faithfully as with this. But I did not think it neceſſary, though it might have been not unfair, to obſerve, that their propoſal of a common cauſe to be made with the French republic, could not be made by them without her concurrence, or that the energy which they would inſiſt upon for the protection of their property in American veſſels, would be unneceſſary if it were efficaciouſly employed in giving ſecurity to the navigation of their own flag. It may be mentioned here, that the American flag is not the only one for the honour of which theſe gentlemen have taken ſo deep and ſo generous a concern. They, ſome time ſince, intereſted themſelves in a ſimilar manner for the honour of the Daniſh neutrality, until they were given to underſtand by the Count de Bernſtorff, that the government of Denmark was the proper judge of its own honour, and was not diſpoſed to liſten to their inſtigations upon its concerns with other nations.

No. XII.

Extract of a Letter from the Commiſſion of Foreign Affairs to the Batavian National Aſſembly, to the Miniſter Reſident of the United States of America, dated Hague, 27th September, 1796.

WE cannot let the preſent opportunity paſs without requeſting you to ſtate to your government, how uſeful it would be to the

the interefts of the inhabitants of the two republics, that the United States fhould at laft ferioufly take to heart the numberlefs infults daily committed on their flag by the Englifh; to reprefent to them, that when circumftances oblige our commerce to confide its interefts to the neutral flag of American veffels, it has a juft right to infift that that flag be protected with energy, and that it be not infulted at the expenfe of a friendly and allied nation. Deign to recall to the remembrance of the nation of which you are minifter, that the numerous fervices which our republic has rendered to it, our reciprocal relations, as well as mutual utility, imperioufly require that it fhould ceafe to view with indifference the manner in which the Englifh act, who carry off with impunity from on board American veffels the property of Batavians. Lead them to perceive that reafons of convenience, treaties concluded fubfequent to that with the Batavian republic, cannot change or annul a treaty formally concluded and ratified between our two nations, between two nations who have equally fuffered from the arrogance and defpotifm on the feas of proud Albion: in a word, between two nations, *who making common caufe with the French republic*, and governing themfelves by the imprefcriptible rights of nature and of men, may render to the two hemifpheres a peace for which humanity languifhes.

No. XIII.

Extract of a Letter from John Quincy Adams, Efq. Minifter Refident of the United States at the Hague, to the Committee of Foreign Relations of the National Batavian Affembly, dated October 31ft, 1796.

I SHALL not fail to tranfmit alfo to the government of the United States, the other obfervations which you have thought proper to make to me on this occafion. It does not belong to me to judge with what fentiments it will view that part of your letter in which you complain of the feizure of Dutch property on board American veffels, when it compares it with the other part where you fuppofe that the quality, neceffary to procure the protection of the American flag for the lading of a veffel, did not exift; becaufe the lading appeared to you to be French property. But you yourfelf on reflection will, I hope, be convinced, that thefe two claims are not eafy to be reconciled.

But I will take upon myfelf, Citizens, to affure you, that it is unneceffary to remind the nation, whofe minifter I have the honour to be, that "reafons of convenience, or treaties pofterior to that concluded with the Batavian republic, cannot deftroy or annul that treaty." I can anfwer beforehand, that the government of the United States is perfectly fenfible of this truth, and has always conducted itfelf agreeably to the principles on which

it

it is founded. In all posterior engagements it has reserved to itself the power of fulfilling all prior ones; it will ever fulfil those which reciprocal utility and services have caused it to contract with the Batavian republic; and while it religiously observes all the obligations of its treaties with other nations, it will, in like manner, observe all those which you have a right to demand from it.

No. XIV.

Extract of a Letter from John Q. Adams, Esq. Minister Resident of the United States at the Hague, to the Secretary of State, dated the Hague, February 17th, 1797.

THE neutrality of every other nation is as little respected by the French government as that of the United States. They have recently proposed to Denmark to shut up the mouth of the Elbe against all British vessels.

No. XV.

Extract of a Letter from Rufus King, Esq. Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States, dated at London, 12th March, 1797, and addressed to the Secretary of State.

MR. Adams will inform you from the Hague of what is passing in that quarter; but lest his opportunities of writing should be less frequent than mine, it may be proper to state, that I have reason to believe, though the French government assign our treaty with England as the cause of their maritime conduct towards us, that they have recently demanded of Hamburgh and Bremen to suspend all commerce with England. These cities have not yet complied, and the French minister has been recalled from Hamburgh. The same demand has been made at Copenhagen, and the refusal has produced a sharp diplomatic controversy. These powers have made no late treaties with England.

No. XVI.

Letter from the Minister of Spain to the Secretary of State, dated 6th May, 1797.

Sir,

THE King my master, desirous of drawing closer the connexions of friendship and good correspondence already subsisting between Spain and the United States, concluded with them on the 27th of October, 1795, a treaty dictated by the most generous principles—opening to the Americans the navigation of the Missisippi to the ocean, and ceding to the United States a considerable portion of territory, by agreeing to draw a line of demarcation be-

tween the possessions of both parties. Equally animated by the desire of diminishing, for humanity, the horrors of war, he adopted the liberal principle, that free ships shall make free goods. This stipulation was in reality an incalculable advantage to the American citizens, who, by the extension of their navigation, the geographical situation of their country, and the nature of their political connexions at that epocha, promised a neutrality as advantageous as durable. At the same time his Majesty agreed, by the said treaty, that articles necessary for the construction and repair of vessels should not be deemed contraband. In a word, the concessions on the part of Spain, for cementing a sincere union between both nations, were such, that the treaty was received throughout the United States with enthusiasm, and with the most evident marks of general approbation. In these circumstances, the King my master, who had so efficaciously advanced the interests of America, promised himself, by the effect of a good correspondence, as sacred among nations as between individuals, that the United States at least would not contribute to the injury of Spain.

What should be the surprise of his Majesty, on knowing that this country had contracted engagements with England prejudicial to his rights, and to the interests of his subjects, nearly at the same time in which, with so much liberality, he was giving to the United States the most striking proofs of the most sincere friendship?

Upon the whole, the King my master, well persuaded that England, in her treaty with America, had *surprised* the good faith of the federal government, reserved to himself to make, on a proper opportunity, the necessary representations; not doubting but that the equity of the United States would place Spain, in relation to other powers, upon that footing of equality without which the neutrality adopted by America would exist only in appearance, and be purely nominal. But experiencing, since the declaration of the war against Great Britain, injuries and evils which he had foreseen from the moment he was informed of the English treaty, he finds himself under the necessity of anticipating this step, and therefore has ordered me to make to this government, through you, the following observations:—

By the 15th article of the treaty concluded between his Majesty and the United States, it is stipulated, that the subjects of the King, and the American citizens, may navigate with their vessels and cargoes freely to all the ports except such as are declared blockaded, making the neutral flags secure the goods which they may have on board; so that they cannot be seized even though they should belong to an enemy. His Majesty hastened with pleasure to adopt a principle so useful to humanity, although, for

for the reaſons hinted above, it was to operate more advantageouſly to the American citizens than to his ſubjects.

His Majeſty ought to have expected, on the part of the American government, diſpoſitions equally friendly; and as their adoption would not prove injurious to thoſe powers who ſhould eſtabliſh them, that this ſhould form a general rule in all their engagements of a like nature: but, unfortunately, the 17th article of the Engliſh treaty has diſſipated this agreeable hope, for it not only permits Engliſh veſſels to take and carry into port thoſe of America, upon the arbitrary ground of ſuſpicion, but alſo to take and ſeize enemy property or merchandiſe found under the American flag. In ſhort, the principle, *that free ſhips make free goods*, was then deſtroyed; and his Majeſty is reduced to the diſadvantageous ſituation of ſeeing the property of his ſubjects ſeized with impunity, under the ſafeguard of neutrality, whilſt a ſtate of war requires that his ſquadrons and ſhips ſhould reſpect Engliſh property on board of American veſſels. Can it then be ſuppoſed, with good faith, that the King intended voluntarily to go into a ſtipulation, the obſervance of which ſhould require from his ſubjects nothing but detriment and injury? An adherence to the principle adopted by the King implicitly led him to a reciprocity complete in all its circumſtances.

Nor are the injuries to Spain, ariſing out of the 18th article of the treaty with Great Britain, leſs palpable; from it, like the preceding, ariſe great loſſes to the American navigation; but the damages which the ſubjects of the King and his royal ſervice experience are ſtill of much greater conſideration. By that article England and the United States agree, that timber for ſhip-building, tar, roſin, copper in ſheets, ſails, hemp, cordage, and generally whatever may ſerve directly to the equipment of veſſels, ſhall be declared contraband. In the 16th article of the treaty with Spain, after enumerating thoſe articles which ſhould be deemed ſuch, it is ſtipulated, that all kinds of cotton, hemp, flax, tar, pitch, ropes, cables, ſails, ſail-cloth, anchors, wood of all kinds, and all other things proper for the conſtruction and repair of veſſels, ſhall be looked upon as articles of free commerce. What, then, is the conſequence of theſe contradictory ſtipulations? Is it not abandoning to England the excluſive commerce of naval ſtores? And is it not giving her, in a maritime war like the preſent, a powerful arm, which ſhe uſes to the injury of Spain, whilſt the latter muſt ſuffer from avarice, or the high price of an article to her ſo abſolutely neceſſary? You will ſay in reply, that Spain entered voluntarily into theſe ſtipulations; but could it ever have been expected, that America would have made, almoſt at the ſame moment, ſuch, on her part, as ſhould cauſe the King my maſter to repent of his generoſity and great beneficence?

 In

In the preamble to the Spanish treaty, its object is said to be for the mutual advantage and reciprocal utility of both countries: I leave you to determine what advantages either Spain or America can derive from the 15th and 16th articles of their treaty, whilst those of the 17th and 18th of the English treaty remain in full force.

Thus far I have represented merely the injury done to the interests of Spain; but I shall now state to you a point in which her rights are essentially concerned; I mean the navigation of the Missisippi.

The just ground upon which Spain refused to acknowledge the mutual and illegal cession which England made to the United States, in the 8th article of the treaty of 3d September, 1783, of the free navigation of the Missisippi to the ocean; the necessity in which America has found herself of recurring to a special treaty with Spain for obtaining it, and above all, the tenour of the 4th article of the said treaty, in which it is agreed, that the free navigation of the said river to the ocean belongs *exclusively* to the subjects of the King and to the citizens of the United States, had given his Majesty reason to believe that the federal government, by this stipulation, annulled, as illegal, the claim which it had made with England, as to this point, in the 8th article of the treaty of 1783. But his Majesty has seen with equal surprise, that the United States not only pretend to confirm that right to England by the 3d article of their commercial treaty, but that they have since the conclusion of that with Spain, in which the navigation of the Missisippi is confined *exclusively* to the Spaniards and Americans, agreed to the explanatory article signed here by yourself and the English chargé des affaires, Mr. Bond, on the 4th of May, 1796, in which it is declared, *That no other stipulation or treaty concluded since by either of the contracting parties with any other power or nation, is understood in any manner to derogate from the right to the free communication and commerce guaranteed by the 3d article of the treaty to the subjects of his Britannic Majesty.*

The King my master finds so much the more difficulty in reconciling this stipulation concerning the navigation of the Missisippi in article 3d of the English treaty, confirmed by the explanatory article of the 4th of May, with the 4th article of that with Spain, as on examining the original right of England none is found to exist, and the United States alone hold that which Spain ceded in the said article of the treaty with them. In order to convince you of this, let us examine the stipulations of the former treaties; from which I give the following extract:

By the 6th article of the preliminary treaty, made on the 3d of November, 1762, between France and Great Britain, and by the definitive treaty, signed on the 10th of February, 1763, it is stipulated, that all that part of Louisiana situated on the east of the

the Miſſiſippi, excepting New Orleans and its dependencies, ſhould belong to Great Britain.

By the 8th article of the proviſional treaty, concluded between the United States of America and Great Britain, on the 30th of November, 1782, and the definitive treaty, ſigned on the 3d of September, 1783, it is ſtated, that the navigation of the Miſſiſippi, from its ſource to the ocean, ſhall for ever remain and be free to the ſubjects of Great Britain, and the citizens of the United States.

By the preliminary articles of the treaty concluded between Spain and England, and the definitive treaty ſigned on the 3d of September, 1783, Great Britain ceded to Spain all Eaſt and Weſt Florida; which two provinces were the only territory that that nation had remaining in this part of the continent.

In the 5th article, in which this ceſſion is ſtipulated, not a ſingle word is ſaid relative to the navigation of the Miſſiſippi, nor do the other articles ſay any thing on the ſubject.

When England ſigned theſe preliminary articles with the United States of America, in 1782, Great Britain *ſtill held* all the right to Eaſt and Weſt Florida, becauſe *then* ſhe had not ceded *for ever* thoſe provinces to Spain, as is proved afterwards by the treaty of 1783, and without the leaſt mention therein of the Miſſiſippi.

Therefore England, having ceded Eaſt and Weſt Florida, in 1783, and not having reſerved the right to the navigation of the Miſſiſippi, of courſe loſt it entirely when ſhe made Spain miſtreſs of the two banks.

The only right which the United States had in the navigation of that river was founded on the ſtipulations derived from England: but having changed their political exiſtence by the declaration of their independence, and having by this act ſeparated their intereſts from thoſe of Great Britain, the liberty of navigating the Miſſiſippi did not follow to the United States, but by a ſpecial treaty, which has juſt been concluded between Spain and this country.

So far good. How can the United States, without the conſent of Spain, cede to England the right of navigating the Miſſiſippi, which is granted only to themſelves? And in virtue of what privilege can the federal government give the navigation of this river to a nation, who has renounced all her rights through the medium of ſolemn treaties, and who not only does not hold a ſingle port, but alſo does not poſſeſs a ſingle inch of land on its banks?

This ſimple expoſition, in conjunction with the opinion of all juriſts, that the navigation of rivers naturally belongs to him who poſſeſſes the two banks, evidently manifeſts the injury done to the

rights

rights of Spain, in the 3d article of the English treaty, and the explanatory article, signed on the 4th of May, 1796.

The King of Spain, desirous of preserving the best harmony and friendship with this country, as protector of the interests of his subjects, has ordered me to represent to this government what I have just mentioned; and his Majesty, relying upon the equity of his demands, hopes that the United States, animated by the same sentiments, will come to a composition, which, without injuring the American citizens, shall assure the happiness of his subjects, and guard the rights of his sovereignty.

I with pleasure embrace this opportunity of renewing my wishes to serve you, and that God may preserve your life many years.

Your most obedient servant,
CARLOS MARTINEZ DE YRUJO.

Timothy Pickering, Esq.
Secretary of State.
Philadelphia, 6th May, 1797.

Faithfully translated from the original by
GEORGE TAYLOR, jun.

No. XVII.

Letter from the Secretary of State to the Minister of his Catholic Majesty, dated May 17, 1797.

Sir, *Department of State, Philadelphia, May* 17, 1797.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 6th instant, which has been laid before the President of the United States. It contains three subjects of complaint, as arising out of the treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, between the United States and Great Britain.

1. That the principle that *free ships make free goods*, is thereby destroyed; the 17th article not only permitting English vessels to take and carry into port those of America, upon the arbitrary ground of suspicion, but also to take and seize enemies property or merchandise found under the American flag.

2. That by the 18th article of that treaty, timber for ship-building, tar, rosin, copper in sheets, sails, hemp and cordage, and generally whatever may serve directly to the equipment of vessels, are declared contraband

3. That by the 3d article of that treaty, and the explanatory article added thereto, the United States have ceded and confirmed to Great Britain the right of navigating the river Missisippi; a

right

right which you ſay the United States themſelves acquired *only by virtue of their treaty with Spain.*

Your letter alſo contains various intimations, which, in connexion with theſe three topics of complaint, it will be proper for me to notice.

It is very true that our treaty with Spain was received throughout the United States with ſatisfaction and general approbation; becauſe it cloſed a diſpute which had been pending many years between the two countries, by his Catholic Majeſty's acceding to the claims of the United States (which they deemed founded in right) to the free navigation of the Miſſiſippi, from its ſource to the ocean; and to their ſouthern boundary line, as deſcribed in the treaty of peace of 1783, between the United States and Great Britain. We were alſo ſatisfied with the engagement of his Catholic Majeſty to compenſate our mercantile citizens for the loſſes they had ſuſtained by the capture of their veſſels and cargoes, by the ſubjects of his Majeſty, during the late war between Spain and France. All theſe were acts of ſubſtantial juſtice, which were neceſſarily approved by every upright mind. All the other ſtipulations of the treaty between the United States and his Catholic Majeſty, were wholly voluntary, and perfectly reciprocal; ſo that neither of the two contracting parties could ſay, that they had granted or received a favour. I make this obſervation becauſe of the numerous intimations in your letter, that by theſe other ſtipulations, benefits and advantages had been granted by his Catholic Majeſty to the United States, without receiving from them any equivalent; intimations for which we ſee no foundation. To inſtance in the articles which conſtitute the two firſt ſubjects of your complaint.

1. *Free ſhips make free goods.* It is impoſſible that the two contracting parties ſhould ever have conceived that this rule, as between themſelves, could have any operation, except when one was at war and the other at peace. The United States being in the latter ſituation, have a right to carry in their veſſels goods of the enemies of Spain, without being liable, on that account, to capture. On the other hand, if the United States were at war, and Spain at peace, her ſubjects would have a right to tranſport, in their veſſels, the goods of our enemies, free from capture by the armed veſſels of the United States. And thus this ſtipulation is exactly equal on both ſides.

2. *Ship-timber and naval ſtores are, by the law of nations, contraband of war:*—but the United States and Spain, for their mutual benefit, agreed to conſider them as *free goods*, in order that either party remaining at peace might ſafely continue its commerce in thoſe articles, even by carrying them to the enemies of the other. And thus this rule will operate equally like the former.

 You

You compare the liberal ſtipulations in theſe two articles, with thoſe of a contrary nature in the treaty between the United States and Great Britain; and aſk, what ſhould be the ſurpriſe* of his Catholic Majeſty on knowing of the latter engagements? After remarking, that if thoſe ſtipulations were liberal on the part of Spain, they were alike liberal on the part of the United States, ſeeing they were perfectly reciprocal; permit me to ſay, that the engagements with Great Britain do not appear to offer any cauſe for "ſurpriſe," on the part of his Catholic Majeſty; becauſe his Majeſty had ſeen, during the whole courſe of the American war, how ſteadily Great Britain perſiſted, in oppoſition to the demands of all the maritime powers, to maintain her claims under the law of nations, *to capture enemies property, and timber, and naval ſtores, as contraband, in neutral ſhips.* His Majeſty had alſo ſeen in the preſent war, in which he was for a time a party with Great Britain againſt France, that Great Britain continued to avow and practiſe upon the ſame principles. And with ſuch a perfect knowledge of the principles and conduct of Great Britain, and while ſhe was ſtill engaged in the war with a power which ſhe ſtrenuouſly endeavoured to deprive of timber and naval ſtores, and whoſe mercantile ſhipping was greatly reduced, could his Catholic Majeſty expect that Great Britain would relinquiſh her legal rights to a nation (the United States), which abounded in materials for building and equipping ſhips, and whoſe veſſels, adapted to the carrying trade, traverſed every ſea, and viſited every quarter of the globe? You ſeem to imagine there is the more reaſon for "ſurpriſe," becauſe, as you ſay, the engagements between the United States and Great Britain were contracted "nearly at the ſame time"—"almoſt at the ſame moment," with our ſtipulations with his Catholic Majeſty. But allow me to bring to your recollection the periods when theſe different treaties were formed: that with Great Britain was concluded on the 19th day of November, 1794; that with Spain, on the 27th of October, 1795. Further, the treaty with Great Britain was publiſhed in Philadelphia on the firſt day of July, 1795; almoſt four months before the treaty with his Catholic Majeſty was concluded, and nearly ten months before it received his ratification, at which time (Spain and the United States being then at peace with all the world) it does not appear that his Catholic Majeſty found the ſmalleſt difficulty in giving his final ſanction to his treaty with the United States, on account of their prior treaty with Great Britain. Moreover, Mr. Thomas Pinckney, who negotiated the treaty with Spain, being privy to the whole negotiation with Great Britain, and perfectly acquainted

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* Admiration.

with

with every article of the British treaty, it is hardly to be doubted, that he communicated to the Prince of Peace every information concerning it which had any relation to his negotiation with Spain. The mode of proceeding in the cases of captures of American vessels, is precisely the same in both treaties, and the most material expressions in the 7th article of the British treaty, are copied into the 21st of the treaty with Spain.

I am now to consider your third complaint: that relating to the navigation of the Missisippi.

You enter into an examination of the right of the United States to this navigation, and draw this conclusion: that their right is derived *solely from the cession of his Catholic Majesty*, by the 4th article of his treaty with the United States: hence you are induced to ask, "How can the United States, without the consent of Spain, cede to England the right of navigating the Missisippi, which is granted only to themselves?"—If, Sir, your statement was correct, there could be no question in the case. If the right of the United States to the navigation of the Missisippi *originated* in their treaty with Spain, which was concluded on the 27th of October, 1795, it requires no argument to prove that they could not have granted the right of that navigation to Great Britain on the 19th of November, 1794.

But I might deny that the United States *ever* granted the right of navigating the Missisippi to Great Britain. A recurrence to the treaties to which you refer, will prove that she possessed that right by the peace of 1763; and that she has never formally relinquished it. I do not, indeed, conceive the inquiry essential to the subject of your present complaint; but as you have thought fit to go into it, you will allow me to follow you.

By the definitive treaty of peace, concluded the 10th of February, 1763, France, then possessed of Louisiana, ceded to Great Britain all her possessions on the east side of the Missisippi, except the town and island of New Orleans. And it was likewise stipulated, "That the navigation of the river Missisippi shall be equally free, as well to the subjects of Great Britain as to those of France, in its whole length and breadth, from its source to the sea, and expressly that part which is between the said island of New Orleans and the right bank of that river, as well as the passage both in and out of its mouth." The people of the United States being then subjects of the King of Great Britain, they of course participated in the right of navigating the river Missisippi: and by the 8th article of the provisional treaty between the United States and Great Britain, concluded the 30th of November, 1782, and the definitive treaty of peace concluded the third of September, 1783, this right was confirmed; it being therein stipulated, that "the navigation of the river Missisippi, from its source to the ocean, shall for ever remain free and open to

to the subjects of Great Britain and the citizens of the United States."

By the definitive treaty of peace between Spain and Great Britain, concluded the 3d of September, 1783, the latter ceded to Spain "East Florida, as also West Florida;" but the river Missisippi, as you observe, is not even mentioned in the treaty. What is the just inference from this circumstance? The United States need not decide. Doubtless Great Britain conceived it important to hold a right to the navigation of it; and all parties, at that time, certainly supposed that parts of her territories joined its eastern side, and probably no one can now say they do not. But, however this silence with regard to the navigation of the Missisippi, in the treaty between Spain and Great Britain, may be construed; whether the latter, by not *reserving*, is to be considered as *relinquishing her right to it*; or by not *expressly relinquishing*, is to be understood *to retain it*; it is proper to consider the nature and effect of the stipulations on this subject, *between her and the United States*.

When peace was made between the two powers in 1783, both were entitled to the free navigation of the Missisippi: and both desiring to preserve this right, they mutually stipulated for its continuance; but neither is pledged to maintain it for the other; though each is bound not to interrupt the other in the exercise of that right. The treaty of London, concluded on the 19th of November, 1794, contains, as to this point, no *new grant* on either side; but their respective rights are *recognised*; it being declared, in the 3d article, that "the river Missisippi shall, *according to the treaty of peace*, be entirely open to both parties." Had this declaration been wholly omitted, the right of Great Britain to the navigation of the Missisippi would have been neither increased nor diminished. But because the 4th article of the *subsequent* treaty with Spain excited some apprehensions in Great Britain that it might countenance an attempt to exclude her from the navigation of the Missisippi, the explanatory article which you mention was formed, declaring, That no stipulations in any treaty subsequently concluded by either party, can be understood to derogate from the rights of free intercourse and commerce, secured by the said 3d article to the subjects of his Britannic Majesty, and to the citizens of the United States. The 4th article of our treaty with Spain received its peculiar form with the design that it might not derogate from the prior stipulations of the United States with Great Britain. And this, as I shall presently show you, was perfectly understood by the government of Spain. And let me assure you, that the federal government no more seeks the excuse, than it merits the imputation, "that England, by her treaty with America, had *surprised* its good faith."

In discussing their respective projects of a treaty, it appears that

that the Prince of Peace, on the part of Spain, propoſed that Mr. Pinckney, on the part of the United States, ſhould enter into a ſtipulation which would have gone to the excluſion of Great Britain from the navigation of the Miſſiſippi. To this project Mr. Pinckney returned the following anſwer:

"The words 'alone' and 'excluſively' ſhould be omitted; for Spain could ſcarcely confide in the good faith of the United States, or in the convention which ſhe is about to conclude with them, if they agreed to an article which would be an infraction of a treaty previouſly concluded; for by the treaty of peace between the United States and Great Britain, concluded in 1783, it is ſtipulated that the navigation of the river Miſſiſippi ſhall continue free to the ſubjects of Great Britain, and to the citizens of the United States."

Here, Sir, you ſee that the federal government, far from "giving his Catholic Majeſty (as you ſuggeſt) reaſon to believe that they had annulled, as illegal, the claim which they had made with England, as to this point, in the 8th article of the treaty of 1783," expreſsly declared, that the attempt would be a violation of the good faith of the United States pledged to Great Britain in that treaty.

To get rid of the embarraſſment, the particular form of expreſſion which we find in the 4th article of the treaty with Spain was adopted. You will obſerve, Sir, that this, like every other treaty, contains, generally, the *joint ſtipulations* of the contracting parties. Such is the ſtipulation of the United States and Spain in the beginning of the 4th article: "It is likewiſe agreed, that the weſtern boundary of the United States, which ſeparates them from the Spaniſh colony of Louiſiana, is in the middle of the channel or bed of the river Miſſiſippi, from the northern boundary of the ſaid ſtates, to the completion of the thirty-firſt degree of latitude north of the equator." Then follows the clauſe reſpecting the navigation of the Miſſiſippi. "And *his Catholic Majeſty* has likewiſe agreed, that the navigation of the ſaid river, in its whole breadth, from its ſource to the ocean, ſhall be free only to his ſubjects and the citizens of the United States, unleſs he ſhould extend this privilege to the ſubjects of other powers by ſpecial convention." Here Spain is the *ſole party* to the *excluding clauſe*. And the 21ſt article of the treaty preſents a ſimilar inſtance of a *joint* and *ſeparate* ſtipulation. The two contracting parties *jointly* agree on the mode of adjuſting the claims of American citizens for the loſſes they had ſuſtained from the capture of their veſſels by the ſubjects of Spain: and then "*his Catholic Majeſty* undertakes to cauſe the ſame to be paid." Now it might, with as much propriety, be affirmed, that the *United States* are, by this clauſe, bound to contribute (and equally with his Catholic Majeſty) to thoſe payments, as be inferred from the

the declaration of his Catholic Majesty *singly*, in the 4th article, relative to the exclusive navigation of the Mississippi, that the United States have thereby engaged to exclude from it the subjects of Great Britain.

The simple fact is, that the United States were contending with Spain for the free navigation of the Mississippi *for themselves*; and by this clause in the 4th article of the treaty their claim was admitted. Any declaration of his Catholic Majesty *alone*, to exclude other nations, was to them quite immaterial.

Thus, Sir, I have answered to all your complaints, and, I hope, satisfactorily. The United States, equally with his Catholic Majesty, are desirous of preserving the best harmony between the two countries; and the American government will always be disposed to adopt any proper measures for that end.

I have the honour to be, with great respect, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

TIMOTHY PICKERING.

The Chevalier de Yrujo, Envoy Extraordinary, and Minister Plenipotentiary of his Catholic Majesty, to the United States of America.

No. XVIII.

Copy of a Letter from General Pinckney to the Secretary of State, dated February 1, 1797. (No. 6.)

Dear Sir, *Paris, February 7, 1797.*

THE day after I had closed my last of the 24th ultimo (No. 5), intelligence was received that Buonaparte had obtained a most brilliant victory in Italy—that he had made twenty-three thousand Austrian prisoners, killed and wounded six thousand, and had taken sixty pieces of cannon, and twenty-four standards; and the day after the arrival of this news, the following letter was written to me by Mr. Delacroix:—

LIBERTY. EQUALITY.

Paris, the 6th Pluviose, 6th Year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs to Mr. Pinckney, Anglo-American.

THE Executive Directory has charged me to make known to you, that not having obtained special permission to reside at Paris, you are amenable to the law which obliges foreigners to quit the territory of the republic. I had the honour of informing you, near two months ago, by the principal secretary of my department, of the intentions

intentions of the government in this respect; I cannot dispense with notifying you of them to-day.

Receive, Sir, the assurances of my perfect consideration.

(Signed) CH. DELACROIX.

To which I returned the following answer:

"*To the Minister of Exterior Relations.*

"Citizen Minister, *Paris, 7th Pluviose*, 1797.

"I DID not receive, until three o'clock to-day, your note in date of the 6th instant, informing me that the Directory had charged you to acquaint me, that not having obtained particular permission to reside at Paris, I was subject to the law which obliged strangers to quit the territories of the republic. I intimated to you some time since, by the secretary-general of your department, and by Major Rutledge, my secretary, that I deemed a notification of this sort, in writing, from you, necessary previous to my departure. Having now received it, I shall without delay prepare to go; and, in the mean while, will be obliged to you for the necessary passports for myself and family, with our baggage, to quit the republic in my way to Holland. Accept, Citizen Minister, the assurances of my perfect consideration.

(Signed) "CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY."

I should have made some observation on being termed Anglo-American, but on inquiry I found it was customary to call all my countrymen so, to distinguish us from the inhabitants of St. Domingo, and the other French West India islands. I have received my passports, and shall in two days set out for Amsterdam. I know not what has occasioned this determination in the Directory, after having permitted me to remain here so long a time from their refusal to acknowledge me. You will judge whether the answer of the Senate and the House of Representatives to the President's speech, and the late successes in Italy, have not concurred to occasion it. Mr. Delacroix assured Major Rutledge, that he acted by the express orders of the Directory in this particular, and not from himself.

Your letter of the 26th of November, with the duplicate of your letter of the 5th of the same month (the original of which has not reached me), I received the 29th ultimo, and am happy to find that Mr. Adet's disorganizing manœuvres have been treated by my countrymen in the manner they deserved, and that his attempt to divide has tended to unite them. I most ardently wish that we would banish all party distinctions and foreign influence; and think and act only as Americans. For all parties in this country unite in thinking, that we ought to act as if we were altogether

altogether their dependents, and indebted to them ſolely, and not to our own exertions, for our liberty and independence. Hence our treaty with Great Britain is generally execrated, and our having any kind of commercial connexion with that country, even if the treaty had not been made, would, I believe, have been diſliked. They wiſh to deſtroy the trade of Great Britain, and they look upon us as one of her beſt cuſtomers, and to obtain their object they care not what we ſuffer. I ſhall write to you again as ſoon as I arrive at Amſterdam. Pleaſe to direct to me under cover to our bankers there—and be aſſured I am, with great reſpect and eſteem, my dear Sir,

Your moſt obedient humble ſervant,

CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY.

Colonel Pickering, Secretary of the United States.

Meſſage received by the Houſe of Repreſentatives from the Preſident, on the 12th of June, 1797.

Gentlemen of the Senate, and Gentlemen of the Houſe of Repreſentatives,

I HAVE received information from the commiſſioners appointed on the part of the United States, purſuant to the third article of our treaty with Spain, that the running and marking of the boundary line, between the colonies of Eaſt and Weſt Florida, and the territory of the United States, have been delayed by the officers of his Catholic Majeſty, and that they have declared their intention to maintain his juriſdiction, and to ſuſpend the withdrawing of his troops from military poſts they occupy within the territory of the United States, until the two governments ſhall by negotiation have ſettled the meaning of the ſecond article reſpecting the withdrawing of the troops, garriſons, or ſettlements of either party, in the territory of the other; that is, whether when the Spaniſh garriſons withdraw, they are to leave the works ſtanding, or to demoliſh them; and, until by an additional article to the treaty, the real property of the inhabitants ſhall be ſecured, and likewiſe until the Spaniſh officers are ſure the Indians will be pacific. The two firſt queſtions, if to be determined by negotiation, might be made ſubjects of diſcuſſion for years; and as no limitation of time can be preſcribed to the other, a certainty in the opinion of the Spaniſh officers that the Indians will be pacific, it will be impoſſible to ſuffer it to remain an obſtacle to the fulfilment of the treaty on the part of Spain.

To remove the firſt difficulty, I have determined to leave it to the diſcretion of the officers of his Catholic Majeſty, when they withdraw his troops from the forts within the territory of the United States, either to leave the works ſtanding, or to demoliſh them;

them; and to remove the ſecond, I ſhall cauſe an aſſurance to be publiſhed, and to be particularly communicated to the miniſter of his Catholic Majeſty, and to the governor of *Louiſiana*, that the ſettlers or occupants of the lands in queſtion, ſhall not be diſturbed in their poſſeſſions by the troops of the United States, but, on the contrary, that they ſhall be protected in all their lawful claims: and to prevent or remove every doubt on this point, it merits the conſideration of Congreſs, whether it will not be expedient immediately to paſs a law, giving poſitive aſſurance to thoſe inhabitants, who by fair and regular grants, or by occupancy, have obtained legal titles, or equitable claims to lands in that country, prior to the final ratification of the treaty between the United States and Spain, on the 25th of April, 1796.

This country is rendered peculiarly valuable by its inhabitants, who are repreſented to amount to nearly four thouſand, generally well affected, and much attached to the United States, and zealous for the eſtabliſhment of a government under their authority.

I therefore recommend to your conſideration, the expediency of creating a government in the diſtrict of the Natches, ſimilar to that eſtabliſhed for the territory north-weſt of the river Ohio, but with certain modifications, relative to titles in claims of land, whether of individuals or companies, or to claims of juriſdiction of any individual ſtate. JOHN ADAMS.

United States, June 12, 1797.

Meſſage from the Preſident of the United States to Congreſs.

Gentlemen of the Senate, and Gentlemen
of the Houſe of Repreſentatives,

THE whole of the intelligence which has for ſome time been received from abroad, the correſpondence between this government and the miniſters of the belligerent powers reſiding here, and the advices from the officers of the United States, civil and military, upon the frontiers, all conſpire to ſhow, in a very ſtrong light, the critical ſituation of our country. That Congreſs might be enabled to form a more perfect judgment of it, and of the meaſures neceſſary to be taken, I have directed the proper officers to prepare ſuch collections of extracts from the public correſpondence, as might afford the cleareſt information. The reports made to me from the ſecretary of ſtate, and the ſecretary at war, with a collection of documents from each of them, are now communicated to both houſes of Congreſs. I have deſired that the meſſage, reports, and documents, may be conſidered as confidential, merely that the members of both houſes of Congreſs may be appriſed of their contents before they ſhould be

made

made public. As ſoon as the Houſes ſhall have heard them, I ſhall ſubmit to their diſcretion the publication of the whole, or any ſuch parts of them as they ſhall judge neceſſary or expedient for the public good. JOHN ADAMS.

United States, July 3, 1797.

Report of the Committee of the Senate (to the Senate, on the 6th July, 1797), to whom was referred a Letter from W. Blount, Eſq. one of the Senators from the State of Tenneſſee.*

THAT Mr. Blount having declined an acknowledgment or denial of the letter imputed to him, and having failed to appear to give any ſatisfactory explanation reſpecting it, your committee ſent for the original letter, which accompanies this report.

Two

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* The following is a Copy of the Letter.

Dear Carey, *Col. King's Iron-works, April 21.*

I WISHED to have ſeen you before I returned to Philadelphia, but I am obliged to return to the ſeſſion of Congreſs, which commences on the 15th of May.

Among other things that I wiſhed to have ſeen you about, was the buſineſs of Captain Chiſholm, mentioned to the Britiſh miniſter, laſt winter, at Philadelphia.

I believe, but am not quite ſure, that the plan then talked of will be attempted this fall; and if it is attempted, it will be in a much larger way than then talked of: and if the Indians act their part, I have no doubt but it will ſucceed. A man of conſequence has gone to England about the buſineſs, and, if he makes arrangements as he expects, I ſhall myſelf have a hand in the buſineſs, and probably ſhall be at the head of the buſineſs on the part of the Britiſh.

You are, however, to underſtand, that it is not yet quite certain that the plan will be attempted; yet you will do well to keep things in a train for action in caſe it ſhould be attempted; and to do ſo will require all your management. I ſay, will require all your management, becauſe you muſt take care, in whatever you ſay to Rogers, or any body elſe, not to let the plan be diſcovered by Hawkins, Dinſmoor, Dyers, or any other perſon in the intereſt of the United States or Spain.

If I attempt this plan, I ſhall endeavour to have you and all my Indian country and Indian friends with me; but you are now in good buſineſs I hope, and you are not to riſk the loſs of it by ſaying any thing that will hurt you, until you again hear from me. Where Captain Chiſholm is I do not know; I left him in Philadelphia in March, and he frequently viſited the miniſter, and ſpoke upon the ſubject; but I believe he will go into the Creek nation, by way of South Carolina or Georgia. He gave out that he was going to England, but I did not believe him. Among other things that you may ſafely do, will be to keep up my conſequence with Watts, and the Creeks and Cherokees generally; and you muſt by no means ſay any thing in favour of Hawkins; but, as often as you can with ſafety to yourſelf, you may teach the Creeks to believe that he is no better than he ſhould be. Any power or conſequence he gets will be againſt our plan.

Perhaps

Two ſenators, now preſent in the Senate, have declared to the committee, that they are well acquainted with the hand-writing of Mr. Blount, and have no doubt that this letter was written by him. Your committee have examined many letters from Mr. Blount to the ſecretary of war, a number of which are herewith ſubmitted, as well as the letter addreſſed by Mr. Blount to Mr. Cocke, his colleague in the Senate, and to this committee, reſpecting the buſineſs now under conſideration; and find them all to be of the ſame hand-writing with the letter in queſtion. Mr. Blount has never denied this letter, but on the other hand, when the copy tranſmitted to the Senate, was read in his preſence on the 3d inſt. he acknowledged, in his place, that he had written a letter to Carey, of which he had preſerved a copy, but could not then decide whether the copy read was a true one. Your committee are, therefore, fully perſuaded that the original letter now produced, was written and ſent to Carey by Mr. Blount. They alſo find that this man, Carey, to whom it was addreſſed, is, to-

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Perhaps Rogers, who has no office to loſe, is the beſt man to give out talks againſt Hawkins. Read the letter to Rogers, and, if you think it beſt to ſend it to him, put a wafer in it, and forward it to him by a ſafe hand; or, perhaps, you had better ſend for him to come to you, and ſpeak to him yourſelf reſpecting the ſtate and proſpect of things.

I have adviſed you, in whatever you do, to take care of yourſelf. I have now to tell you to take care of me; for a diſcovery of the plan would prevent the ſucceſs, and much injure all the parties concerned. It may be that the commiſſioners may not run the line as the Indians expect or wiſh; and in that caſe, it is probable that the Indians may be taught to blame me for making the treaty.

To ſuch complaints againſt me, if ſuch there are, it may be ſaid by my friends, at proper times and places, that Doublehead confirmed the treaty with the Preſident at Philadelphia, and received as much as 5000 dollars a-year, to be paid to the nation, over and above the firſt price; indeed it may with truth be ſaid, that though I made the treaty, I made it by the inſtructions of the Preſident; and in fact it may with truth be ſaid, that I was by the Preſident inſtructed to purchaſe much more land than the Indians would agree to ſell.

This ſort of talk will be throwing all the blame off me upon the late Preſident; and as he is now out of office, it will be of no conſequence how much the Indians blame him. And among other things that may be ſaid for me is, that I was not at the running of the line, and that if I had been, it would have been run more to their ſatisfaction. In ſhort, you underſtand the ſubject, and muſt take care to give out the proper talks to keep up my conſequence with the Creeks and Cherokees. Can't Rogers continue to get the Creeks to deſire the Preſident to take Hawkins out of the nation? For if he ſtays in the Creek nation, and gets the good-will of the nation, he can and will do great injury to our plan.

When you have read this letter over three times, then burn it. I ſhall be at Knoxville in July or Auguſt, when I will ſend for Watts, and give him the whiſkey I promiſed him.

I am, &c.

WILLIAM BLOUNT.

the knowledge of Mr. Blount, in the pay and employment of the United States, as their interpreter to the Cherokee nation of Indians, and an assistant in the public factory at Tellico Block-house: that Hawkins, who is so often mentioned in this letter as a person who must be brought into suspicion among the Creeks, and if possible driven from his station, is the superintendant of Indian affairs for the United States among the Southern Indians; Dinsmore is agent for the United States in the Cherokee nation; and Byers, one of the agents in the public factory at Tellico Block-house.

The plan hinted at in this extraordinary letter, to be executed under the auspices of the British, is so capable of different constructions and conjectures, that your committee *at present forbear* giving any decided opinion respecting it; except that to Mr. Blount's own mind it appeared to be inconsistent with the interests of the United States and of Spain, and he was therefore anxious to conceal it from both. But when they considered his attempt to seduce Carey from his duty as a faithful interpreter, and to employ him as an engine to alienate the affection and confidence of the Indians from the public officers of the United States residing among them; the measures he has proposed to excite a temper which must produce the recall or expulsion of our superintendant from the Creek nation, his insidious advice tending to the advancement of his own popularity and consequence at the expense and hazard of the good opinion which the Indians entertain of this government, and of the treaties subsisting between us and them; your committee have no doubt that Mr. Blount's conduct has been inconsistent with his public duty, renders him unworthy of a further continuance of his present public trust in this body, and amounts to a high misdemeanor.—They therefore unanimously recommend to the Senate an adoption of the following resolution:

Resolved, That William Blount, Esquire, one of the senators of the United States, hath been guilty of a high misdemeanor, entirely inconsistent with his public trust and duty as a senator of the United States.

ON Friday, July 7, the following message was received by the Senate from the House of Representatives.

"Mr. President,

"I AM commanded by the House of Representatives, in their name, and in the name of the people of the United States, at the bar of your House, to impeach William Blount, a member of the Senate, and to inform you, that they will exhibit in due time, articles of impeachment against him, and make good the same. I am also commanded to demand that the said William Blount be

sequestered

ſequeſtered from his ſeat in the Senate, and that order be taken for his appearance to anſwer the charges which they ſhall bring againſt him."

On Saturday, July 8, a motion was put and carried for the expulſion of Mr. Blount.

Authentic Documents, laid before Congreſs by the Preſident of the United States.

Note from the Britiſh Miniſter.

R. LISTON preſents his reſpects to Colonel Pickering, ſecretary of ſtate.

When you firſt mentioned to me the ſuſpicions expreſſed by the Spaniſh miniſter reſpecting an expedition ſuppoſed to be preparing on the Lakes, with a view to attack the Spaniſh poſts in Louiſiana, I took the liberty of obſerving to you, that I had no knowledge of any ſuch preparations, and did not believe they exiſted.

I have ſince requeſted information on the ſubject from the governor-general of Canada and his Majeſty's ſecretary of ſtate; and I have authority to aſſure you, that no expedition of the nature of that alluded to, has been or is intended by the Britiſh government. Indeed the impropriety of violating the neutral territory of the United States, is an objection of ſufficient magnitude to induce the King's miniſters to reject any ſuch plan, were it ſuggeſted to them.

Philadelphia, June 19, 1797.

Note from the Secretary of State to Mr. Liſton.

Sir, *Department of State, Philadelphia, July* 1, 1797.

YOUR note of the 19th of the laſt month, alluding to the ſuſpicions expreſſed by the Spaniſh miniſter, reſpecting an expedition ſuggeſted to be preparing at the Lakes, againſt the Spaniſh poſts in Louiſiana, I laid before the Preſident of the United States, who received great ſatisfaction from your aſſurance that no ſuch expedition has been or is intended by the Britiſh government.

Will you permit me to inquire whether you can give any information concerning any other project of an expedition againſt any part of the dominions of Spain adjacent to the territory of the United States, where or from whence any co-operation was contemplated? I am aware of the delicacy of this inquiry; but the frankneſs of our verbal anſwer formerly relating to the alleged expe-

expedition from Canada, and the aſſurances in your note above mentioned, lead me to hope that you will not deem the preſent inquiry improper; and the proofs you have uniformly given of reſpect to the rights and intereſts of the United States, authorize the further hope, that you will feel yourſelf at liberty to communicate any information you poſſeſs, which on this occaſion may concern their tranquillity and welfare; and I beg you to be aſſured that it is on this ground only that I would make the inquiry. I will add, however, that it is not the reſult of ſuſpicion, but of information (in which your name is introduced), that ſome project of the kind has been contemplated, and that the means propoſed for carrying it into execution could not but be highly detrimental to the United States.

I have the honour to be, with great reſpect, Sir,

Your moſt obedient ſervant,

TIMOTHY PICKERING.

Robert Liſton, Eſq. Envoy Extraordinary and Miniſter Plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majeſty to the United States.

Reply of Mr. Liſton.

R. LISTON preſents his reſpects to Colonel Pickering, ſecretary of ſtate.

I have had the honour of receiving your letter of yeſterday.

In the courſe of laſt winter, ſome perſons did actually propoſe to me a plan for an attack on the Floridas, and the other poſſeſſions of his Catholic Majeſty adjoining to the territories of the United States.

The general outline of the project was, that the expedition ſhould be undertaken by a Britiſh force ſent by ſea, and ſeconded by a number of men reſident within the limits of the United States; who, I was aſſured, would be willing to join the King's ſtandard, if it were erected on the Spaniſh territory.

I informed the projectors that I could not give any encouragement to a plan of this nature; and I particularly ſtated two objections to it, the impropriety of any meaſure that tended to a violation of the neutrality of the United States, and the inhumanity of calling in the aid of the Indians, a circumſtance hinted at in the converſation that had taken place on the ſubject.

I conceived it to be my duty, however, to mention the buſineſs in my correſpondence with my ſuperiors; and I lately received an anſwer, acquainting me that his Majeſty's miniſters did not think proper to give any countenance to the project. The two objections above alluded to (which I had of courſe inſiſted on in my report), are ſtated as ſufficient reaſons for its rejection.

You

You muſt allow me, Sir, to decline entering into any further particulars: on the one hand, becauſe, although I have all along ſuſpected that the perſons, who propoſed the plan to me, might not improbably be employed by the enemies of Great Britain, to endeavour with ſiniſter views to inſinuate themſelves into my confidence, yet as theſe my ſurmiſes may be falſe, I ſhould not be juſtified in betraying the ſecrets of men, who may have meant me well; and on the other hand, becauſe, however looſe the principles of theſe ſpeculators may have been on the ſubject of the law of nations (as it regards the duties of neutrality), none of them, in their intercourſe with me, ever expreſſed ſentiments that were in any degree hoſtile to the intereſts of the United States.

Philadelphia, July 2.

PARLIA-

PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS.

BRITISH PARLIAMENT.

Meſſage from the King to the Houſe of Lords, on Monday, February 27.

GEORGE R.

HIS Majeſty thinks it proper to communicate to the Houſe of Lords, without delay, the meaſure adopted to obviate the effects which might be occaſioned by the unuſual demand of ſpecie lately made from different parts of the country on the metropolis.

The peculiar nature and exigency of the caſe appeared to require, in the firſt inſtance, the meaſure contained in the order of council, which his Majeſty has directed to be laid before the Houſe. In recommending this important ſubject to the immediate and ſerious attention of the Houſe of Lords, his Majeſty relies with the utmoſt confidence on the experienced wiſdom and firmneſs of his Parliament for taking ſuch meaſures as may be beſt calculated to meet any temporary preſſure, and to call forth, in the moſt effectual manner, the extenſive reſources of his kingdoms in ſupport of their public and commercial credit, and in defence of their deareſt intereſts. G. R.

A SIMILAR meſſage was preſented to the Houſe of Commons.—On the 28th February Mr. Pitt moved,

"That an humble addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, to return thanks for his gracious communication, and to aſſure him that the Houſe would proceed, without delay, to the deliberation of the ſubject mentioned in the meſſage; and that his Majeſty might rely on the earneſt deſire of the Houſe to adopt ſuch meaſures as were beſt calculated to maintain confidence in the government at this juncture."

The above motion was carried.

A ſimilar motion was made in the Houſe of Lords, and carried.

IN the Houſe of Lords, on the 27th February, the Duke of Norfolk made the following motion, which was negatived by a majority of 29:

"That

"That an humble addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, humbly ſoliciting his Majeſty, that no further exportation of gold or ſilver in coin, or of gold or ſilver in bullion, ſhould take place for the uſe of the Emperor, or any other foreign power, until the ſenſe of Parliament ſhall have been taken on the ſubject, after a full view of the cauſes of the public exigencies, on which his Majeſty has been this day adviſed to iſſue a moſt extraordinary and illegal order of council."

IN the Houſe of Commons, on the ſame day, Mr. Sheridan moved,

"That it is the opinion of this Houſe, that no further exportation of ſpecie or gold ſhould take place for the uſe of the Emperor, or any other foreign power, until the ſenſe of Parliament ſhall have been taken on the ſubject, upon a full review of the cauſes of the preſent exigencies of the public."

Mr. Pitt moved the order of the day upon Mr. Sheridan's motion, and it was carried by a majority of 163.

IN the Houſe of Commons, on Friday, 3d March, Mr. Whitbread moved,

"That it be referred to a committee, to inquire into the conduct of miniſters, with reſpect to the late attempt of the French in the invaſion of Ireland."

The previous queſtion was moved by Mr. Dundas on the above motion, and carried by a majority of 139.

IN the Houſe of Lords, on the 16th February, the Earl of Albemarle moved,

"That an inquiry be inſtituted into the naval defence of Ireland, during the late attempt at an invaſion thereof."

The above motion was negatived by a majority of 79.

IN the Houſe of Lords, on the 21ſt March, the Earl of Moira moved,

"That an humble addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, imploring him to uſe his ſalutary and beneficent interference with the adminiſtration in Ireland, to allay the unhappy diſcontents which at preſent prevail in that country."

The above motion was negatived by a majority of 71.

IN

IN the Houſe of Lords, on the 23d of March, the Earl of Oxford moved,

" That an humble addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, humbly to repreſent to his Majeſty, that in the preſent moſt critical and alarming ſituation of the country, this Houſe holds it to be its bounden duty to apprize his Majeſty of his own danger, and the ruin and confuſion which threaten the whole nation.

" That the ſhock which has been lately given to public credit, muſt, from the peculiar nature of our commercial ſyſtem, deprive us of thoſe means whereby we were enabled to hold ſo high a rank among the nations of the world; unleſs the country is ſpeedily relieved from its preſent enormous expenditure, and its future proſperity inſured by an immediate, ſincere, and laſting peace.

" That this Houſe begs leave humbly to repreſent to his Majeſty, that upon a conſiderate and impartial review of the whole of the late negotiation, this Houſe ſees with concern, that *that* negotiation was broken off by the conduct and demands of his Majeſty's miniſters, and not by a want of diſpoſition for peace on the part of France.

" That in anſwer to the impolitic note delivered by Mr. Wickham, the Executive Directory declare, that, 'yielding to the ardent deſire by which it is animated, to procure peace for the French republic, and for all nations, it will not fear to declare itſelf openly. Charged by the conſtitution with the execution of the laws, it cannot make, or liſten to any propoſal that would be contrary to them. The conſtitutional act does not permit it to conſent to any alienation of that, which, according to the exiſting laws, conſtitutes the territory of the republic.'

" That it is impoſſible his Majeſty's miniſters could have miſunderſtood this declaration, for in the note ſigned Downing-ſtreet, there are theſe words: 'To a demand ſuch as this, is added an expreſs declaration, that no propoſal contrary to it will be made, or even liſtened to.' That ſix months after this, his Majeſty's miniſters again made overtures of peace, but in ſo ungenerous a manner, that doubts might have been reaſonably entertained of their ſincerity; and after a variety of trifling diſputes unworthy a great nation, when the happineſs of millions was depending, his Majeſty's miniſters demanded, and made as their *ſine qua non*, thoſe very terms, which, before they began the negotiation, they knew would not be made, or even liſtened to.

" That under theſe circumſtances, this Houſe humbly and moſt earneſtly entreats his Majeſty to enter into an immediate negotiation, upon ſuch terms as France is likely to liſten and accede to, and in ſuch manner, and through the medium of ſuch men, as ſhall leave no room to doubt the pacific intentions of his Majeſty. And this Houſe begs leave humbly to aſſure his Majeſty, that it enter-

entertains no doubt of the ſucceſs of ſuch a negotiation ; and it feels confident, that after his Majeſty ſhall have been graciouſly pleaſed to reſtore to his ſubjects the bleſſings of peace, ſuch retrenchments and wiſe regulations may be adopted by the legiſlature, as will relieve the people from their burdens, remove every cauſe of complaint of their being unequally repreſented ; reſtore to the people their ancient, venerable, and free conſtitution, and thereby re-eſtabliſh public ſpirit and public confidence, and enſure to his Majeſty the affections of his ſubjects, and the glory, proſperity, and happineſs of his future reign."

THE above motion was negatived by a majority of 54. Againſt the deciſion of the Houſe, the Earl of Oxford made the following

PROTEST.

Diſſentient,

Firſt, Becauſe ſeeing no means of ſalvation for this country but by an immediate, ſincere, and laſting peace, I think the addreſs which I moved March 23, 1797, calculated to produce that happy event, and that a refuſal to carry that addreſs to the throne, tends to a continuation of this cruel war, which I hold to be certain and inevitable ruin.

Secondly, Becauſe a ſecretary of ſtate's moving, that an addreſs to his Majeſty on the 30th of December, 1796, ſhould be read, is a poor, weak, and rude manner (to ſay no worſe of it) of anſwering the arguments advanced in my addreſs.

Thirdly, Becauſe I believe that the arguments advanced by me, have never before been touched upon, even in debates ; and no attempts having been made to anſwer thoſe arguments, the concluſion which the public muſt draw from it is, that they are perfectly unanſwerable.

Fourthly, Becauſe it was my ſincere wiſh that the eyes of his Majeſty ſhould be opened to the dangers with which he is ſurrounded, and that giving peace to his exhauſted ſubjects, and reſtoring to them their rights, ſhould be his own gracious act.

Fifthly, Becauſe I have the higheſt authority for every ſentiment reſpecting the "economy and reform of abuſes," which I recommended, namely, his Majeſty's own words, in that moſt excellent and patriotic ſpeech made at the cloſe of the American war, and which I quoted in my reply.

Sixthly, Becauſe whenever a nation is in the ſituation we are in at preſent, it requires the united energy and public ſpirit of the whole nation, to re-eſtabliſh its credit ; and I am perſuaded that energy and public ſpirit are only to be obtained by the public poſſeſſing their ancient free conſtitution, which they ſo juſtly revere ; and I maintain, that according to common law, which is common

common ſenſe, and according to " the true ſpirit of the conſtitution," which is founded in wiſdom, liberty, and juſtice, the people of Great Britain have a right, and ought to be fairly and equally repreſented in that which, by its very name, is their Houſe of Parliament.

Seventhly, Becauſe I hold the borough ſyſtem, and every other ſyſtem of corruption that has of late years crept into practice, to be directly contrary to the true ſpirit of the conſtitution, and big with the moſt alarming evils to King and people; and that to confer the honour of peerage on men who have no other merit than that of commanding boroughs, and performing miniſterial jobs, degrades that high dignity, and takes away one of the greateſt motives that actuates the human mind, the hope of reward, by making it unworthy the acceptance of thoſe men for whom it was intended, men who have rendered great and diſtinguiſhed ſervices to their country by their valour, their talents, or their learning.

Eighthly, Becauſe I am deſirous of making this public avowal of my principles, which nothing on earth ſhall make me alter, and which I have learnt from the acts and writings of our anceſtors, who loved liberty and underſtood it.

Ninthly, Becauſe I am reſolved, whenever I ſee danger, boldly and independently, to the full extent of my ability, to diſcharge my duty to my King and country.

OXFORD and MORTIMER.

IN the Houſe of Commons, on the 23d March, Mr. Fox moved,

" That an humble addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, to entreat his Majeſty that he will be graciouſly pleaſed to take into his royal conſideration the diſturbed ſtate of Ireland, and to adopt ſuch healing and lenient meaſures as may appear to his Majeſty to be beſt calculated to reſtore tranquillity, and to conciliate the differences that ſubſiſt at preſent in that country."

The above motion was negatived by a majority of 36.

IN the Houſe of Commons, on the 28th March, Colonel Wood moved,

" That an humble addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, beſeeching him to be graciouſly pleaſed to direct his Royal Highneſs the commander in chief, the maſter-general of the ordnance, in conjunction with other able and experienced naval and military officers, on whoſe judgment and abilities his Majeſty moſt relied, to take into their conſideration the preſent ſtate of the defence of the country, and to conſult and determine upon any other meaſures

ſures

ſures of ſecurity, which may appear to them to be *eligible* to adopt, in the preſent ſtate of public affairs."

Mr. Dundas moved the adjournment on the above motion.—The motion of Mr. Dundas was carried.

IN the Houſe of Commons, on the 4th of April, Mr. Sheridan moved,

" That the Houſe reſolve itſelf into a committee of the whole Houſe, to inquire whether it is conſiſtent with a due regard to the eſſential intereſts of the country, that, under the preſent circumſtances, any farther advances ſhould be made to his Imperial Majeſty."

The above motion was negatived by a majority of 179.

IN the Houſe of Commons, on the 10th April, Mr. Potter moved,

" That an humble addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, ſtating, that it appears from the circumſtances which have attended the late negotiation for peace, that the gracious and benign intention of reſtoring peace, manifeſted by his Majeſty, has been miſconceived by the French government. We therefore humbly hope, that his Majeſty will be graciouſly pleaſed to adopt ſuch meaſures as may be deemed moſt effectual for convincing the French nation, and all Europe, of the real motives by which the government of this country was actuated in the late negotiation."

The order of the day upon the above motion was moved by Mr. Addington, and carried by a majority of 206.

On Saturday, April 29, *the following Meſſage was delivered to the Houſe of Commons from his Majeſty.*

HIS Majeſty recommends it to the Houſe of Commons to conſider of enabling his Majeſty to make remittances, from time to time, to be applied to his ſervices in Ireland, in ſuch manner as ſhall be approved by the Parliament of that kingdom, to an amount not exceeding one million five hundred thouſand pounds, on proviſion being made by the Parliament of Ireland for diſcharging the intereſt and charges of a loan to that amount.

And his Majeſty further recommends to the Houſe to conſider of guaranteeing a loan on account of his ally the Emperor, to be applied in making good the advances, to the amount of one million ſix hundred thouſand pounds, which have already been made to his Imperial Majeſty; and to defray the charge of ſuch further advances, as his Majeſty may, from time to time, direct to be made

made in the courſe of the preſent year, to an amount not exceeding two millions ſterling.

His Majeſty truſts that he ſhall experience the ready concurrence of his faithful Commons at this important conjuncture, in a meaſure calculated to enable the Emperor more effectually to continue his exertions for the ſupport of the common cauſe, and for the attainment of a general peace on ſecure and equitable terms.

And his Majeſty relies on their zeal and affection to provide for enabling his Majeſty to defray ſuch other extraordinary expenſes as may be neceſſary for the public ſervice, and to take ſuch meaſures as the exigency of affairs may require.

[A ſimilar meſſage was ſent to the Houſe of Lords.]

ON the 1ſt May, Mr. Pitt in a committee of ſupply moved in addition to the above addreſs,

"That his Majeſty ſhould be enabled from time to time to advance money to the Emperor, as with what already granted, would make up three millions and a half." He then moved the firſt reſolution for granting to his Majeſty for the ſervice of Ireland, the ſum mentioned in his Majeſty's meſſage; after which he moved, that a ſum not exceeding one million eight hundred and eighty thouſand pounds be granted to his Majeſty to enable his Majeſty to make advances to our ally the Emperor, at ſuch times and in ſuch manner as to his Majeſty ſhould ſeem expedient.

Mr. Fox moved, in oppoſition to the above motion, that the chairman of the committee ſhould report progreſs, and aſk leave to ſit again. This motion was negatived by a majority of 143.

IN the Houſe of Lords, on the 15th May, 1797, the Duke of Bedford moved the following reſolutions:

1. "That it appears to this Houſe, that ſubſequent to the month of June, 1795, and during the year 1796, a great diminution was experienced in the ſpecie of the Bank of England.

2. "That the governor and deputy governor of the Bank did, at various times, repreſent to the Chancellor of the Exchequer the danger of the Bank, from the diminution of its ſpecie, particularly at the following periods:—

11th December, 1794,
10th October, 1795,
23d October, 1795,
18th November, 1795,
3d December, 1795,

15th and 16th January, 1796,
28th January, 1796,
5th and 8th February, 1796,
11th February, 1796,
8th, 10th, and 21ſt February, 1797.

3. " That it appears that during theſe periods the directors of the Bank frequently remonſtrated with the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the magnitude of their advances to government, anxiouſly requiring payment, or a conſiderable reduction of the ſame; but that neverthelefs the Chancellor of the Exchequer not only neglected to comply with the object of thoſe remonſtrances, but uſually, under pretence of the neceſſity of the public ſervice, renewed his demands for further aid; and that under the exigency of the caſe, as ſtated to them by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the directors of the Bank were, from time to time, induced to conſent to further accommodation.

4. " That it appears that the Chancellor of the Exchequer frequently ſolicited ſuch further accommodation in the moſt anxious and preſſing terms; declaring, that it was impoſſible to avoid the moſt ſerious embarraſſments to the public ſervice, unleſs the Bank directors afforded the aſſiſtance he required.

5. " That it appears that although by theſe means the directors of the Bank were induced to comply with his demands, they generally expreſſed their reluctance in ſtrong language; and that they at laſt, that is to ſay, on the 28th of July, 1796, thought it neceſſary for their own juſtification, to requeſt the Chancellor of the Exchequer to lay before his Majeſty's cabinet their moſt ſerious and ſolemn remonſtrance, in which they declare, that, ' ſenſible of the alarming and dangerous ſtate of public credit, nothing could induce them to comply with the demand then made upon them, but the dread that this refuſal might be productive of a greater evil.'

6. " That it appears that during the above period, a conſiderable portion of the Bank advances was occaſioned by payments of bills of exchange, drawn on the Treaſury from abroad.

7. " That it appears that it had ſeldom been the cuſtom of the Bank of England to advance on the account of ſuch bills more than from 20,000*l.* to 30,000*l.* and that even during the American war, ſuch bills never exceeded at any one time the ſum of 150,000*l.* the wiſdom of our anceſtors having foreſeen and provided againſt the miſchief of ſimilar advances, by a clauſe in an act paſſed in the 5th year of William and Mary, by which the governor and company of the Bank of England were reſtrained from advancing any ſums of money, other than on ſuch funds, on which a credit is granted by Parliament.

8. " That it appears that from and after the year 1793, at which

which time an act of Parliament passed, containing a clause by which the directors of the Bank are indemnified for the advances they had made on bills drawn from abroad, and exempted in future from the penalties of the said act of William and Mary respecting such advances to Government, the amount of Treasury bills paid at the Bank continued progressively to increase, and that between the 1st of January, 1795, and the 25th of February, 1797, sums to the amount of upwards of 15,000,000*l.* were at different periods advanced to Government upon this head.

9. "That it appears that the directors of the Bank did at various times, during the years 1795, 1796, and 1797, apply to the Chancellor of the Exchequer for repayment of such advances, and represent to him the ruinous consequences to themselves and to the public, of continuing the system of making Treasury bills payable at the Bank: and that they even declared they conceived it to be 'an unconstitutional mode of raising money, and what they were not warranted by their charter to consent to.'

10. "That it appears that the Chancellor of the Exchequer did, at various times in that period, undertake to reduce the advances on that head within the sum of 500,000*l.* and likewise so to arrange his payments, as to put an end to the account; but that nevertheless the said promises never were kept by him, and that the advances on Treasury bills, on the 28th of February, 1797, amounted to 1,619,049*l.*

11. "That it appears to this House, that foreign remittances to a much larger amount than ever were known in the most expensive wars in which this country has been involved, have taken place since the year 1793.

12. "That the extent of such remittances occasioned at so early a period as the end of the year 1794, and the beginning of the year 1795, great alarm in the minds of the directors, which they at various periods communicated to the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and that on the 3d of December, 1795, the court of directors, under the apprehension that it was intended to grant a further loan to the Emperor, came to a resolution, by which they declared their unanimous opinion, that should such a loan take place, it would be most fatal in its consequences to the Bank of England. 'That they communicated such resolution to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who assured them he should lay aside all thoughts of it, unless the situation of things relative to the Bank should so alter as to render such a loan of no importance or inconvenience to them.'

13. "That on the 5th of February, 1796, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, after stating, in conversation with the governor and deputations from the Bank of England, his opinion of the necessity of further assisting the Emperor, promised to take no

 step

ſtep in that buſineſs, without previouſly communicating to them his intention.

14. " That on the 11th of February, 1796, the directors of the Bank paſſed, unanimouſly, the following reſolution:

' Reſolved, That it is the opinion of this court, founded upon the experience of the effects of the late Imperial loan, that if any further loan, or advance of money to the Emperor, or to any other foreign ſtate, ſhould, in the preſent ſtate of affairs, take place, it will, in all probability, prove fatal to the Bank of England.

' The court of directors, therefore, do moſt earneſtly deprecate the adoption of any ſuch meaſure, and they ſolemnly proteſt againſt any reſponſibility for the calamitous conſequences that may follow thereupon.'

" To which reſolution, when communicated to him, the Chancellor of the Exchequer returned for anſwer, ' That, after the repeated intimations which he had given to the governor, &c. of the Bank, that no further loan to the Emperor would be reſolved on without previous communication with the Bank, he did not ſee any reaſon for theſe reſolutions, that he did ſuppoſe they were adopted in a moment of alarm, and that he ſhould conſider them in that light.'

15. " That both from the general tenour of the ſaid anſwer, and from its particular reference to the ſubſtance and matter of the reſolution then communicated to him, he gave the governor, &c. of the Bank to underſtand that he was bound by promiſe to them, to negotiate no loan for the ſervice of his Imperial Majeſty, nor to make any remittance either to his ſaid Imperial Majeſty or any foreign prince, under any pretences whatever, without previouſly communicating ſuch his intention to the Bank of England: that the directors ſo underſtood him, and that, impreſſed with that belief, they abſtained from making any farther remonſtrance on this ſubject.

16. " That, neverthelefs, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, for ſome time prior to February 11, 1796, clandeſtinely remitted, and did, for ſeveral months ſubſequent, clandeſtinely remit, to his ſaid Imperial Majeſty, and other foreign princes, large ſums of money, in defiance of his repeated promiſes, and in violation of his ſolemn engagement with the Bank of England, and conſequent upon their reſolution of the 11th of February.

17. " That it appears, that if the ſaid advances of the Bank to Government had been paid off when required, or conſiderably reduced, the Bank would have been enabled to reduce, if expedient, the amount of its outſtanding notes; and that ſuch option would have been of eſſential ſervice to its intereſts.

18.

18. "That it appears, from the evidence of the governor and deputy governor of the Bank, that if the ſaid advances had been paid off when required, or conſiderably reduced, the Bank would have been enabled to give more extended aid to the mercantile intereſt of Great Britain, in the way of diſcount.

19. "That it appears, that if the advances on the Treaſury bills had been paid off when required, and as the Chancellor of the Exchequer had promiſed; and the foreign remittances abſtained from, as the Chancellor of the Exchequer had likewiſe promiſed; there would have exiſted no neceſſity for ſuſpending the due and ordinary courſe of the Bank payments in caſh.

20. "That it appears to this Houſe, upon an attentive examination of the evidence reported by the ſecret committee, upon a minute peruſal of the correſpondence between the governor and directors of the Bank of England and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, during the years 1795, 1796, and 1797; and after a thorough review of the whole circumſtances of the caſe, that the neglect of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in diſcharging, or ſufficiently diminiſhing, the amount of the ſums advanced to Government by the Bank of England; his perſeverance in directing Treaſury bills of exchange to an amount unexampled to be paid at the Bank; his frequent promiſes, and conſtant breach of thoſe promiſes, to reduce their amount within the ſum of 500,000*l.*; and the enormous amount of his remittances to foreign princes, in loans and ſubſidies; were the principal and leading cauſes which produced the neceſſity for ſuſpending the due and ordinary courſe of the Bank payments in caſh."

The Earl of Liverpool moved the previous queſtion, which was carried.

IN the Houſe of Commons, on the 18th May, Mr. St. John moved,

"That an humble addreſs ſhould be preſented to his Majeſty, praying him that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to give directions that the Britiſh troops ſhould be forthwith withdrawn from the iſland of St. Domingo."

The motion was negatived by a majority of 85.

IN the Houſe of Commons, on the 19th May, Mr. Alderman Combe moved,

"That an humble addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, beſeeching him to diſmiſs from his preſence and councils his preſent miniſters, as the moſt likely means to obtain a ſpeedy and permanent peace."

The motion was negatived, by a majority of 183.

IN

IN the House of Lords, on the 30th May, the Duke of Bedford moved—

"That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, to remind his Majesty that his dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords spiritual and temporal in Parliament assembled, have, during this calamitous war, uniformly given every aid and assistance that could contribute to that support which his Majesty has experienced from a brave and loyal people.

"To assure his Majesty, that it is even now with deep regret we approach his throne, to lay before him the grievances under which his people labour; but that a sense of duty compels us to state to his Majesty, that the desertion of all our allies, the triumphs of an enemy we were taught by his servants to despise, the public credit of the country impaired, the coasts of these kingdoms with impunity insulted, the exertions of the British navy suspended, and the melancholy situation into which Ireland has been industriously brought, presents to our view a series of calamity unparalleled in the history of our country.

"Humbly to state to his Majesty, that we cannot attribute this uniform succession of misfortune to accident, or even to the miserable incapacity of his servants. That we must regard it as the effect of a system of government destructive of the exertions, and hostile to the constitution, of our country.

"That we feel it our bounden duty humbly to represent to his Majesty, that, much as we lament the blood that has been spilt, and the burdens that have been imposed on his Majesty's subjects, in maintaining the disastrous contest in which we are engaged; deeply as we deplore the perilous state of his Majesty's kingdoms, we can alone regard these, our present misfortunes, as a prelude to more serious calamities, which we view with horror, but which we look forward to as the sure consequence of persevering in that system of policy which his Majesty's servants have pursued.

"That under these circumstances we beseech his Majesty, by dismissing those ministers from his presence, who have constantly insulted the enemy by their discourse, and encouraged them by their incapacity, to give to his subjects a proof of his anxiety to produce that peace which his people so anxiously desire.

"We entreat his Majesty, by dismissing from his councils those men whose extravagance and want of good faith have impaired the credit of the country, to display his desire of uniting with his subjects in restoring that public credit on which the importance of his kingdom so materially depends.

"We earnestly solicit his Majesty, by dismissing his present servants, to give to the people of Ireland the strongest proof they can receive of his Majesty's disapprobation of that system of treachery by which the present discontents of that country have been fos-

foſtered, and of his Majeſty's intention of ſecuring (if it is yet poſſible) the connexion that ſubſiſts between theſe kingdoms, by extending to men of all deſcriptions in that oppreſſed country the bleſſings of the conſtitution under which they were born.

"Finally, we implore his Majeſty, that by diſmiſſing from his preſence for ever thoſe miniſters whoſe meaſures have impaired the liberties, and whoſe extravagance has injured the fortunes of his ſubjects, he will afford a ſure teſtimony of his gracious intention of co-operating in reſtoring the ſpirit of the Britiſh conſtitution, and of adopting ſuch a ſyſtem of economy and retrenchment as is alone conſiſtent with the proſperity of his exhauſted people."

The motion was negatived, by a majority of 77.—Againſt the deciſion of the Houſe the following Proteſt was entered on the Journals:

Diſſentient,

1ſt. Becauſe, acting according to the ancient practice of the Britiſh conſtitution, and in conformity with its true principles, we hold the adviſers of the crown to be reſponſible for the condition of the ſtate; reſponſible for its internal peace and general good government; for the preſervation of all its ancient fundamental rights and liberties; for the protection of its commerce, of its credit, and the various ſources of its proſperity and wealth; for the obſervance of order, diſcipline, and obedience, in all the departments of the public force; for the honour and ſucceſs of our arms (if unfortunately engaged in war); for the preponderance of the Britiſh power, and for the glory and ſplendour of the Britiſh name. Inſtead of recogniſing in his Majeſty's miniſters that ability, foreſight, and integrity, by which theſe its deareſt intereſts are preſerved, we have ſeen, throughout a courſe of years, the affairs of the nation conducted with that incapacity, perfidy, and corruption, by which all great empires, from the beginning of the world, have found their ruin; and which, in the particular ſtate and ſituation of Great Britain, have nearly exhauſted its reſources and its credit, and annihilated its conſtitution; which have brought ſhame upon its character in the eyes of foreign nations, and diffuſed largely among its ſubjects miſtruſt in the intentions of their governors, hatred of their power, and contempt for their debility.

2d. Becauſe, encouraged by the uniform, implicit, and fatal confidence of this Houſe in the conduct of miniſters, a ſyſtem of government has ariſen, which, if it be further perſevered in, will render the fortunes of theſe realms utterly irretrievable, even ſhould wiſdom and virtue ſucceed in the minds of thoſe miniſters to ignorance and wickedneſs. That ſyſtem is governed by principles the very reverſe of thoſe by which ſtates and ſocieties have

hitherto been kept together. It is grounded on the doctrine, that honour and reward is to attend on crime and folly, and that men are to be entrusted with power in proportion to their disposition to abuse it. Such perverted maxims of policy take from government all the support it derives from opinion. The opinion of its consistency is lost by ministers adopting and rejecting, as it suits the purpose of their power, systems which they alternately recommend and revile. The opinion of its justice is destroyed from seeing that power depends on a principle which confounds the first distinctions of right and wrong. All opinion of its vigour and efficiency is lost in the daily insults to its authority, to which they are compelled to submit. Every species of disorder is hence introduced. The example of those who govern is followed by those who obey. *Nothing regular or orderly is found in the intercourse between subject and sovereign. State necessity, instead of being reserved for occasions of the last emergency, is resorted to as the constant and every day practice of executive administration.* In such a system there is neither order nor freedom; and it is the energy of freedom alone that can resist with effect the zeal or fancied superiority of military means. Where no power is left to correct the vices of an ill administered commonwealth, nothing will remain to oppose to the enterprises of a foreign enemy.

3d. Because to suffer ourselves to be found by a foreign enemy in this distracted condition, when we have the means of avoiding it, seems to us highly impolitic, and wantonly to call down destruction upon the state. We see nothing in the present ministers so valuable as to induce us to risk, for their preservation, any part of the common interest. They have already kindled, by their odious persecution of the Catholics in Ireland, the flames of civil discord in that country. We believe that an immediate change of men and of measures would yet preserve the common ties by which the two countries are united. If, unhappily, measures of intolerance are to be sustained by the sword, and if that oppressed country be torn from the British crown, as America was severed from our empire, rather than that these ministers should incur the loss of their offices, we are unable to see in what Great Britain would be the gainer. If an invasion of these realms should be the result of delaying to open a sincere negotiation for peace, fully as we rely upon the zeal and bravery of our countrymen for the event, we do not conceive that the mischief of such an attempt would in any degree be compensated by finding, at the close of it, those ministers still in their offices. Above all things, we deem it highly inexpedient that any numerous or important class of the people should, in so perilous a moment, conceive themselves to be placed in the alternative between foreign conquest and domestic usurpation. We think that in this crisis no excuse is left for not calling forth the whole wisdom, and all that remains of the energy of the

Britiſh nation; that it is among the crimes of theſe miniſters that they have exhauſted in idle alarms, for factious purpoſes, thoſe reſources which ought to have been preſerved whole and unbroken, to meet the diſaſters which are impending over us; and for having ſet up a cry of loyalty againſt liberty, to the deſtruction of that real ſtrength by which alone our ſhores and our altars can, in the laſt extremity, be defended.

4th. Becauſe ſuch a ſyſtem is dangerous to our preſent ſafety and exiſtence as an independent ſtate; and the ſupport uniformly given to it, tends to degrade and vilify this Houſe in the opinion of the people. For the firſt time in our hiſtory, the continuance of a miniſter in office ſeems to be made a condition of the conſtitution. If that miniſter, after having reduced his country to the loweſt ebb of ſhame and miſery, ſhall continue to receive and to diſpenſe all truſts, honours, and emoluments, and to be ſupported in his abandoned courſes by this Houſe, no motive will remain to love and reverence a conſtitution exhibited in theſe colours to the people, through the medium of this Houſe. Feeling no intereſt in our proceedings, they will loſe all reſpect for our character, and all belief in our honour.

5th. Becauſe we believe the preſent miniſters to be utterly incompetent to the cure of the evils they have produced. As the principles on which they made the war offer no proſpect for its ſucceſs, thoſe on which they have hitherto negotiated for peace, afford no hope for its attainment; as the improvidence and incapacity with which they have conducted the war, have contributed ſo largely to produce the calamitous ſituation of Europe, and to build up the prodigious power of the French republic, we conceive that they poſſeſs not the means of obtaining ſafe or honourable terms of peace for this country. We cannot expect that they will hereafter cheriſh or encourage that ſpirit of liberty under which, in former times, our greatneſs has grown and been matured. We are rather impreſſed with the fear, that, under the ſame pretences which have cauſed all our preſent diſaſters, large military eſtabliſhments will continue to be kept up, with a view of cruſhing all its efforts, and rivetting ſtill cloſer the fetters of the people; that, releaſed from the preſſure of foreign hoſtility, they will have recourſe to coercive meaſures in that unhappy country, where their oppreſſions have already provoked the people to reſiſtance. We can hope for no economy from men whoſe extravagance and waſte exceeds whatever has been heard of the mad prodigality of former periods. We can expect no ſalutary reformations from thoſe who have endeavoured to engraft upon, and blend with the ſubſtance of the conſtitution itſelf, thoſe abuſes by which their rapacity is ſupported. Finally, we can expect from ſuch men and ſuch a ſyſtem, no other iſſue but the eſtabliſhment

of

of a dominion of minifterial terrorifm, fupported by parliamentary corruption, inftead of the antient conftitution of this country conducted according to the principles of the Revolution.

(Signed) BEDFORD.
CHEDWORTH.

The following Meffage from his Majefty was prefented to the Houfe of Commons, on the 1ft June, 1797.

GEORGE R.

IT is with the deepeft concern his Majefty acquaints the Houfe of Commons, that the conduct of the crews of fome of his fhips, now at the Nore, in perfifting in the moft violent and treafonable acts of mutiny and difobedience, notwithftanding the full extenfion to them of all the benefits which had been accepted, with gratitude, by the reft of his Majefty's fleet; and notwithftanding the repeated offers of his Majefty's gracious pardon on their returning to their duty, have compelled his Majefty to call on all his faithful fubjects to give their utmoft affiftance in repreffing fuch dangerous and criminal proceedings. His Majefty has directed a copy of the proclamation, which he has iffued for this purpofe, to be laid before the Houfe; and he cannot doubt that his Parliament will adopt, with readinefs and decifion, every meafure which can tend, at this important conjuncture, to provide for the public fecurity. And his Majefty particularly recommends it to the confideration of Parliament, to make more effectual provifion for the prevention and punifhment of all traitorous attempts to excite fedition and mutiny in his Majefty's naval fervice; or to withdraw any part of his Majefty's forces, by fea or land, from their duty and allegiance to him, and from that obedience and difcipline which are fo important to the profperity and the fafety of the Britifh empire. G. R.

A fimilar meffage was prefented to the Houfe of Lords.

An addrefs of thanks to his Majefty for the above communication was paffed by both Houfes on the 2d June.

The following Meffage to the Houfe of Commons was prefented on the 6th July, 1797.

GEORGE R.

AS the ftate of the public bufinefs may enable his Majefty to put an end in a fhort time to the prefent feffion of Parliament, his Majefty in the mean time recommends it to his faithful Commons to make provifion for any extraordinary expenfes that may be required for the further fervice of the year; and particularly to afford

afford pecuniary aſſiſtance, if neceſſary, to his faithful ally the Queen of Portugal, to enable her Majeſty to repel any attacks that may be made upon her by the common enemy.

A ſimilar meſſage was preſented on the ſame day to the Houſe of Lords.

An addreſs was voted to his Majeſty by both Houſes, thanking him for his moſt gracious communication, and aſſuring his Majeſty, that both Houſes would comply with the contents of the ſame.

Speech of his Majeſty to both Houſes of Parliament on the 20th July, 1797, on proroguing the Parliament.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I CANNOT put an end to this ſeſſion of Parliament without returning you my moſt ſincere and cordial thanks for the aſſiduity and zeal with which you have applied yourſelves to the important objects which have required your attention, and for the wiſdom and firmneſs which you have manifeſted in the new and difficult emergencies for which you have had to provide.

I muſt particularly expreſs the juſt ſenſe I entertain of the ſalutary and effectual proviſions which you have made for ſtrengthening the means of national defence; and the meaſures adopted for obviating the inconveniencies which were to be apprehended to credit, from the temporary ſuſpenſion of payments in caſh by the Bank; as well as of the promptitude, vigour, and effect, with which you afforded me your aſſiſtance and ſupport in ſuppreſſing the daring and treaſonable mutiny which broke out in a part of my fleet; and in counteracting ſo dangerous and pernicious an example.

I have the ſatisfaction to acquaint you, that, ſince the acceſſion of the preſent Emperor of Ruſſia, the commercial engagements between the two countries have been renewed, in ſuch a manner as will, I doubt not, materially conduce to their mutual intereſts.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

I muſt return you my particular thanks for the liberal and extenſive proviſion which you have made for the various exigencies of the public ſervice; and while I lament the neceſſity which increaſed them to ſo large an amount, it is a conſolation to me to obſerve the attention you employed in diſtributing the heavy burdens, which they occaſioned, in ſuch a manner as to render their preſſure as little ſevere as poſſible to my people.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The iſſue of the important negotiation in which I am engaged is

is yet uncertain; but, whatever may be the event, nothing will have been wanting on my part to bring it to a succefsful termination, on such conditions as may be consistent with the security, honour, and essential interests of my dominions. In the mean time, nothing can so much tend to forward the attainment of peace, as the continuance of that zeal, exertion, and public spirit, of which my subjects have given such conspicuous and honourable proofs, and of which the perseverance and firmness of Parliament has afforded them so striking an example.

The Lord Chancellor, by his Majesty's command, then said:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

It is his Majesty's royal will and pleasure, that this Parliament be prorogued to Thursday the 5th day of October next, to be then here holden; and this Parliament is accordingly prorogued to Thursday the 5th day of October next.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech to both Houses of Parliament, on Thursday, the 2d of November, 1797, on the Meeting of Parliament.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

IT is matter of great concern to me, that the earnest endeavours which I have continued to employ, since I last met you in Parliament, to restore to my subjects the blessings of peace, on secure and honourable terms, have unhappily been rendered ineffectual.

The Declaration which I have caused to be published, and the other papers which I have directed to be laid before you, will, I am confident, abundantly prove to you, and to the world, that every step has been taken on my part which could tend to accelerate the conclusion of peace; and that the long delay, and final rupture of the negotiation, are solely to be ascribed to the evasive conduct, the unwarrantable pretensions, and the inordinate ambition of those with whom we have to contend, and, above all, to their inveterate animosity against these kingdoms.

I have the fullest reliance, under the blessing of Providence, on the vigour and wisdom of your counsels, and on the zeal, magnanimity, and courage of a great and free people, sensible that they are contending for their dearest interests, and determined to show themselves worthy of the blessings which they are struggling to preserve.

Compelled as we are, by the most evident necessity, to persevere in the defence of all that is dear to us, till a more just and pacific spirit shall prevail on the part of the enemy, we have the satisfaction of knowing that we possess means and resources proportioned to the objects which are at stake.

During

During the period of hoftilities, and under the unavoidable preffure of accumulated burdens, our revenue has continued highly productive, our national induftry has been extended, and our commerce has furpaffed its former limits.

The public fpirit of my people has been eminently difplayed; my troops, of every defcription, have acquired frefh claims to the efteem and admiration of their country; and the repeated fucceffes of my navy over all our different enemies, have been recently crowned by the fignal and decifive victory, with which Providence has rewarded the exertions of my fleet under the command of Admiral Lord Duncan.

No event could be attended with more important and beneficial confequences, or form a more brilliant addition to the numerous and heroic exploits, which, in the courfe of the prefent war, have raifed to a pitch hitherto unequalled the naval glory of the country.

Gentlemen of the Houfe of Commons,

I have directed the eftimates for the enfuing year to be laid before you. The ftate of the war, joined to the happy confequences of our recent fuccefs, will, I truft, admit of fome diminution of expenfe, confiftently with the vigorous efforts which our fituation indifpenfably requires. In confidering what may be the beft mode of defraying the heavy expenfe, which will ftill be unavoidable, you will, I am perfuaded, bear in mind, that the prefent crifis prefents every motive to animate you to the moft effectual and fpirited exertions; the true value of any temporary facrifices, which you may find neceffary for this purpofe, can only be eftimated by comparing them with the importance of fupporting effectually our public credit, and convincing the enemy, that while we retain an ardent defire for the conclufion of peace, on fafe and honourable terms, we poffefs the means, as well as the determination, to fupport with vigour this arduous conteft, as long as it may be neceffary for maintaining the fafety, honour, and independence of thefe kingdoms.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

After the experience I have had of your loyalty and attachment to me, and of your anxious regard for the interefts of my fubjects, I have only to recommend to you a perfeverance in the fame principles and conduct.

The events of every day muft more and more imprefs you with a juft fenfe of the bleffings which we derive from our civil and religious eftablifhments, and which have fo long diftinguifhed us among all the nations of Europe. Thefe bleffings can only be preferved by inculcating and enforcing a due reverence and obedience to the laws, by repreffing with promptitude every attempt to difturb our

internal

internal tranquillity, and by maintaining inviolate that happy conſtitution which we inherit from our anceſtors, on which the ſecurity and happineſs of every claſs of my ſubjects eſſentially depend.

In the Houſe of Lords the following Addreſs was moved by the Earl of Glaſgow, ſeconded by Lord Gwydir, and carried unanimouſly:

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the Lords ſpiritual and temporal, in Parliament aſſembled, beg leave to return your Majeſty our humble thanks for your Majeſty's moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne; and to expreſs to your Majeſty the juſt ſenſe which we entertain of your Majeſty's paternal anxiety for the welfare of your ſubjects, manifeſted in the earneſt deſire expreſſed by your Majeſty for the reſtoration of peace on ſecure and honourable terms.

We return your Majeſty our humble thanks for the communications which you have directed to be laid before us; and we aſſure your Majeſty that we ſhall proceed, without delay, to the conſideration of thoſe meaſures which the circumſtances of the preſent criſis require; and that, while we participate with your Majeſty in the concern which your Majeſty feels at the failure of your earneſt endeavours to procure for your people the bleſſings of peace, we are fully confident, from the uniform tenour of your Majeſty's conduct, that every ſtep has been taken by your Majeſty which could tend to accelerate that object; and that it is to the unwarrantable pretenſions and inordinate ambition of the enemy, and, above all, to their inveterate animoſity againſt theſe kingdoms, that the long delay and final rupture of the negotiation are to be aſcribed.

We entreat your Majeſty to believe that, impreſſed as we are with the neceſſity and the magnitude of the conteſt in which we are engaged, as well as of the value of the intereſts which we have at ſtake, no exertions will be wanting on our part to enable your Majeſty to proſecute the war with vigour, until a more juſt and pacific ſpirit ſhall prevail on the part of the enemy; and to employ, in the defence of every thing that is deareſt to us, thoſe means and reſources which the preſent ſituation of our country holds out.

We aſſure your Majeſty that we reflect with peculiar ſatisfaction on the public ſpirit which has been diſplayed by your Majeſty's ſubjects, and on the conduct by which your Majeſty's troops, of every deſcription, have acquired freſh claims to our eſteem and admiration.

We are particularly desirous of embracing the earliest opportunity to offer to your Majesty our warm and heartfelt congratulations on that signal and decisive victory which has crowned the series of splendid successes obtained by your Majesty's fleets over all our different enemies in the course of the present war; a victory no less important in its consequences than glorious in the circumstances by which it is distinguished.

We are deeply sensible of the manner in which your Majesty is pleased to express your gracious acceptance of our best endeavours to testify by our conduct our anxious regard for the interests of our country, and our invariable attachment to your Majesty's person and government.

Sensible of the blessings which, under your Majesty's paternal care, are derived to us from our civil and religious establishments, and which distinguish us from among all the nations of Europe; and persuaded that these blessings can only be preserved by inculcating and enforcing a due reverence and obedience to the laws, and by repressing with promptitude every attempt to disturb our internal tranquillity—it shall be the first object of our attention to contribute, by every means in our power, to the maintenance of that happy constitution which we inherit from our ancestors, and on which the security and happiness of every class of your Majesty's subjects essentially depend.

To the above Address his Majesty returned the following most gracious answer:

My Lords,

I THANK you for this loyal, dutiful, and affectionate address.

In a crisis of so much importance to the security and happiness of every class of my subjects, it is a great satisfaction to me to know that you entertain a just sense of the nature, magnitude, and necessity of the contest in which we are engaged; and that I may rely with confidence on your support in my fixed and unalterable determination to maintain to the utmost the laws, liberties, and religion of my people, and the dignity, honour, and independence of my kingdoms.

Address of the House of Commons to his Majesty, in Answer to his Speech on the 2d of November, 1797.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to return your Majesty our humble thanks for your most gracious speech from the throne, and for the communication of the declaration, and the other papers respecting the negotiation with France, which your Majesty has been graciously pleased to direct to be laid before us.

Permit us to assure your Majesty, that we shall not fail to apply ourselves, with the utmost diligence and attention, to the consideration of the measures which the present crisis requires; but we cannot refrain from expressing, at the earliest moment, our firm determination to afford your Majesty the most effectual support in resisting every unwarrantable pretension, and checking every attempt dictated by inordinate ambition on the part of those with whom we have to contend.

We entertain a firm persuasion that all your Majesty's faithful subjects feel as they ought the value of the blessings which they are struggling to preserve, and will not fail, in every situation, to support your Majesty, in defence of their essential interests, with the zeal, magnanimity, and courage, worthy of a great and free people: and we must, at the present moment, observe, with peculiar satisfaction, the proofs afforded of our means and internal resources in the flourishing state of the revenue, industry, and commerce of the country.

With the utmost gratitude we acknowledge the sense which your Majesty expresses of the public spirit which has been so eminently displayed by your people, and of the conduct of your Majesty's troops of every description, which has justly entitled them to the additional esteem and admiration of their country.

And we most heartily congratulate your Majesty on the signal and decisive victory with which Providence has rewarded the exertions of your fleet under the command of Admiral Lord Duncan; an event which has crowned the repeated maritime successes obtained over all our enemies, and has indeed afforded a brilliant addition to the numerous and heroic exploits which, in the course of the present war, have raised to the highest pitch the naval glory of the country.

It will afford us great satisfaction to find that any branches of our expense will admit of reduction, consistently with the continuance of those vigorous efforts which must be necessary for our safety, and which, at all events, cannot fail to be attended with heavy expense. In considering what may be the best mode of defraying

fraying it, we shall, undoubtedly, bear in mind the nature of the present crisis; and, in estimating the value of any temporary sacrifices, we shall not lose sight of the infinite importance of supporting effectually our public credit, and of convincing the enemy that, while we join in your Majesty's anxious desire for the conclusion of peace, on safe and honourable terms, we possess the means, as well as the determination, to support with vigour this arduous contest, as long as it may be rendered necessary, for maintaining the safety, honour, and independence of these kingdoms.

We beseech your Majesty to believe that our loyalty and attachment to your Majesty, and our anxious regard for the interests of your subjects, will ensure our perseverance in that line of conduct which may best preserve the advantages resulting to your people from your Majesty's auspicious government.

The blessings which we derive from our civil and religious establishments have long been deeply imprinted on our minds; and we cannot but feel more and more, from the events of every day, how much they distinguish us among all the nations of Europe: we shall never be unmindful that they can only be preserved by inculcating and enforcing a due reverence and obedience to the laws, by repressing with promptitude every attempt to disturb our internal tranquillity, and by maintaining inviolate that happy constitution which we inherit from our ancestors, on which the security and happiness of every class of your Majesty's subjects essentially depend.

His Majesty's Answer to the Address of the House of Commons, on the 2d November, 1797.

Gentlemen,

I RETURN you my warmest thanks for this loyal and dutiful address, and for the expressions of your affectionate attachment to my person and government. The assurances of your firm determination to resist, to the utmost, the unwarrantable pretensions and inordinate ambition of the enemy, afford me the highest satisfaction at this important conjuncture. They justify the reliance which I have uniformly placed on the vigour and wisdom of your councils, and leave me no room to doubt that the strength and resources of these kingdoms will be effectually employed in supporting our dearest interests, maintaining our happy constitution, and vindicating the honour and independence of the country.

IRISH

IRISH PARLIAMENT.

Message from the Lord Lieutenant to the House of Commons on the 16th January, 1797.

CAMDEN.

I HAVE it in command from his Majesty to acquaint the House of Commons, that his Majesty feels the deepest regret that his endeavours to preserve peace with Spain, and to adjust all matters in discussion with that court by an amicable negotiation, have been rendered ineffectual by an abrupt and unprovoked declaration of war on the part of the Catholic King.

His Majesty, at the same time that he sincerely laments this addition to the calamities of war, already extending over so great a part of Europe, has the satisfaction to reflect, that nothing has been omitted on his part which could contribute to the maintenance of peace, on grounds consistent with the honour of his crown, and the interests of his dominions.

And he trusts, that, under the protection of Divine Providence, the firmness and wisdom of his Parliament will enable him effectually to repel this unprovoked aggression; and to afford to all Europe an additional proof of the spirit and resources of his Majesty's kingdoms.

I am also commanded by his Majesty to acquaint the House of Commons, that his Majesty feels the utmost concern that his earnest endeavours to effect the restoration of peace have been unhappily frustrated, and that the negotiation in which he was engaged has been abruptly broken off, by the peremptory refusal of the French government to treat, except upon a basis evidently inadmissible, and by their having in consequence required his Majesty's plenipotentiary to quit Paris within forty-eight hours.

I have directed the several memorials and papers which have been exchanged in the course of the late discussion, and the account transmitted to his Majesty of its final result, to be laid before the House.

From these papers his Majesty trusts it will be proved to the whole world, that his conduct has been guided by a sincere desire to effect the restoration of peace, on principles suited to the relative situation of the belligerent powers, and essential for the permanent interests of his kingdoms, and the general security of Europe, whilst his enemies have advanced pretensions at once inconsistent with those objects, unsupportable even on the grounds on which they were professed to rest, and repugnant both to the system established by repeated treaties, and to the principles and practice which have hitherto regulated the intercourse of independent nations.

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In this ſituation his Majeſty has the conſolation of reflecting, that the continuance of the calamities of war can be imputed only to the unjuſt and exorbitant views of his enemies; and his Majeſty, looking forward with anxiety to the moment when they may be diſpoſed to act on different principles, places, in the mean time, the fulleſt reliance, under the protection of Providence, on the wiſdom and firmneſs of Parliament, on the tried valour of his forces by ſea and land, and the zeal, public ſpirit, and reſources of his kingdoms, for vigorous and effectual ſupport in the proſecution of a conteſt, which it does not depend on his Majeſty to terminate, and which involves in it the ſecurity and permanent intereſts of this country, and of Europe.

I ſincerely congratulate the Houſe of Commons upon the failure of the recent formidable attempt of the French to invade his Majeſty's kingdom of Ireland; the providential diſperſion of their ſquadrons until his Majeſty's fleets were enabled to appear upon the coaſt, cannot fail to impreſs ſenſations of awful and ſerious gratitude for ſo ſignal an inſtance of Divine interpoſition; at the ſame time the Commons will cheriſh the ſatisfactory reflection, that the deluſive hopes of ſucceſs in creating diviſion and inſurrection in the country, by which the enemy were inſpired, have been totally diſappointed; and that the late alarm has afforded his Majeſty's ſubjects an opportunity of teſtifying, at the hazard of their fortunes and their lives, their invincible attachment to the mild government of their beloved Sovereign and the bleſſings of their happy conſtitution. I have beheld with pleaſure the zeal and alacrity of his Majeſty's regular and military forces, and the prompt and honourable exertions of the yeomanry corps, whoſe decided utility has been ſo abundantly diſplayed, while the diſtinguiſhed ſervices of the moſt reſpectable characters in forwarding the meaſures of government, the benevolent attention ſhown to the army by all ranks and deſcriptions of perſons, and the ſpirited meaſures which were taken to ſupport public credit, have made an indelible impreſſion upon my mind. It was from this general ſpirit of animated and gallant loyalty that I was inſpired with a juſt hope, that, had the enemy ſucceeded in an attempt to land, their career would have been terminated in total diſcomfiture. I have not failed to repreſent to his Majeſty this meritorious conduct of his faithful ſubjects of Ireland, and am expreſsly commanded to convey to them his cordial acknowledgments and thanks.

His Majeſty's concern for the ſafety and happineſs of his people has been anxious and unceaſing; he was prepared to ſend every requiſite military aſſiſtance from Great Britain.

And his Majeſty is not without hopes, that the formidable fleet aſſembled under the command of Lord Bridport for the protection of this kingdom (the arrival of which was only obſtructed

ſtructed by thoſe adverſe ſtorms which have proved ſo deſtructive to the preſent expedition of the enemy), may ſtill fall in with the hoſtile ſquadron, and effect their total defeat.

At the ſame time, however, his Majeſty truſts, that the Houſe of Commons will advert to the ſituation and reſources of the kingdom for eſtabliſhing future ſecurity, by means proportionable to the daring efforts which may be expected from a deſperate enemy, who having rejected every reaſonable propoſal for the reſtoration of peace, is endeavouring to excite diſaffection among his Majeſty's ſubjects, and to propagate the principles of anarchy by the ſpirit of plunder.

Anſwer of the Lord Lieutenant to the Addreſs voted by the Houſe of Commons, in conſequence of the above Meſſage.

THE marks of confidence and good opinion which have been beſtowed on me by the Houſe of Commons are ſo much more than I deſerve, that I feel the acknowledgments due to them to be infinitely beyond what I can expreſs.

It is a ſource of the greateſt ſatisfaction to obſerve, that as the danger has approached, the ſpirit and loyalty of this nation have been more conſpicuous. This kingdom has felt, with an honeſt indignation, the conduct of an enemy, who not only threatened its coaſts with the uſual weapons of war, but endeavoured to produce diſſenſion amongſt its inhabitants, and to ſhake its confidence in the ſiſter kingdom. To repel ſuch a foe, whoſe power is not yet cruſhed, but whoſe inveteracy is undiminiſhed, will require exertions which, from the example I have lately had the ſatisfaction to meditate, would, I firmly truſt, have terminated in the diſcomfiture of the enemy; but which continued, as I am confident they will be, by the ſpirit of the nation, and encouraged by the protection of the Houſe of Commons, will, I doubt not, prevent the renewal of their attempt, or render it completely abortive, if it ſhould be repeated.

I receive with infinite pleaſure thoſe expreſſions of approbation you are pleaſed to beſtow upon me for the encouragement I have given to the eſtabliſhment of the yeomanry corps: their extent and their utility have even exceeded my expectations. It has given the moſt convincing proof of the reſource and the true ſpirit of this nation, and it has ſhown that every rank in the ſtate will unite in the preſervation of thoſe bleſſings they enjoy under our happy conſtitution.

My repreſentations to his Majeſty have been made with the ſincerity for which you give me credit, and with the ſentiments I ought to be impreſſed with when I take notice of the loyalty, the liberality and the zeal of the Houſe of Commons, and of the

Iriſh

Iriſh nation.—They are received by his Majeſty with the approbation they merit, and I ſhould ill execute his gracious commands if I did not expreſs his entire and grateful ſatisfaction.

Encouraged by the confidence you are ſo good as to expreſs, I ſhall endeavour to perform that duty with which his Majeſty has entruſted me; and aſſiſted by your advice, and depending upon your indulgence, I look forward with confidence, which the reflection upon my own ability would not allow me to entertain, to the happy termination of the difficulties we may have to encounter.

Meſſage from the Lord Lieutenant to the Houſe of Commons, on the 18th March, 1797.

THE dangerous and the daring outrages committed in many parts of the province of Ulſter, evidently perpetrated with a view to ſuperſede the law, and prevent the adminiſtration of juſtice, by an organized ſyſtem of murder and robbery, have lately increaſed to ſo alarming a degree in ſome parts of that province, as to bid defiance to the exertions of the civil power, and to endanger the lives and properties of his Majeſty's ſubjects in that part of the kingdom.

Theſe outrages are encouraged and ſupported by treaſonable aſſociations to overturn our happy conſtitution.

Threats have been held out againſt the lives of all perſons who ſhall venture to diſcover ſuch their treaſonable intentions. The frequent treaſonable aſſemblage of perſons, and their proceeding by threats and force to diſarm the peaceable inhabitants; their endeavours to collect great quantities of arms in obſcure hiding-places; their aſſembling by night to exerciſe in the practice of arms; their intimidations, accompanied by the moſt horrid murders, to prevent his Majeſty's faithful ſubjects from joining the yeomanry corps eſtabliſhed by law; their having fired on ſome of his Majeſty's juſtices of the peace, and threatened with murder any who ſhould have the ſpirit to ſtand forth in ſupport of the laws, which threats have been recently exemplified; their attacks on the military, by firing on them in the execution of their duty;—have ſo totally bid defiance to the ordinary exertions of civil power, that I found myſelf obliged by every tie of duty to his Majeſty, and of regard to the welfare of his faithful ſubjects, to provide for the public ſafety by the moſt effectual and immediate application of the military force entruſted to me.

I have accordingly ordered the general commanding in that province to diſpoſe of and employ thoſe troops under his command with the aſſiſtance and co-operation of the yeomanry to ſuppreſs theſe outrages; and, by ſeizing upon all arms and ammunition, to recover ſuch as had been traitorouſly taken from his

Majeſty's

Majeſty's troops and others, and more effectually to defeat the evil deſigns of thoſe who had endangered the public ſafety.

I have the ſatisfaction of informing you, that by the firm and temperate conduct of the general and the troops under him, and the zealous co-operation of the yeomanry corps, a very conſiderable number of arms has been taken; and I am encouraged to hope that a continuance of the ſame vigorous meaſures will give confidence to the well-diſpoſed, and reſtore to the civil power its conſtitutional authority, which it has ever been my wiſh, and ſhall be my ſtrenuous endeavour to ſupport with energy and effect.

Meſſage from his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant to the Houſe of Commons on the 11th April, 1797.

CAMDEN.

Gentlemen,

IN purſuance of the reſolution entered into by the Houſe of Commons on the 1ſt of March, 1797, for raiſing towards the ſupply granted to his Majeſty the ſum of 3,395,697*l.* upon the terms therein mentioned, I have given ſuch directions as appeared to me moſt proper to carry the ſame into execution; and I am ſorry to inform you, that it is found, after the moſt diligent endeavours exerted for the purpoſe, that the ſum intended to be raiſed by the ſaid reſolution cannot be obtained according to the terms thereof. I therefore thought it incumbent on me that this Houſe ſhould be made acquainted therewith, not doubting that the Commons of Ireland, attentive to the honour of his Majeſty's government, and the ſafety of the kingdom, will take ſuch meaſures as ſhall be moſt prudent to carry the intentions of that ſalutary reſolution into effect.

C.

Meſſage from the Lord Lieutenant to the Houſe of Commons on the 29th April, 1797.

CAMDEN.

UPON information of the meetings of certain perſons, ſtyling themſelves United Iriſhmen, for the purpoſe of concerting plans for the ſubverſion of the conſtitution, and of the eſtabliſhed government of this kingdom, two committees in the town of Belfaſt have been arreſted, and their papers ſeized; they contain matter of ſo much importance to the public welfare, that I have directed them to be laid before the Houſe of Commons, and I recommend it to them to take the ſame into their ſerious conſideration. I ſhall, in the mean time, purſue thoſe meaſures which

which have received your sanction and approbation with unremitting vigour, and employ the force entrusted to me in the most efficient manner for the protection of his Majesty's faithful subjects against all treasonable designs, and for bringing to condign punishment those who are endeavouring to overturn the constitution, and betray this country into the hands of her enemies.

Speech of the Lord Lieutenant to both Houses of Parliament, on the 3d of July, 1797, on proroguing them.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I HAVE the satisfaction of being at length enabled to relieve you from your laborious attendance in Parliament, and am commanded by his Majesty to express the just sense he entertains of that firm, tender, and vigorous determination which you have uniformly manifested in supporting his Majesty's government, and protecting our happy constitution from the attempts of every foreign and domestic enemy.

I have much pleasure in announcing to you, that the British Parliament has passed acts for prohibiting the bounty on sail-cloth exported to Ireland, and for prohibiting the importation of cambric from all countries except this kingdom.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I am to thank you, in his Majesty's name, for your unanimity in voting the extraordinary supplies which the public exigencies demanded. However unprecedented those supplies have been in extent, and however difficult they may have been rendered from the state of public credit, you have wisely attended to the superior consideration of national safety. Such an exertion is the surest proof that you are truly sensible of the invaluable blessings which we are contending to preserve, and that the best means of effecting an honourable peace, and of restoring all the comforts of tranquillity, are by displaying at once your determination and your power, and by convincing your enemies of the extent of your resources, as well as of the steadiness of your courage.

The ready assistance which has been received from the sister kingdom in facilitating the loan of the year, whilst it is a sure demonstration of her friendly cordiality, cannot fail to show how inseparable are the mutual interests of the two kingdoms, and how necessary their connexion is for their mutual prosperity.

Your humanity in directing your attention to the present distress among the manufacturers, does not less command my approbation than your prudence in the mode of conveying relief, by increasing the means of their employment.

 My

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The powers with which you entrusted me by the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act, have enabled me to bring to light and to disconcert the secret conspiracy which had been formed for the total overthrow of your establishments, the destruction of property, and the dissolution of government. This conspiracy has been so fully unfolded by your wisdom, that it can no longer spread itself under the insidious pretence which it had artfully assumed, of improving the constitution. In the measures, whether of vigilance or coercion, which you have recommended for its extinction, I shall not relax. It will be my study to temper the necessary acts of severity and rigour by conciliatory offers of clemency and pardon, to exhort the infatuated and deluded to abandon their deceivers, and to summon the guilty to repentance; but, at the same time, it is and will be my fixed purpose to proceed with vigour against those who, regardless of every warning and admonition, shall continue their desperate efforts to involve this flourishing country in all the horrors of insurrection and invasion, of bloodshed and of anarchy.

I have already the satisfaction to acquaint you that great numbers, who had been unfortunately seduced, have returned to a sense of their duty, and been admitted to his Majesty's clemency; and I trust that, by perseverance and energy, every vestige of disaffection will be effaced, and universally give way to the return of that spirit of loyalty which has so long been the distinguished characteristic of this kingdom.

I cannot omit to congratulate with you on the unimpaired lustre of that spirit which so conspicuously shone forth when the enemy's fleet appeared on our coasts; nor can I too often repeat my full sense of your wisdom in the establishment of district corps. I have the most satisfactory accounts of their improvement in discipline, as well as their exertions in quelling and preventing insurrection; and I have myself witnessed the unexampled exertions, good conduct, and military appearance of the corps of the metropolis, whose unceasing and unwearied vigilance, at a most important crisis, checked every attempt to produce confusion by riot and tumult, at the same time that it destroyed the hopes of our enemies, restored confidence to the country in general.

Your judicious augmentation of pay to his Majesty's regular and militia forces, which must render their situation so highly comfortable, is at once a seasonable and honourable acknowledgment of their steadiness and loyalty.

The traitorous efforts, which have been made to entice them from their allegiance, have had a fatal effect in a few lamentable examples. I trust, however, that they have excited in the minds of others so timely a repentance, and in the rest such indignation and abhorrence, that no future danger can be apprehended.

Your

Your wiſe inſtitution of a ſinking fund, in the midſt of financial difficulties, cannot be too much applauded, and will prevent any ruinous depreciation of fund ſtock, and being eſtabliſhed before the national debt has accumulated to any oppreſſive magnitude, will tend to prevent its becoming dangerous. A meaſure ſo truly calculated for preſerving the reſources of the ſtate, and ſupporting public credit, muſt ſecure to you the gratitude of an enlightened people.

His Majeſty is exerting every proper effort to produce a ſpeedy and ſecure peace. It will be our duty to aſſiſt thoſe efforts, by convincing our enemies, from the ſtate of our preparation, and the unanimity of our ſpirit, that they can hope for no advantage by prolonging the calamities of war.

Wherever your abilities, your influence, and exertions, can be moſt advantageouſly employed on your return to your ſeveral counties, I am confident they will be moſt conſpicuouſly diſplayed. A conſtant intercourſe with your immediate neighbourhoods muſt give you the opportunity of affording to the people both aſſiſtance and example, of reclaiming thereby the deluded and ill-diſpoſed, and confirming the well-affected in their fidelity and allegiance. A forward ſpirit of loyalty, which in moſt parts of the kingdom has ſucceſsfully checked the progreſs of treaſon, will be ſtrengthened and diffuſed by your preſence and exertions. It will be my ambition to ſecond your activity and zeal, and to co-operate with your efforts for reſtoring the tranquillity and proſperity of the kingdom.

We have a ſacred cauſe to defend, the independence and conſtitution of Great Britain and Ireland, from which both kingdoms have derived innumerable bleſſings under his Majeſty's auſpicious reign. They were purchaſed by the deareſt blood of your anceſtors, in a criſis not leſs formidable than the preſent. I truſt we ſhall not fail to imitate their great example, and that we ſhall be enabled, by ſimilar courage and continued firmneſs, to tranſmit to our poſterity, inviolate, that invaluable inheritance which their valour reſcued, and their perſeverance preſerved.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

HISTORY OF THE WAR.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, January 3, 1797.

Whitehall, January 3, 1797.

BY dispatches received on Sunday evening from the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, by his Grace the Duke of Portland, his Majesty's principal secretary of state for the home department, it appears that a part of the French fleet, consisting of eight two-deckers, and nine other vessels of different classes, had anchored in Bantry Bay on the 24th ultimo, and had remained there, without any attempt to land, till the 27th in the evening, when they quitted their station, and have not since been heard of. The wind, at the time of their sailing, blowing hard at S. S. E.

From their first appearance, every exertion was made by General Dalrymple, the commanding officer of the district; and a considerable force was collected to repel the enemy.

The accounts further state, that the yeomanry and volunteer corps displayed the utmost zeal and alacrity, in undertaking the guards in those places from whence the regular troops were withdrawn; and the universal readiness shewn by all descriptions of people to forward the preparations for defence, left no doubt of the event, in case the enemy had ventured to make a descent. In particular, the spirit, activity, and exertions, of Richard White, Esq. of Seafield Park, deserve the most honourable mention.

An officer and seven men were driven on shore, in a boat belonging to one of the French ships, and were immediately made prisoners. This gentleman was conveyed to Dublin, and, upon examination, states, that the fleet, upon its leaving Brest, consisted, in all, of about fifty sail, having an army of 25,000 men on board, commanded by General Hoche, and that it was destined for the attack of Ireland.

 Admi-

Admiralty Office, January 3, 1797.

Copy of a Letter from Captain Sterling, of his Majesty's Ship Jason, to Mr. Nepean, dated off Cape Clear, the 24*th of December*, 1796.

SIR,

I HAD the honour to inform you, on the 20th instant, by Le Suffrein, a French vessel, *armé en flute,* which we had taken with 250 troops, arms, &c. on board, that my intentions were to cruise some days, to endeavour to intercept any of her consorts.

The prisoners have since informed me, that she sailed on the 16th, in company with sixteen sail of the line and transports, having 20,000 troops. As the wind has been easterly since the date of my letter, and blowing very hard, I hope they have not reached a port; and as the troops had only ten days provisions, they must be badly off.

I saw a large ship of war last night, and I am persuaded the body of the fleet cannot be far from me. A rudder, and other pieces of wreck, have floated past us to-day.

Admiralty Office, January 3, 1797.

Copy of a Letter from Captain John Drew, Commander of his Majesty's Ship Cerberus, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated in Cawsand Bay, the 29*th of December*, 1796.

SIR,

I BEG leave to inform my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty of my arrival here, with his Majesty's ship Cerberus under my command, having captured La Didon French cutter privateer, nine days out of Granville, and had taken nothing, carrying four brass four-pounders, with swivels, small arms, and thirty men.

I am, Sir, &c. &c.

JOHN DREW.

Admiralty Office, January 3, 1797.

Extract of a Letter from Admiral Sir Peter Parker, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels at Portsmouth, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated on board the Royal William, the 1*st of January*, 1797.

THE Diamond has sent into this port L'Amaranthe French national brig, of twelve six-pounders and nine men, from Havre, bound to Brest, which she captured yesterday off Alderney.

From

From the LONDON GAZETTE, January 7, 1797.

Whitehall, January 7, 1797.

BY dispatches received this day by his Grace the Duke of Portland, his Majesty's principal secretary of state for the home department, from the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and Mr. Pelham, dated the 3d and 4th instant, it appears, that a part of the French fleet had returned to Bantry Bay, and that a further part had been seen off the mouth of the Shannon; but that both divisions had quitted their stations, and put to sea, on the evening of the 2d instant, without attempting a landing.

The accounts of the disposition of the country, where the troops are assembled, are as favourable as possible; and the greatest loyalty has manifested itself throughout the kingdom; and in the south and west, where the troops have been in motion, they have been met by the country people of all descriptions, with provisions and all sorts of accommodations to facilitate their march; and every demonstration has been given of the zeal and ardour of the nation to oppose the enemy in every place where it could be supposed a descent might be attempted.

Admiralty Office, January 7, 1797.

Copy of a Letter from the Hon. Captain Colvill, Commander of his Majesty's Sloop Star, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated at Spithead, the 21st of December, 1796.

SIR,

I BEG you will inform their Lordships, that his Majesty's sloop under my command captured yesterday, off the Isle of Wight, a small French cutter privateer, called Le Coup d'Essai, mounting two carriage guns, well found in small arms, and carrying twenty-eight men.

She had taken, a few hours before we fell in with her, a light brig, called the Anne, of Newcastle, which she had sent off for Cherbourg: we immediately made sail in pursuit of her, and were enabled to recapture her.

I am, Sir, &c. &c. &c.

JOHN COLVILL.

Admiralty Office, January 7, 1797.

Copy of a Letter from Captain William Carthew, Commander of his Majesty's Ship Regulus, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated in Latitude 20 deg. 18 min. North, Longitude 33 deg. 46 min. West, the 11th of November, 1796.

SIR,

I BEG leave to acquaint you, that on Wednesday, the 2d of November, at one P. M. a sail was discovered, bearing about south from us, to which I gave chase, and upon nearing her, could discover she was a ship of war, at which time she bore up, quartering, having been upon a wind before, which gave suspicion of her being an enemy. At ten P. M. came within hale; and as she would not heave to, or say of what nation she was, a broadside was given, upon which she struck, and

proved to be the San Pio Spaniſh corvette, of eighteen guns and one hundred and forty men. Having the day before received intelligence, that Admiral Mann's ſquadron had been chaſed by the Spaniſh fleet, and alſo, that they had taken an hoſpital ſhip from us, I deemed it juſtifiable to detain her.

The corvette was detained in latitude 36 deg. 18 min. north, 19 deg. 10 min. weſt longitude, having ſailed from Cadiz the 10th of October, on a cruiſe of ſix weeks, twenty days of which were unexpired, and had taken nothing.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c. &c.

W. CARTHEW.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, Jan. 10, 1797.

Whitehall, Jan. 10, 1797.

BY diſpatches received this day by his Grace the Duke of Portland, his Majeſty's principal ſecretary of ſtate for the home department, from the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, dated the 6th inſtant, it appears, that his Excellency had received accounts from Vice Admiral Kingſmill, ſtating, that on the 5th inſtant his Majeſty's ſhip the Polyphemus, Captain Lumſdaine, had captured and brought into the Cove of Cork La Tortue, a French frigate of 44 guns, 625 men, including troops; and that ſhe had alſo captured a large tranſport, full of troops, which being extremely leaky, and night coming on, with heavy gales of wind, Captain Lumſdaine had been prevented from taking poſſeſſion of; but which, from many ſignals of diſtreſs afterwards made by her, and his inability to render any aſſiſtance, he had every reaſon to apprehend muſt have ſunk during the night.

It further appears, from the accounts of the priſoners on board La Tortue, that Le Scævola, another large French frigate, had recently foundered at ſea, with all her crew.

Admiralty Office, Jan. 9, 1797.

Extract of a Letter from Sir Richard Strachan, Captain of his Majeſty's Ship Diamond, to Evan Nepean, Eſq. dated in the Ance de Vauville, the 24th of laſt Month.

I HAVE to inform you, that this morning, being off Alderney, we ſaw a brig, which we gave chaſe to, and in the evening we came up with her in the Ance de Vauville; ſhe is called L'Eſperance, has been out from Havre four days.

Extract of a Letter from Vice Admiral Murray to Evan Nepean, Eſq. dated on board his Majeſty's Ship Cleopatra, off the Start, the 1ſt inſtant.

ON the 16th of December, in the morning, in lat. 48 deg. 42 min. N. long. 20 deg. 31 min. W. we fell in with, and, after a ſhort chaſe, captured L'Hirondelle, French privateer, of 12 guns and ſeventy men, fifteen days out from Bourdeaux. She is a fine brig, pierced for 16 guns, but now mounting only 12, and newly coppered.

Extract of a Letter from Vice Admiral Sir George Keith Elphinstone, K. B. to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated on board his Majesty's Ship Monarch, Crookhaven, the 30th of last Month.

I HAVE the honour to inform you, that the Impatiente French frigate, carrying 20 four-pounders, 320 men, and 250 soldiers, came on shore near this place about one o'clock this morning, and was totally lost. Seven of the men escaped on the rocks.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, Jan. 14, 1797.

Admiralty Office, Jan. 14, 1797.

Extract of a Letter from Vice Admiral Kingsmill, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels at Cork, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated L'Engageante, Cork Harbour, Jan. 2, 1797.

PLEASE to inform my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that his Majesty's sloop the Hazard has captured a fine coppered French ship privateer, La Musette, of 22 guns, and one hundred and fifty men.

In this last cruise she had, about 30 leagues westward of Cape Clear, taken two vessels; one of which, the Abbey, of Liverpool, from Lisbon to Liverpool, is recaptured, and just brought in by his Majesty's ship Daphne.

Extract of another Letter from the same to the same, dated Jan. 2, 1797.

LES Deux Amis French privateer, of fourteen guns and eighty men, a fine coppered schooner, of about one hundred tons, is just arrived, prize to his Majesty's ships Polyphemus and Apollo.

Admiralty Office, Jan. 14, 1797.

Copy of a Letter from Captain Barton, of his Majesty's Ship Lapwing, to Evan Nepean, Esq. in Basseterre Roads, Dec. 3, 1796.

SIR,

A PACKET leaving this place to-day for England, I embrace the opportunity, for the satisfaction of their Lordships, to acquaint them that I anchored at St. Kitts on the 25th ultimo, when an express boat had been sent from the Island of Anguilla, to inform the Admiral, that the island was attacked by two French men of war and several small vessels, containing four hundred troops. I felt it my duty (as the express boat returned here with the loss of her main-mast) to leave the service I was ordered on, to endeavour to relieve that place. The wind being to the northward, prevented my getting up there in time to stop them from burning the town; but I have the pleasure to say, after an action of near two hours, I effectually relieved that island, by taking the ship, and sinking the brig. The ship proved to be Le Decius, mounting 24 six-pounders, two twelve-pound carronades, and two brass field-pieces, with one hundred and thirty-three men of her own complement, and two hundred and three troops, commanded by Citoyen

Citoyen Andree Senis, and the brig La Vaillante, mounting four twenty-four pounders, with forty-five men, and ninety troops, commanded by Citoyen Labotique. The particulars of the action I have transmitted to Rear-Admiral Harvey, for the information of their Lordships.

I am, &c.

R. BARTON.

N. B. I am informed that they were picked troops from Victor Hughes, for the sole purpose of plundering and destroying the island.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, Jan. 17.

Parliament-street, Jan. 16, 1797.

DISPATCHES, of which the following are an extract and copy, have been this day received by the Right Honourable Henry Dundas, one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state, from Major-general Charles Graham, commanding his Majesty's troops in the Leeward Islands, in the absence of Lieutenant-general Sir Ralph Abercromby, K. B.

Extract of a Letter from Major-general Charles Graham to the Right Honourable Henry Dundas, dated Head-quarters, Martinico, October 16, 1796.

OUR affairs in Granada wear the most favourable aspect; I may say, indeed, tranquillity is completely restored, as they enjoy it in the most comprehensive sense. The communication throughout the island is perfectly open; there are some few stragglers, no doubt, in the woods, but they never molest even single passengers, and their number is so inconsiderable, and their state so wretched, that they rather deserve our contempt than merit our resentment. Fedon has not yet been taken, and opinions are various with respect to his death or escape; the former, however, I think most probable, as it is reported a canoe, that had been overset, was found by a vessel some distance from the coast, with a compass nailed to the bottom, which was known to be one that he had had in his possession; it is therefore likely he may have been lost, in endeavouring to make his escape.

I embrace with satisfaction the opportunity this affords me of having the honour to inform you, that a negotiation has been opened, for a general exchange of prisoners, with the Commissioners of the French Republic at Guadaloupe; the Commissary sent here to treat on that business has, in consequence, returned with two hundred; an equal number of our's are to be sent by the cartel; when the business is finally settled, I shall have the pleasure of acquainting you with the particulars.

SIR, *Head-quarters, Martinico, Nov.* 13, 1796.

IT affords me great satisfaction to have an opportunity of informing you of the entire reduction of the Brigands and Charibs in St. Vincent's, which was communicated to me by Major-general Hunter, shortly after I had the honour of addressing you on the 16th ultimo; a copy of

of whoſe letter I herewith tranſmit, together with the return of killed and wounded.

I have the honour to be, &c.
CHARLES GRAHAM,
Major-general.

SIR, *St. Vincent's, Oct.* 18, 1796.

WHEN I had the honour of writing to your Excellency on the 22d of Auguſt, I incloſed a copy of the terms offered to the Charibs by Governor Seaton and myſelf, in conſequence of Sir Ralph Abercromby's orders and inſtructions to me upon that ſubject. At the ſame time I acquainted you with the plan I had adopted in order to reduce the remaining Brigands, and to compel the Charibs to ſurrender.

I have now the ſatisfaction to inform you of the total reduction of the Brigands and Charibs on this iſland.

Marin Padre (a negro of St. Lucie), who has commanded the Brigands and Charibs ſince the capture of the Vigie, and who had great influence and authority over both, ſurrendered on the 2d inſt.

The number of Brigands who have ſurrendered or been taken ſince the 4th of July, amounts to 725, the number of Charibs to 4633, including women and children.

I have much pleaſure in making known to you, for his Majeſty's information, the zeal, activity, and humanity, which have actuated every deſcription of officers and ſoldiers employed under my command during the whole of the Charib war; and I am happy to ſay, that, notwithſtanding the ſeaſon of the year, and the fatigue the troops have undergone, they are, in general, very healthy.

Incloſed you will receive a return of the killed and wounded of his Majeſty's troops, ſince the commencement of the Charib war.

I have the honour to be, &c.
P. HUNTER, Major-general.

To his Excellency Major-general Graham.

Return of the Killed and Wounded of his Majeſty's Forces in the Iſland of St. Vincent's, between the 20th of July and the 15th of October, 1796.

26th Light Dragoons.—1 Serjeant, 1 rank and file, killed; 1 rank and file wounded.

Royal Artillery.—1 Gunner wounded.

3d Foot (or Buffs).—4 Rank and file, killed; 2 ſerjeants, 19 rank and file, wounded.

40th Foot.—4 Rank and file, killed; 1 lieutenant, 2 rank and file, wounded.

42d Foot.—1 Rank and file, killed; 3 rank and file, wounded.

63d Foot.—3 Rank and file, killed; 1 ſerjeant, 6 rank and file, wounded.

2d Weſt India Regiment.—1 Serjeant, 4 rank and file, killed; 1 lieutenant-colonel, 1 enſign, 3 rank and file, wounded.

Lewenſtein's Chaſſeurs.—4 Rank and file, killed; 2 lieutenants, 1 ſerjeant, 8 rank and file, wounded.

Lieutenant-colonel Haffey's St. Vincent's Rangers.—1 Serjeant, 8 rank and file, killed; 1 lieutenant, 6 ſerjeants, 16 rank and file, wounded.

Major

Major Trench's St. Vincent's Rangers.—2 Rank and file, killed; 2 ferjeants, 8 rank and file, wounded.

Total.—3 Serjeants, 31 rank and file, killed; 1 lieutenant-colonel, 4 lieutenants, 1 enfign, 12 ferjeants, 1 gunner, 66 rank and file, wounded.

Officers wounded.

Lieutenant-colonel Graham and Enfign Towes, of the 2d Weft India Regiment.

Lieutenant Millar, of the 40th Regiment.

Lieutenants Beaufire and Roquier, of Lewenftein's Chaffeurs.

Lieutenant M'Kenzie, of Lieutenant-colonel Haffey's St. Vincent's Rangers.

(Signed) W. J. CURREY, Aid-de-Camp.

Whitehall, January 16, 1797.

A LETTER, of which the following is an extract, has been received from Governor Seaton, by his Grace the Duke of Portland, his Majefty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department, dated St. Vincent's, Oct. 12, 1796.

I HAVE the fatisfaction to inform your Grace, that tranquillity is on the eve of being reftored to this colony, owing, in a very great meafure, to the unremitted exertions of Major-general Hunter, and to his humane conduct towards the enemy of every defcription. All the Charib chiefs have furrendered; their people are coming in daily, and we have at this moment about three thoufand five hundred in our poffeffion. Nearly all the Brigands, with their leaders, have alfo furrendered.

BY a fubfequent letter from the Governor to his Grace, dated St. Vincent's, the 16th of November laft, it appears, that the remainder of the Charibs and Brigands had furrendered themfelves, and that the ifland was in a ftate of perfect tranquillity.

Whitehall, January 17.

Extract of a Letter from his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to his Grace the Duke of Portland, dated Dublin Caftle, January 10, 1797.

I HAVE the fatisfaction to acquaint your Grace, that fince the information tranfmitted to Mr. Greville, that the French had entirely left Bantry Bay, there has been no re-appearance of them upon the coafts, fo that I truft, from the violence of the tempeft, and from their fhips being ill-found and ill-victualled, their expedition is for the prefent fruftrated.

Upon reviewing what has paffed during this expedition of the enemy, I have the fatisfaction to reflect, that the beft fpirit was manifefted by his Majefty's regular and militia forces; and I have every reafon to believe, that if a landing had taken place, they would have difplayed the utmoft fidelity. When the flank companies of the Antrim regiment were formed, the whole regiment turned out to a man, with expreffions

expreſſions of the greateſt eagerneſs to march; and the Downſhire regiment, to a man, declared they would ſtand and fall by their officers.

At the time the army was ordered to march, the weather was extremely ſevere; I therefore ordered them a proportion of ſpirits upon their route, and directed an allowance of four-pence a-day to their wives, until their return. During their march, the utmoſt attention was paid them by the inhabitants of the towns and villages through which they paſſed, ſo that in many places the meat provided by the commiſſariat was not conſumed. The roads, which in parts had been rendered impaſſable by the ſnow, were cleared by the peaſantry.

The poor people often ſhared their potatoes with them, and dreſſed their meat without demanding payment; of which there was a very particular inſtance in the town of Banagher, where no gentleman or principal farmer reſides to ſet them the example. At Carlow a conſiderable ſubſcription was made for the troops as they paſſed; and at Limerick and Cork every exertion was uſed to facilitate the carriage of artillery and baggage, by premiums to the carmen; and in the town of Galway, which for a ſhort time was left with a very inadequate garriſon, the zeal and ardour of the inhabitants and yeomanry was peculiarly manifeſted, and in a manner to give me the utmoſt ſatiſfaction. In ſhort, the general good diſpoſition of the people through the ſouth and weſt was ſo prevalent, that had the enemy landed, their hope of aſſiſtance from the inhabitants would have been totally diſappointed.

From the armed yeomanry Government have derived the moſt honourable aſſiſtance. Noblemen and gentlemen of the firſt property vied in exerting themſelves at the head of their corps.—Much of the expreſs and eſcort duty was performed by them. In Cork, Limerick, and Galway they took the duty of the garriſon. Lord Shannon informs me, that men of three and four thouſand pounds a year were employed in eſcorting baggage, and carrying expreſſes. Mr. John Latouche, who was a private in his ſon's corps, rode twenty-five miles in one of the ſevereſt nights, with an expreſs, it being his turn for duty. The merchants of Dublin, many of them of the firſt eminence, marched ſixteen Iriſh miles with a convoy of arms to the north, whither it was conducted by reliefs of yeomanry. The appearance in this metropolis has been highly meritorious. The corps have been formed of the moſt reſpectable barriſters, attornies, merchants, gentlemen, and citizens, and their number is ſo conſiderable, and their zeal in mounting guard ſo uſeful, that I was enabled greatly to reduce the garriſon with perfect ſafety to the town. The numbers of yeomanry, fully appointed and diſciplined, in Dublin, exceed two thouſand, above four hundred of whom are horſe. The whole number of corps approved by Government, amount to four hundred and forty, excluſive of the Dublin corps. The groſs number is nearly twenty-five thouſand. There are alſo ninety-one offers of ſervice under conſideration, and one hundred and twenty-five propoſals have been declined; and in reply to a circular letter, written to the commandants of the reſpective corps, their anſwers almoſt univerſally contained a general offer of ſervice in any part of the kingdom.

Many prominent examples of individual loyalty and ſpirit have appeared. An uſeful impreſſion was made upon the minds of the

 lower

lower Catholics, by a judicious addrefs from Dr. Moylan, the titular Bifhop of Cork. I cannot but take notice of the exertions of Lord Kenmare, who fpared no expence in giving affiftance to the commanding officer in his neighbourhood, and who took into his own demefne a great quantity of cattle which had been driven from the coaft. Nor could any thing exceed the ardour of the Earl of Ormonde, who, when his regiment of militia was retained as part of the garrifon of Dublin, folicited with fo much zeal a command in the flank companies, that I thought it a meafure due to his Majefty's fervice to encourage his Lordfhip's requeft.

Admiralty Office, January 17, 1797.

Copy of a Letter from Rear Admiral Harvey, Commander in Chief of his Majefty's Ships and Veffels in the Leeward Iflands, to Evan Nepean, Efq. dated on board the Prince of Wales, Fort Royal Bay, Martinique, Nov. 10, 1796.

SIR,

I AM to acquaint you, for the information of their Lordfhips, that his Majefty's floop Fury, on the 18th ultimo, captured, between the iflands of St. Thomas and St. Croix, a French national fchooner, called L'Eliza, carrying ten guns and fifty-fix men, from Cape François, going to St. Thomas, which Capt. Evans fent into Tortola.

I am, Sir, &c. &c. &c.

HENRY HARVEY.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, Jan. 21, 1797.

Admiralty Office, Jan. 20, 1797.

Copy of a Letter from Rear Admiral Harvey to Mr. Nepean, dated on board the Prince of Wales, Fort Royal Bay, Martinico, Dec. 4, 1796.

SIR,

YOU will pleafe to acquaint their Lordfhips, that a few hours after I anchored with the fquadron in this bay, the 2d inftant, I received a letter from Captain Barton, of his Majefty's fhip Lapwing, acquainting me that he had deftroyed the French fhip Le Decius, and La Vaillante brig, off St. Martin's, and that two French frigates, La Thetis and La Penfe, were at anchor off St. Martin's, referring me to Lieutenant St. Clair for further information.

In confequence of the two frigates lying at St. Martin's, I immediately ordered the Bellona and Invincible to St. Kitt's, and directed Captain Wilfon to obtain fuch information as was neceffary at that ifland, and then proceed towards St. Martin's and Anguilla, ufing his beft endeavours to take or deftroy the French frigates, and protect the ifland of Anguilla; and he failed the fame evening on that fervice.

Captain Barton having referred me to Lieut. St. Clair, whom he detached in a Danifh fchooner with his letter, it appears that the French had landed about three hundred men on the ifland of Anguilla, the 26th ultimo, and that after having plundered the ifland, and burnt

feveral

ſeveral houſes, and committed every devaſtation poſſible, attended with acts of great cruelty; that on the appearance of the Lapwing they re-embarked their troops the night of the 26th, and the following morning early the Lapwing came to action with the Decius of twenty-ſix guns, and Valiant brig, mounting four thirty-two and twenty-four pounders, as a gun-veſſel, ; that after a cloſe action of about an hour, the brig bore away, and in half an hour after the Decius ſtruck her colours. The brig ran on ſhore on St. Martin's, and by the fire of the Lapwing was deſtroyed; that on the Lapwing taking poſſeſſion of the Decius, it was found ſhe had about eighty men killed, and forty wounded, being full of troops; that the following day the Lapwing was chaſed by two large French frigates, and Captain Barton found it neceſſary to take the priſoners and his men out of the Decius, and ſet fire to her, when he returned to St. Kitt's, and landed one hundred and ſeventy priſoners.

I ſhall take the earlieſt opportunity of tranſmitting any further accounts which may be ſent by Captain Barton; but it evidently appears that Captain Barton's conduct was highly meritorious, by the capture and deſtruction of this force of the enemy, and ſaving the iſland of Anguilla from further depredation.

The French troops employed on this ſervice were picked men from Guadaloupe; and there is great reaſon to ſuppoſe the greateſt part of them have been taken or deſtroyed. Many of the ſoldiers were drowned in attempting to ſwim on ſhore.

The Lapwing had but one man killed (the pilot), and ſix men wounded.

I am, &c.
(Signed) HENRY HARVEY.

Admiralty Office, Jan. 20, 1797.

Extract of a Letter from Vice Admiral Kingſmill, Commander in Chief of his Majeſty's Forces and Veſſels at Cork, to Mr. Evan Nepean, dated on board the Polyphemus, Jan. 13, 1797.

PLEASE to inform my Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, that his Majeſty's ſhip Druid is arrived at Kinſale, detached from the Unicorn and Doris, with a large French ſhip, armed *en flute*, captured by them, named La Ville de l'Orient, having on board four hundred of the enemy's huſſars, completely equipped, beſides ſome mortars, cannon, muſquets, powder, clothing, &c. being one of the ſhips on the expedition againſt this country; and that the Unicorn and Doris were left following up the intelligence they had received, for the further annoyance of the enemy.

Admiralty Office, Jan. 20, 1797.

Copy of a Letter from Captain Barlow, Commander of his Majeſty's Ship Phœbe, to Evan Nepean, Eſq. Secretary of the Admiralty, dated Cawſand Bay, Jan. 13, 1797.

SIR,

I HAVE to acquaint you, for their Lordſhips' information, that on the 10th inſt. Cape Clear bearing N. N. W. diſtant about twenty

 leagues,

leagues, his Majeſty's ſhip under my command fell in with the French corvette L'Atalante, of ſixteen guns, manned with one hundred and twelve men, commanded by Lieutenant Dordelin, which, after a chaſe of eight hours towards the N. E. quarter, ſhe came up with and captured. The Atalante is a very fine brig, coppered, having eighty feet keel, and is only three years old. Should their Lordſhips think proper to order her to be inſpected, ſhe will, I think, be deemed fit for his Majeſty's ſervice. As ſoon as I ſhall have landed the priſoners, and received the Phœbe's men from the corvette, I purpoſe proceeding to ſea in further execution of their Lordſhips' order of the 3d inſt.

I am, Sir, your humble ſervant,

ROBERT BARLOW.

Admiralty Office, January 20, 1797.

Copy of a Letter from Admiral Sir Richard King, Bart. Commander in Chief of his Majeſty's Ships and Veſſels at Plymouth, to Evan Nepean, Eſq. dated Jan. 17, 1797.

LIEUTENANT Gardiner, of his Majeſty's ſhip Hind, arrived here this morning in the La Favorite national privateer, of eight guns, four pounders, and ſixty men, captured by the Hind, in company with the fleet commanded by Lord Bridport, from whom he parted the 13th inſtant, in the latitude of 48 deg. north, and longitude 8 deg. 30 min. weſt.

Lord Bridport looked into Bantry Bay on the 8th inſtant; no French ſhips were there then.

Admiralty Office, January 20, 1797.

Extract of a Letter from Admiral Sir Richard King, Commander in Chief of his Majeſty's Ships and Veſſels at Plymouth, to Evan Nepean, Eſq. dated Jan. 17, 1797.

HIS Majeſty's ſloop Spitfire arrived this morning with the national brig L'Allerger, of two hundred tons, laden with ammunition and entrenching tools, being one of the veſſels on the expedition to Ireland, which ſhe captured the 12th inſtant, about thirty leagues to the weſtward of Uſhant, the Spitfire having been driven to that ſituation by ſtrong gales of northerly wind.

Admiralty Office, January 21, 1797.

Copy of a Letter from Sir Edward Pellew, Bart. Captain of his Majeſty's Frigate Indefatigable, to Evan Nepean, Eſq. dated Jan. 17, 1797.

I HAVE the honour to make known to you, for the information of the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, that on Friday laſt, the 13th inſtant, at half paſt noon, in latitude 47 deg. 30 min. N. Uſhant bearing N. E. 50 leagues, we diſcovered a large ſhip in the N. W. quarter, ſteering under eaſy ſail for France: the wind was then at weſt, blowing hard, with thick, hazy weather. I inſtantly made the ſignal to the Amazon for a general chaſe, and followed it by

by the signal that the chafe was an enemy. At four P. M. the Indefatigable had gained fufficiently upon the chafe for me to diftinguifh very clearly that fhe had two tier of guns, with her lower-deck ports fhut, and that fhe had no poop.

At fifteen minutes before fix we brought the enemy to clofe action, which continued to be well fupported on both fides near an hour, when we unavoidably fhot a-head. At this moment the Amazon appeared aftern, and gallantly fupplied our place; but the eagernefs of Captain Reynolds to fecond his friend had brought him up under a prefs of fail, and, after a well-fupported and clofe fire for a little time, fhe alfo unavoidably fhot a-head. The enemy, who had nearly effected running me on board, appeared to be much larger than the Indefatigable, and from her very heavy fire of mufketry, I believe was full of men; this fire was continued until the end of the action with great vivacity, although fhe frequently defended both fides of the fhip at the fame time.

As foon as we had replaced fome neceffary rigging, and the Amazon had reduced her fail, we commenced a fecond attack, placing ourfelves, after fome raking broadfides, upon each quarter; and this attack, often within piftol fhot, was by both fhips unremitted for above five hours; we then fheered off to fecure our mafts. It would be needlefs to relate to their Lordfhips every effort that we made in an attack which commenced at a quarter before fix P. M. and did not ceafe, excepting at intervals, until half-paft four A. M. I believe, ten hours of more fevere fatigue was fcarcely ever experienced; the fea was high, the people on the main deck up to their middles in water. Some guns broke their breechings four times over; fome drew the ring-bolts from the fides, and many of them were repeatedly drawn immediately after loading; all our mafts were much wounded; the main top-maft completely unrigged, and faved only by uncommon alacrity.

At about twenty minutes paft four, the moon opening rather brighter than before, fhewed to Lieutenant George Bell, who was watchfully looking out on the forecaftle, a glimpfe of the land; he had fcarcely reached me to report it, when we faw the breakers; we were then clofe under the enemy's ftarboard bow, and the Amazon as near her on the larboard; not an inftant could be loft, and every life depended upon the prompt execution of my orders; and here it is with heartfelt pleafure I acknowledge the full value of my officers and fhip's company, who with incredible alacrity hauled the tacks on board, and made fail to the fouthward.

The land could not be afcertained, but we took it to be Ufhant; and in the Bay of Breft, crippled as we were, I had no particular fears: but before day we again faw breakers upon the lee bow; the fhip was inftantly wore to the northward, and being then fatisfied that the land we had before feen was not Ufhant, the lingering approach of day-light was moft anxioufly looked for by all, and foon after it opened, feeing the land very clofe a-head, we again wore to the fouthward, in twenty fathoms water, and a few minutes after difcovered the enemy, who had fo bravely defended herfelf, lying on her broad-fide, and a tremendous furf beating over her. The miferable fate of her brave but unhappy crew, was perhaps the more fincerely lamented by us, from the apprehenfion of fuffering a fimilar misfortune.

We

We paſſed her within a mile, in a very bad condition, having at that time four feet water in her hold, a great ſea, and the wind dead on the ſhore; but we had aſcertained, beyond a doubt, our ſituation to be that of Hodierne Bay, and that our fate depended upon the poſſible chance of weathering the Penmark Rocks. Exhauſted as we were with fatigue, every exertion was made, and every inch of canvaſs ſet that could be carried, and at eleven A. M. we made the breakers, and, by the bleſſing of God, weathered the Penmark Rocks, about half a mile.

The Amazon had hauled her wind to the northward, when we ſtood to the ſouthward; her condition, I think, was better than our's, and I knew that her activity and exertions were fully equal to any thing that could be effected under ſimilar circumſtances; the judgment with which ſhe was managed during ſo long an action, and the gallantry of her attack, could not but merit the higheſt commendation, and to the heart of a friend it was peculiarly gratifying. I have full as much reaſon to ſpeak highly of my own officers and men, to whom I owe infinite obligations. The Lieutenants Thomſon, Norway, and Bell, Lieutenants O'Conner and Wilſon of the Marines, and Mr. Thomſon the maſter, have abundant claims on my gratitude, as well as every inferior officer in the ſhip. The ſufferings of the Amazon are unknown to me; and I am ſingularly happy to ſay, that my own are inconſiderable. The firſt lieutenant, Mr. Thomſon, a brave and worthy officer, is the only one of that deſcription wounded, with eighteen men; twelve of which number have wounds of no ſerious conſequence, conſiſting chiefly of violent contuſions from ſplinters.

I am, &c. &c. &c.

(Signed) ED. PELLEW.

Admiralty Office, Jan. 21, 1797.

Extract of a Letter from Admiral Lord Bridport to Mr. Nepean, dated at Sea, the 16th of January, 1797.

CAPTAIN Counteſs, of the Dædalus, informs me, that on the 8th inſtant, off Uſhant, in company with the Majeſtic and Incendiary, he captured Le Suffrein, a French tranſport, which had been taken by the Jaſon, and recaptured by Le Tortu frigate, and was going to Breſt. She had two mortars, a quantity of ſmall arms, powder, ſhells, and ſome entrenching tools on board, which he ſunk, to prevent her falling into the hands of the enemy.

Extract of a Letter from Captain Sir Thomas Williams, of his Majeſty's Ship Unicorn, to Mr. Nepean, dated Cawſand Bay, Jan. 18, 1797.

IN the evening of the 10th inſtant, the wind changed to N. W. when I ſhaped a courſe which I calculated would fall in with Lord Bridport. The following afternoon I took a private ſhip of war, L'Eclair, of eighteen guns and one hundred and twenty men, and the ſame evening joined the Britiſh fleet.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, Jan. 24.

Admiralty Office, January 24, 1797.

Extract of a Letter from Rear Admiral Bligh to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated on board his Majesty's Ship Brunswick, Mole St. Nicholas, St. Domingo, Oct. 31, 1796.

A SMALL French schooner privateer, mounting one gun and three swivels, and twenty-five men, called Le Capitaine Generoux, was brought in here the 18th instant, captured by his Majesty's ship Adventure, and armed schooner Le Dauphin Royal, belonging to St. Domingo. She had failed from Aux Cayes two days, and had taken nothing.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, Jan. 31.

Downing-street, Jan. 30, 1797.

OFFICIAL accounts have this day been received from Mr. Robert Craufurd, of the surrender of Kehl, on the 10th instant, to the Austrians, after a siege of forty-nine days. It appears that from the 31st of December to the 7th of January, several attacks had been made by the Austrians upon the enemy's principal outworks, in all of which the former were completely successful.

Mr. R. Craufurd speaks in the highest terms of the skill and perseverance of his Royal Highness the Archduke Charles, the gallantry and good conduct of Prince Frederic of Orange, and of the patience and cheerfulness with which the troops submitted to the greatest hardships.

Admiralty Office, January 31, 1797.

Copy of a Letter from Richard Onslow, Esq. Vice Admiral of the Red, to Mr. Nepean, dated on board his Majesty's Ship Nassau, Yarmouth Roads, Jan. 29, 1797.

SIR,

BE pleased to inform my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that his Majesty's hired armed cutter Griffin anchored in these Roads yesterday morning, at ten o'clock, with the French privateer lugger La Liberté, a prize, carrying three carriage guns, four swivels, and eighteen men. She was taken at the entrance of the Ship Wash, after a chase of three hours and a half. This is one of the vessels that has infested the coast for some time past.

I am, Sir,
Your most obedient, humble servant,
R. ONSLOW.

From

From the LONDON GAZETTE, Feb. 7, 1797.

Admiralty Office, February 7, 1797.

Copy of a Letter from Rear-Admiral Bazely, Commanding Officer of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels in the Downs, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated February 5, 1797.

SIR,

ENCLOSED herewith is a copy of a letter I have received from Captain Bazely, of his Majesty's sloop Harpy, giving an account of the Lion cutter having captured a small French privateer off Dungeness.

I am, Sir, &c. &c. &c.
JOHN BAZELY.

Harpy, off Dungeness, Feb. 3, 1797,
Six o'Clock, P. M.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to acquaint you, that at five o'clock this evening, stretching close in with Dungeness Point, we fell in with his Majesty's armed cutter Lion, bringing to a sloop, astern of a convoy, running to the eastward, which proved to be the Reguin, republican privateer, belonging to Dieppe, with twenty men, and armed with musquets.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c. &c.
HEN. BAZELY.

John Bazely, Esq. Rear Admiral of the White, &c. Downs.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, Feb. 14.

Admiralty Office, February 14, 1797.

Copy of a Letter from Captain Gosselin, Commander of his Majesty's Ship Syren, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated off Cherbourg, February 2, 1797.

SIR,

YOU will be pleased to inform the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that being off Cherbourg with his Majesty's ship under my command, I this day captured Le Sanspeur French cutter privateer, carrying two swivels, some small arms, and eighteen men. She left Cherbourg the 5th of January, and had not taken any thing.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c. &.
T. LE M. GOSSELIN.

From

From the LONDON GAZETTE, Feb. 18, 1797.

Extract of a Letter from Vice Admiral Onslow to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated on board his Majesty's Ship Nassau, in Yarmouth Roads, Feb. 17, 1797.

BE pleased to inform my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that his Majesty's ship Espion is just arrived in these roads; she separated from the Martin sloop on the night of the 14th instant, in a heavy gale of wind; the latter has charge of the Buonaparte French ship privateer. I inclose, for their Lordships' further information, Captain Dixon's letter.

SIR, *Espion, at Sea, Feb.* 16, 1797.

I have the honour to inform you, that at ten A. M. on the 14th instant, the Texel bearing S. E. distant eighteen leagues, chase was given to a ship under Danish colours on the weather bow, which, after making every effort to get away, was overpressed with sail, and at six P. M. brought to by the Espion and Martin. She proved to be Le Buonaparte French privateer, mounting sixteen six-pounders and one long twelve-pounder, with a complement of one hundred and ten men, but had only eighty-two on board: she sailed from Cherbourg on the 1st inst. since which she had cruised on the coast of Scotland, and had only captured a sloop in ballast, which was liberated; eight six-pounders were thrown overboard during the pursuit; all the day the weather was extremely boisterous, and it was with infinite difficulty and hazard the exchange of prisoners was effected. One boat belonging to the Espion was lost, but happily no lives; and it is but justice to the officers and seamen of both ships to declare they performed the service with manly spirit and determination; as during the night it blew very hard at N.N.W. the Martin and prize unavoidably separated from the Espion; Captain Sutton had been previously desired to stay by the prize, and see her into Yarmouth.

The privateer is quite new, sails remarkably fast, and is, in every respect, well found as a vessel of war.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

(Signed) MANLEY DIXON.

Vice Admiral Onslow, Yarmouth.

Admiralty Office, Feb. 18, 1797.

Copy of a Letter from Captain Halsted, Commander of his Majesty's Ship Phœnix, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated at Sea, Feb. 11, 1797.

SIR,

BE pleased to acquaint their Lordships, that the Jeune Emilie, a French privateer brig, of ten guns and sixty-two men, was captured by his Majesty's ship Triton this evening. She has been only forty days from St. Maloes, has taken an English sloop, called the Friendship, from Lisbon to Liverpool, with fruit, and an English ship letter of marque, of ten nine-pounders and twenty-one men, called the Battallion, from Liverpool to Jamaica, after an action of three quarters of an hour.

I have

I have alſo to acquaint you, for their Lordſhips' further information, that the Triton captured the French privateer cutter Recovery, of 14 guns and forty ſix men, on the 10th inſtant, which had been a few days from Havre, and had taken an Engliſh ſmuggler, and an American ſhip bound to Bombay; the latter was retaken a few hours afterwards by the Stag.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

L. W. HALSTED.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, February 25, 1797.

Admiralty Office, Feb. 25, 1797.

Copy of a Letter from Captain Glynn, Commander of his Majeſty's Sloop Scourge, to Evan Nepean, Eſq. dated Plymouth Sound, February 22, 1797.

SIR,

I have the honour to acquaint you, for the information of my Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, that his Majeſty's ſloop Scourge, under my command, at half paſt twelve P. M. on the 21ſt inſtant, the land bearing N. E. diſtant five or ſix leagues, captured, after a chaſe of three hours, a French privateer, called Le Furet, pierced for fourteen, but only mounting ten guns, having the other four in her hold. She had on board, when taken, fifty men, beſides twenty-two Engliſh priſoners, ſeven of whom were wounded; ſhe is commanded by Benoiſh Giron, had been twenty days from L'Orient, is coppered, and a faſt ſailer.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c. &c.

H. R. GLYNN.

From the LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY, February 25, 1797.

Whitehall, February 25, 1797.

A LETTER this day received by the Duke of Portland, from Lord Milford, Lord Lieutenant for the county of Pembroke, dated Haverfordweſt, February 23, five P. M. contains information, that two frigates, a corvette, and a lugger, appeared off the coaſt of Pembrokeſhire, the 22d inſtant; and on the evening of that day diſembarked ſome troops, reported by deſerters to be about twelve hundred, but without field-pieces.

It appears, that the moſt active exertions were made by the Lord Lieutenant and gentlemen of the county and its neighbourhood, in taking proper meaſures on this occaſion; and that the greateſt zeal and loyalty were manifeſted by all ranks of people, who crowded to offer their ſervices againſt the enemy.

Extract of a Letter from Lieutenant Colonel Orchard, commanding the North Devon Volunteers, to the Duke of Portland, dated Hartland Abbey, Feb. 23, 1797.

I THINK it my duty to state to your Grace, that I yesterday received an expreſs from Ilfracombe, mentioning that there were three* French frigates off that place; that they had ſcuttled ſeveral merchantmen, and were attempting to deſtroy the ſhipping in the harbour. They begged that I would immediately order the North Devon regiment of volunteers, under my command, to march to their aſſiſtance. In conſequence of this repreſentation, I ordered the men to get ready to march as ſoon as poſſible. I have great ſatisfaction in ſaying, that in four hours I found every officer and man that was ordered on the parade at Bideford (fifteen miles from home) ready and willing to march to any place they ſhould be commanded to go to. I cannot expreſs the ſatisfaction I felt on ſeeing the men ſo willing to defend their king and country, at the ſame time as ſilent, orderly, and ſober, as might be expected at a morning parade of an old regiment. The greateſt exertions were made by *all* deſcriptions of people to aſſiſt, and to render every ſervice in their power. As I was preparing to march, I received an account from Ilfracombe, that the French ſhips were gone from the coaſt, and that tranquillity was again reſtored to the town. How far the report was well founded, I cannot poſſibly ſay; but as this affair may be miſrepreſented and exaggerated, I truſt your Grace will excuſe my troubling you with this letter; and I flatter myſelf it muſt give you pleaſure to hear of the loyalty of this neighbourhood, and that the behaviour of the volunteers and inhabitants will meet the approbation of his Majeſty.

From the LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY,

February 26, 1797.

Whitehall, February 26, 1797.

LETTERS, of which the following are extracts, have been this day received from the Right Hon. Lord Milford, Lord Lieutenant of the county of Pembroke, by his Grace the Duke of Portland, his Majeſty's principal ſecretary of ſtate for the home department.

Haverfordweſt, February 24, 1797,
Six o'Clock, A. M.

Since I had the honour of writing laſt to your Grace by expreſs, I have received information of the French ſhips having ſailed and left three hundred men behind, who have ſurrendered themſelves priſoners. The great ſpirit and loyalty that the gentlemen and peaſantry have ſhewn on this occaſion exceeds deſcription. Many thouſands of the latter aſſembled, armed with pikes and ſcythes, and attacked the enemy, previous to the arrival of the troops that were ſent againſt them.

* Theſe are the ſame veſſels mentioned in the above letter of Lord Milford.

Haverfordweſt, Feb. 24, 1797,
9 *o'Clock, P. M.*

I have the honour and pleaſure to inform your Grace, that the whole of the French troops, amounting to near 1400 men, have ſurrendered, and are now on their march to Haverfordweſt.

I have taken the firſt opportunity of announcing this good news to your Grace, and ſhall have the honour of writing again to your Grace by to-morrow's poſt.

From the LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY,

February 27, 1797.

Whitehall, Feb. 27, 1797.

A LETTER, of which the following is a copy, has been this day received from the Right Hon. Lord Cawdor, by his Grace the Duke of Portland, his Majeſty's principal ſecretary of ſtate for the home department.

MY LORD, *Fiſhguard, Friday, Feb.* 24, 1797.

In conſequence of having received information on Wedneſday night, at eleven o'clock, that three large ſhips of war and a lugger had anchored in a ſmall roadſted, upon the coaſt in the neighbourhood of this town, I proceeded immediately, with a detachment of the Cardigan militia and all the provincial force I could collect, to the place. I ſoon gained poſitive intelligence they had diſembarked about 1200 men, but no cannon. Upon the night's ſetting in, a French officer, whom I found to be the ſecond in command, came in with a letter, a copy of which I have the honour to incloſe to your Grace, together with my anſwer: in conſequence of which they determined to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war, and accordingly laid down their arms this day at two o'clock.

I cannot at this moment inform your Grace of the exact number of priſoners, but I believe it to be their whole force: it is my intention to march them this night to Haverfordweſt, where I ſhall make the beſt diſtribution in my power. The frigates, corvette, and lugger, got under weigh yeſterday evening, and were this morning entirely out of ſight.

The fatigue we have experienced will, I truſt, excuſe me to your Grace, for not giving a more particular detail; but my anxiety to do juſtice to the officers and men I had the honour to command, will induce me to attend your Grace with as little delay as poſſible, to ſtate their merits, and at the ſame time, to give you every information in my power upon this ſubject. The ſpirit of loyalty which has pervaded all ranks throughout this country is infinitely beyond what I can expreſs.

I am, &c.

CAWDOR.

Carn

Cardigan Bay, 5th of Ventose, 5th Year of the Republic.

SIR,

THE circumstances under which the body of the French troops under my command were landed at this place render it unnecessary to attempt any military operations, as they would tend only to bloodshed and pillage. The officers of the whole corps have therefore intimated their desire of entering into a negotiation, upon principles of humanity, for a surrender. If you are influenced by similar considerations, you may signify the same by the bearer, and in the mean time hostilities shall cease.

Salute and respect,

TATE, Chef de Brigade.

To the Officer commanding his Britannic Majesty's troops.

SIR, *Fishguard, Feb. 23, 1797.*

THE superiority of the force under my command, which is hourly increasing, must prevent my treating upon any terms short of your surrendering your whole force prisoners of war. I enter fully into your wish of preventing an unnecessary effusion of blood, which your speedy surrender can alone prevent, and which will entitle you to that consideration it is ever the wish of British troops to shew an enemy whose numbers are inferior.

My Major will deliver you this letter, and I shall expect your determination by ten o'clock, by your officer, whom I have furnished with an escort, that will conduct him to me without molestation.

I am, &c.

CAWDOR.

To the Officer commanding the French troops.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, Feb. 28, 1797.

Admiralty Office, February 28, 1797.

Copy of a Letter from Rear-Admiral Bazely, Commanding Officer of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels in the Downs, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated, February 25, 1797.

SIR,

SIR John Colleton, Bart. commanding the Swift cutter, acquaints me, that he yesterday captured and sent into Dover L'Aventurier French schooner privateer, of forty tons, having on board eleven men, with cutlasses and pistols; which he fell in with about four leagues N. E. of the South Foreland, that had left Fecamp on the 20th instant, but had not taken any thing.

Sir John further acquaints me that this privateer had been boarded by the Dolphin armed cutter off Dungeness, and that he himself had examined her, and suffered her to proceed as an American vessel in ballast, bound to London; but observing that she afterwards altered her course and steered for the French land, he stood after her, and on boarding

her

her a second time, and strictly examining the ballast with a spit, he found eight men concealed, with pistols and cutlasses, in a place made for that purpose, with a hole barely sufficient for them to breathe through.

I am, Sir, &c. &c. &c.

JOHN BAZELY.

Admiralty Office, Feb. 28, 1797.

Copy of a Letter from Commodore Nelson to Admiral Sir John Jervis, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels in the Mediterranean, dated December 20, 1796.

LAST night at ten o'clock I saw two Spanish frigates, and directed Captain Cockbure, in the Minerve, to attack the ship which carried a poop light; the Blanche bore down to attack the other. I have not yet received from Captain Preston an account of his action, but as I saw the Blanche this morning to windward with every sail set, I presume she had not suffered much damage.

Captain Cockburne brought his ship to close action at twenty minutes before eleven, which continued without intermission till half past one, when La Sabina, of forty guns, twenty-eight eighteen pounders on her main deck, two hundred and eighty-six men, Captain Don Jacoba Stuart, having lost her mizen mast (as she did after the action), main and foremast, one hundred and sixty-four men killed and wounded, struck her colours.

You are, Sir, so thoroughly acquainted with the merits of Captain Cockburne, that it is needless for me to express them; but the discipline of the Minerve does the highest credit to her Captain and Lieutenants, and I wish fully to express the sense I entertain of their judgment and gallantry: Lieutenant Culverhouse, the First Lieutenant, is an old officer of very distinguished merit; Lieutenants Hardy, Gage, and Noble, deserve every praise which gallantry and zeal justly entitle them to; as do every other officer and man in the ship. You will observe, Sir, I am sure, with regret, amongst the wounded, Lieut. James Noble, who quitted the Captain to serve with me, and whose merits, and repeated wounds, received in fighting the enemies of our country, entitle him to every reward which a grateful nation can bestow The Minerve's opponent being commanded by a gallant officer, was well defended, which has caused her list of killed and wounded to be great, as also her masts, sails, and rigging to be much damaged.

I have the honour to be, Sir, &c. &c. &c.

(Signed) HORATIO NELSON.

Killed.—Seven.

Wounded.—Thirty-four.

Missing.—Four, supposed to be in the prize.

Officers wounded.—Lieutenant J. Noble, Mr. Merryweather, Boatswain.

Petty Officers killed and wounded.

Killed.—One Midshipman.

Wounded.—Captain's Clerk, and Serjeant of the 11th Regiment, serving as Marines.

Damages.—All her masts shot through, and furniture much cut.

(Signed) HORATIO NELSON.

Copy

Copy of a Letter from Commodore Nelſon to Admiral Sir John Jervis, Commander in Chief of his Majeſty's Ships in the Mediterranean, dated December 20, 1796, *Seven P. M.*

IN addition to my letter of this morning, I have to acquaint you, that Lieutenants Culverhouſe and Hardy, with a proper number of men, being put in charge of the Sabina, and ſhe taken in tow, at four A. M. a frigate was ſeen coming up, which, by her ſignals, was known to be Spaniſh: at half paſt four ſhe came to action with the Minerve, who caſt off the prize, and Lieutenant Culverhouſe was directed to ſtand to the Southward; after a trial of ſtrength of more than half an hour, ſhe wore and hauled off, or I am confident ſhe would have ſhared the fate of her companion.

At this time three other ſhips were ſeen ſtanding for the Minerve; hope was alive, that they were only frigates, and alſo that the Blanche was one of them; but when the day dawned, it was mortifying to ſee they were two Spaniſh ſhips of the line and two frigates, and the Blanche far to windward. In this ſituation, the enemy frequently within ſhot, by bringing up the breeze, it required all the ſkill of Captain Cockburne, which he eminently diſplayed, to get off with a crippled ſhip: and here I muſt alſo do juſtice to Lieutenants Culverhouſe and Hardy, and expreſs my tribute of praiſe in their management of the prize; a frigate repeatedly fired into her without effect, and at laſt the Spaniſh admiral quitted the purſuit of the Minerve for that of La Sabina, who was ſteering a different courſe, evidently with the intention of attracting the notice of the admiral, as Engliſh colours were hoiſted over the Spaniſh.

The Sabina's main and fore-maſt fell overboard before ſhe ſurrendered. This is, Sir, an unpleaſant tale, but the merits of every officer and man in the Minerve and her prize were eminently conſpicuous through the whole of this arduous day. The enemy quitted the purſuit of the Minerve at dark.

Killed.—None. Wounded.—Ten.

Officers wounded.—Mr. Hinton, gunner.

Mainmaſt much damaged, ſails and rigging much cut.

(Signed) HORATIO NELSON.

Copy of a Letter from Commodore Nelſon to Admiral Sir John Jervis, K. B. dated December 24, 1796.

SIR,

YESTERDAY the Minerve took, off the ſouth end of Sardinia, a French privateer, called the Maria, of ſix nine-pounders, and ſixty-eight men, three days from Marſeilles, on a cruiſe, taken nothing.

I am, Sir, your moſt obedient Servant,

HORATIO NELSON.

Copy of a Letter from Captain Macnamara, of his Majesty's Ship Southampton, to Sir John Jervis, K. B. dated Porto Ferrajo, December 8, 1796.

SIR,

CRUISING off Cape Dell Melle, pursuant to an order from Captain Freemantle, at six o'clock P. M. of the 2d instant, I discovered a sail to the westward. I made sail, and after a chase of six hours and a half, came up with her close under Monaco, making in for the land, with an intention to run her on shore. To obviate their purpose, there were no other means left but to lay her on board, as it blew a hard gale of wind to the S. E. Our first attempt failed, in consequence of a heavy sea, and the darkness of the night; however, the second was more successful, as I threw men on board of her, and brought her off without any damage done to either vessel: the badness of the weather prevented our changing prisoners, or having any communication for forty-eight hours after we took possession of her. She proved to be the Corso, a fine Spanish man of war brig, of eighteen guns, six pounders, and one hundred and thirty-six men, bound from Genoa to Barcelona, and commanded by Don Antonio Oacaro. She is a remarkable fast sailing vessel, quite new, well fitted, and armed at all points.

I have the honour to remain, &c.

J. MACNAMARA.

Admiralty Office, February 28, 1797.

Copy of a Letter from Commodore Nelson to Mr. Nepean, dated on board the Minerve, at Porto Ferrajo, December 29, 1796.

SIR,

HEREWITH I send you Captain Preston's letter to me, of his action on the 19th of December, at night, and I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) HORATIO NELSON.

SIR, *Blanche, at Sea, December 20, 1796.*

I HAVE to acquaint you, that last night, after having hailed the Minerve, immediately as her hauling her wind across me to attack the larger ship would permit the Blanche to wear, I bore up, and in three or four minutes after the Minerve's first broadside, brought the frigate to leeward to close action, the two ships just clear of each other; the enemy made but a trifling resistance, and eight or nine broadsides completely silenced her, when they called for quarter, and their colours were hauled down. I am sorry to add, that the very near approach of three fresh ships (two of which we discovered nearly within gun shot before we went into action) rendered my taking possession of her impracticable, when I wore to join the Minerve; but finding the ships did not then close with the frigate I had left much damaged in her sails and rigging, I again stood after her, but she had by this time got her foresail, fore-topsail, and fore-topgallant-sail set, and not only outsailed the Blanche before the wind, but was joined by another ship standing from the land. Nothing could exceed the

the ſteadineſs and good conduct of the firſt lieutenant, Mr. Cowan, the whole of the officers and ſhip's company I have the honour to command; and I have great pleaſure in informing you not one perſon was hurt, or the rigging the leaſt damaged.

I have the honour to be, &c.
(Signed) D'ARCY PRESTON.

P. S. I beg leave to add how much obliged I am to Captain Maitland, who is on board a paſſenger to join his ſhip, for his very great aſſiſtance on the quarter-deck during the action.

Commodore Nelſon, &c. &c. &c. D. P.

Admiralty Office, February 25, 1797.

Extract of a Letter from Richard Onſlow, Eſq. Vice-Admiral of the Red, to Evan Nepean, Eſq. dated on board his Majeſty's Ship Naſſau, Yarmouth Roads, Feb. 23, 1797.

I ENCLOSE, for their Lordſhips' information, a letter from Captain Hargood, of his Majeſty's ſhip Leopard, acquainting me with the capture of Le Victorieux French privateer, of four guns and 30 men, by the ſquadron under his orders: ſhe had been ſix days out from Dunkirk, but had taken nothing.

SIR, *Leopard, off Scarborough, Feb. 18, 1797.*

I BEG leave to acquaint you, that the ſquadron under my command, this day captured a privateer named La Victorieux, of Dunkirk, mounting four guns and 30 men, out ſix days, and had taken nothing. She has painted on her ſtern, "The Hope, of Hull."

I am, Sir, &c.
Vice-Admiral Onſlow. WM. HARGOOD.

Downing-ſtreet, Feb. 28, 1797.

A LETTER, of which the following is a copy, has been received from Robert Craufurd, Eſq. by the Right Honourable Lord Grenville, his Majeſty's principal Secretary of State for foreign affairs.

Head quarters of the Auſtrian Army, Manheim, Feb. 7, 1797.

MY LORD,

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordſhip, that in conſequence of a capitulation concluded on the 2d inſt. between Lieutenant General the Prince of Furſtenburgh, and the French General commanding the works of the Tete-de-Pont of Huningen, and of the iſland called the Shuſter Inſel, the ſaid works and iſland have been evacuated by the enemy, and taken poſſeſſion of by the troops of his Imperial Majeſty.

The French had beſtowed very conſiderable labour on this poſt during the time that their armies were advanced into Germany. The Tete-de-Pont itſelf was ſupported and outflanked by the extenſive horn-work on the Shuſter iſland, as were both by the fire of the fortreſs of Huningen, as well as ſeveral temporary batteries on the left bank of the Rhine. But

a confiderable quantity of heavy artillery having been fent to the upper Brifgaw immediately after the reduction of Kehl, the attack, after its arrival, was carried on with effect, and by its fuccefsful termination the right bank of the upper Rhine has been completely cleared of the enemy.

ROB. CRAUFURD.

From the LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY, March 3, 1797.

Admiralty Office, March 3, 1797.

ROBERT CALDER, Efq. firft captain to Admiral Sir John Jervis, K. B. arrived this morning with difpatches from him to Mr. Nepean, of which the following are copies.

SIR, *Victory, in Lagos Bay, Feb.* 16, 1797.

THE hopes of falling in with the Spanifh fleet, expreffed in my letter to you of the 13th inft. were confirmed that night, by our diftinctly hearing the report of their fignal guns, and by intelligence received from Captain Foote, of his Majefty's fhip the Niger, who had, with equal judgment and perfeverance, kept company with them for feveral days, on my prefcribed rendezvous (which, from the ftrong fouth-eaft winds, I had never been able to reach), and that they were not more than the diftance of three or four leagues from us. I anxioufly awaited the dawn of day, when, being on the ftarboard tack, Cape St. Vincent bearing eaft by north eight leagues, I had the fatisfaction of feeing a number of fhips extending from fouth-weft to fouth, the wind then at weft and by fouth. At forty-nine minutes paft ten, the weather being extremely hazy, La Bonne Citoyenne made the fignal, that the fhips feen were of the line, twenty-five in number. His Majefty's fquadron under my command, confifting of the fifteen fhips of the line, named in the margin*, happily formed in the moft compact order of failing, in two lines. By carrying a prefs of fail I was fortunate in getting in with the enemy's fleet at half paft eleven o'clock, before it had time to connect, and form a regular order of battle. Such a moment was not to be loft; and, confident in the fkill, valour, and difcipline of the officers and men I had the happinefs to command, and judging that the honour of his Majefty's arms, and the circumftances of the war in thefe feas, required a confiderable degree of enterprife, I felt myfelf juftified in departing from the regular fyftem; and paffing through their fleet, in a line formed with the utmoft celerity, tacked, and thereby feparated one third from the main body, after a partial cannonade, which prevented their rejunction till the evening; and by the very great exertions of the fhips which had the good fortune to arrive up with the enemy on the larboard tack, the fhips named in the margin † were captured, and the action ceafed about five o'clock in the evening.

I enclofe the moft correct lift I have been able to obtain of the Spanifh fleet oppofed to me, amounting to twenty-feven fail of the line, and an account of the killed and wounded in his Majefty's fhips, as well as in thofe taken from the enemy. The moment the latter (almoft totally dif-

* Victory, Britannia, Barfleur, Prince George, Blenheim, Namur, Captain, Goliath, Excellent, Orion, Coloffus, Egmont, Culloden, Irrefiftible, Diadem.

† Salvador del Mundo, 112; San Jofef, 112; San Nicolas, 80; San Yfidro, 74.

masted) and his Majesty's ships the Captain and Culloden are in a state to put to sea, I shall avail myself of the first favourable wind to proceed off Cape St. Vincent, in my way to Lisbon.

Captain Calder, whose able assistance has greatly contributed to the public service during my command, is the bearer of this, and will more particularly describe to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty the movements of the squadron on the 14th, and the present state of it.

I am, Sir, &c. &c.

J. JERVIS.

		Guns.				Guns.
Concepcion	—	112		San Genaro	—	74
Conde de Regla	—	112		San Ildephonso	—	74
Salvador del Mundo		112	taken.	San Júan Nepomuceno		74
San Josef	—	112	taken.	San Francisco de Paula		74
San Nicolas	—	84	taken.	San Ysidro	—	74 taken.
Oriente —	—	74		San Antonio	—	74
Glorioso	—	74		San Pablo	—	74
Atlante —	—	74		San Firmin	—	74
Conquestador	—	74		Neptuna	—	74
Soberano	—	74		Bahama	—	74
Firme —	—	74		Name unknown	—	74
Pelayo —	—	74		Name unknown	—	74

J. JERVIS.

List of the Killed and Wounded in the Squadron under the Command of Admiral Sir John Jervis, in the Action with the Spanish Fleet the 14*th of Feb.* 1797.

Victory, Admiral Sir John Jervis, K. B. First Captain Robert Calder, Second Captain George Grey, 1 seaman killed; 2 seamen, 3 marines, wounded.

Britannia, Vice-Admiral Thompson, Capt. T. Foley, 1 seaman wounded.

Barfleur, Vice-Admiral Hon. W. Waldegrave, Capt. J. Richard Dacres, 7 wounded.

Prince George, Rear Admiral Parker, Capt. John Irwin, 7 seamen, 1 marine, killed; 7 seamen wounded.

Blenheim, Capt. T. Lenox Frederick, 10 seamen, 2 soldiers, killed; 2 officers, 40 seamen, 7 soldiers, wounded.

Namur, Capt. James H. Whitshed, 2 seamen killed; 5 seamen wounded.

Captain, Commodore Nelson, Capt. R. W. Miller, 1 officer, 20 seamen, 3 soldiers, killed; 2 officers, 50 seamen, 4 soldiers, wounded.

Goliath, Capt. Sir C. H. Knowles, 4 seamen, 4 marines, wounded.

Excellent, Capt. C. Collingwood, 1 officer, 8 seamen, 2 marines, killed; 10 seamen, 2 marines, wounded.

Orion, Capt. Sir James Saumarez, 7 seamen, 2 marines, wounded.

Colossus, Capt. George Murray, 4 seamen, 1 marine, wounded.

Egmont, Capt. John Sutton. None.

Culloden, Capt. T. Troubridge, 1 officer, 7 seamen, 2 marines, killed; 39 seamen, 8 marines, wounded.

Irresistible, Capt. Geo. Martin, 4 seamen, 1 marine, killed; 1 officer, 12 seamen, 1 marine, wounded.

Diadem, Captain G. H. Towry, 1 seaman, 1 soldier, wounded.

Total, 300 killed and wounded.

Officers Killed and Wounded.

Blenheim,—Mr. Edward Libby, acting Lieutenant, wounded; Mr. Peacock, Boatſwain, wounded; Mr. Joſeph Wixon, Maſter's Mate, wounded—ſince dead.

Captain,—Major William Norris, Marines, killed; Mr. James Godench, Midſhipman, killed; Commodore Nelſon, bruiſed, but not obliged to quit the deck; Mr. Carrington, Boatſwain, wounded in boarding the San Nicolas; Mr. Thomas Lund, Midſhipman, wounded.

Excellent,—Mr. Peter Peffers, Boatſwain, killed; Mr. Edward Auguſtus Down, Maſter's Mate, wounded.

Orion,—Mr. Thomas Manſel, Midſhipman, wounded.

Culloden,—Mr. G. A. Livingſtone, Lieutenant of Marines, killed.

Irreſiſtible,—Serjeant Watſon, Marines, killed; Mr. Andrew Thompſon, Lieutenant, wounded; Mr. Hugh M'Kinnon, Maſter's Mate, wounded; Mr. William Balfour, Midſhipman, wounded.

J. JERVIS.

Liſt of the Killed and Wounded on board the Spaniſh Ships taken by the Squadron under the Command of Admiral Sir John Jervis, K. B. on the 14th of Feb. 1797.

Ships Names.		Killed.	Wounded.
San Yſidro,	Officers — — —	4	8
	Artilleriſts, Seamen, and Soldiers	25	55
		29	63
Salvador del Mundo,	Officers — — —	5	3
	Artilleriſts, Seamen, and Soldiers	37	121
		42	124
San Nicolas,	Officers — — —	4	8
	Artilleriſts, Seamen, and Soldiers	140	51
		144	59
San Joſef,	Officers — — —	2	5
	Artilleriſts, Seamen, and Soldiers	44	91
		46	96

Killed	261
Wounded	342
Total	603

Note.—Among the killed is the General Don Franciſco Xavier Winthuyſen, Chef d'Eſcadre.

SIR, *Victory, in Lagos Bay, Feb.* 16, 1797.

I ENCLOSE a letter received from Captain Marſh, of his Majeſty's ſloop the King's Fiſher, whoſe ſervices off Oporto merit my higheſt approbation.

I am, Sir,
Your moſt obedient humble ſervant,
J. JERVIS.

Evan Nepean, Eſq.

SIR,

SIR, *King's Fisher, off Oporto, Jan. 28, 1797.*

I BEG leave to acquaint you that on the 23d instant I fell in with two Spanish privateers; one of which, a lugger, mounting one carriage gun, and manned with thirty-eight men, I captured, and drove the other on shore between Villa Conde and Vianna; the latter was a schooner, and, I understand from the prisoners, mounted twelve carriage guns, and was manned with between sixty and seventy men: those vessels had, for some time past, infested this coast, and had captured several English merchant vessels.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient humble servant,
EDW. MARSH.

Sir John Jervis, K. B. Admiral of the Blue, and Commander in Chief, &c. &c. &c.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, March 4, 1797.

Admiralty Office, March 4, 1797.

Copy of a Letter from Captain Yorke, Commander of his Majesty's Ship Stag, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated at Spithead the 2d of March, 1797.

SIR,

I beg you will inform my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty with the arrival of his Majesty's ship Stag, under my command, at this port, and of her having captured, near Scilly, the French privateer, L'Approcate brig, of fourteen guns and sixty five men, and L'Hirondelle cutter, of six guns and forty-five men, the latter of which was destroyed.

I am, Sir, &c. &c. &c.
JOS. SYD. YORKE.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, March 11, 1797.

Admiralty Office, March 11, 1797.

Copy of a Letter from Lieutenant Henry Festing, commanding his Majesty's Cutter the Nimble, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated Yarmouth Road, Isle of Wight, March 8, 1797.

SIR,

BE pleased to inform my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that I sailed from Dartmouth the 6th instant, with a convoy for the Downs.

Yesterday morning, about seven o'clock, off St. Alban's Head, I captured a French privateer cutter, called L'Impromptu, Citizen L'Eccuyer commander, with four swivels, plenty of small arms, cutlasses, &c. and thirty-one men; sailed from Cherbourg the preceding night, but had taken nothing. She has the Ann of Dartmouth on her stern, her original name, and was taken away from Brixham about six weeks ago by some French prisoners.

Discovering

Discovering another suspicious cutter in chase of a sloop, I immediately hauled after her, and made the signal for my convoy (as the weather seemed variable, and little wind to the southward) to run in through the Needles.

About four P. M. came up with the chase; she is named Le Bonheur, Citizen Burnel commander, with two three-pounders, two swivels, small arms, cutlasses, and twenty-four men. The cutlasses in both vessels were ground as sharp as razors. She has the Mary of Dartmouth on her stern, but French built, sailed in company with the other, and had taken nothing. I immediately took her in tow, and shall proceed to Spithead to get rid of the prisoners.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c. &c.

H. FESTING.

Copy of a Letter from Sir John Warren, Bart. Captain of his Majesty's Ship La Pomone, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated March 7, 1797.

I TAKE the liberty of enclosing to you, for their Lordships' information, a list of the enemy's vessels taken and destroyed by his Majesty's squadron under my command.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c. &c.

J. WARREN.

A List of French and Spanish Vessels captured and destroyed by his Majesty's Squadron under the Command of Commodore Sir John Borlase Warren, K. B. between the 24th of January and 7th of March, 1797.

FRENCH.—La Providence, sloop, in ballast, from Brest to Bourdeaux, sunk.

L'Intrepid, sloop, in ballast, from Brest to Bourdeaux, sunk.

L'Jennee, brig, wine and brandy, from Bourdeaux to Brest, sent to England.

Le ———, brig, empty casks, burnt.

SPANISH.—La Santa Theresa, brig, empty casks, from St. Andero to Vigo, burnt.

St. Jago de Compostella, brig, in ballast, from St. Andero to Vigo, sunk.

J. B. WARREN, Commodore.

Copy of a Letter from Admiral Peyton, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels in the Downs, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated the 9th of March, 1797.

SIR,

BY a letter I have received from Captain Talbot, of his Majesty's ship Eurydice, of this date, he informs me that at five A. M. on the 7th instant, off the Flemish Banks, he saw on his weather beam, and, after a chace of four hours, took Le Voltigeur French privateer, lugger rigged, no carriage guns, and manned with twenty-three men. She had sailed from Dunkirk the night before, to cruise on the North Coast, and had not taken any thing.

I am, Sir, &c. &c. &c.

JOSEPH PEYTON.

From

From the LONDON GAZETTE, March 14, 1797.

Admiralty Office, March 14, 1797.

Extract of a Letter from the Hon. Robert Stopford, Commander of his Majesty's Ship Phaeton, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated at Falmouth, the 9th of March, 1797.

I HAVE to request you will inform their Lordships, that, on the 6th instant, Ushant bearing E. by W. forty-six leagues, I captured a French privateer, called L'Actif, a ship carrying eighteen guns and 120 men; she sailed from Nantes on the 16th ult. and, on the 27th ult. captured the Princess Elizabeth packet coming from Jamaica, in lat. 40 deg. 30 min. long. 14 deg. 30 min. the only English prize she had made during her cruise. Several privateers were fitting at Nantes at the time that the Actif sailed.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, March 18, 1797.

Admiralty Office, March 18, 1797.

Extract of a Letter from Admiral Lord Bridport, K. B. to Mr. Nepean, dated Royal George, at Sea, March 10, 1797.

I AM now to acquaint you, for their Lordships' information, that on the 7th instant Sir Harry Neale, in the St. Fiorenzo, recaptured the Cynthia brig, from Lisbon to Poole, laden with fruit, which had been taken eight days before by a privateer brig. On the 8th instant the Impetueux captured La Vatour, a small cutter privateer, armed with muskets, having twenty-eight men on board, and only one day from Brest. In the afternoon of that day, the wind coming to the northward, I bore up for Ushant, and detached the St. Fiorenzo and Nymphe to look into Brest; and I have the satisfaction to inform their Lordships, that, on the St. Fiorenzo and Nymphe's returning to rejoin the squadron, they fell in with and captured La Resistance and La Constance French frigates. The taking these ships does Sir Harry Neale, with Capt. Cooke, and their officers and men, the highest honour, and I hope their skilful and spirited conduct will meet their Lordships' approbation, as I warmly feel they have merited my particular thanks. Herewith you will receive also a copy of Sir Harry Neale's letter to me on this occasion.

My Lord, *St. Fiorenzo, at Sea, March 9, 1797.*

I HAVE the satisfaction to acquaint you, that after having (agreeable to your direction), with the assistance of Capt. Cooke, of his Majesty's ship La Nymphe, under my orders, reconnoitred the enemy's force in the outer road of Brest harbour, Captain Cooke informed me he saw two ships to the westward, standing in for Brest; in consequence of which we tacked, and made sail, close on a wind, for the purpose of getting the weather gauge, which being with ease accomplished, we bore down upon the ships together, having ascertained them to be two French frigates; and as we were not more than two or three leagues from Point St. Mathew's, with a leading wind out of Brest, and the French fleet in sight from our tops, it was an object of great importance to be as decisive as

possible

poſſible in our mode of attack. As the largeſt ſhip was the headmoſt, we both engaged her very warmly, at the diſtance of about forty yards, and compelled her to ſurrender, after a ſhort reſiſtance. By this time the ſmaller frigate had arrived up, and being immediately attacked by both ſhips in the ſame manner as the former, her reſiſtance, though better made, was not long; ſhe ſtruck her colours about nine o'clock A. M. The whole of the action was a running fight, and did not laſt more than half an hour.

I have great pleaſure in expreſſing to your Lordſhip, that I feel particularly obliged to my friend Capt. Cooke, for his judicious and active conduct during the time we jointly engaged the enemy. I have long known his abilities and zeal for the ſervice, and am happy to have this opportunity of teſtifying it, both as an act grateful to myſelf, and as a duty I owe to his Majeſty's ſervice.

I ſhould be wanting in gratitude to all my officers and ſhip's company, if I did not acknowledge myſelf much indebted to them for their ſteady zeal, and the aſſiſtance I received from them during the action. Lieutenants Durell, Farnell, and Renwick, Mr. Kiteatt the maſter, and Lieutenant Caruthers, the officer of marines, are particularly entitled to my thanks for their activity at their different ſtations. Mr. Durell, my firſt lieutenant, who has been an officer eighteen years, merits my warmeſt recommendation. And it is with equal pleaſure I expreſs myſelf obliged to the officers and ſhip's company of La Nymphe. Captain Cooke ſpeaks of the aſſiſtance he received from them in terms highly to their honour, and in particular of Lieutenants Irvine, Lawrence, and Maſters, and Mr. Dyer, the maſter, and Lieutenant Campbell, the marine officer; in mentioning them to your Lordſhip I comply with their captain's wiſh. I beg your Lordſhip will mention Lieutenant Durell and Lieutenant Irvine to my Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, as officers deſerving of the higheſt commendation.

The ſhips taken are La Reſiſtance, commanded by Monſieur Montagne, mounting 48 guns, eighteen pounders on her main deck, and manned with 345 men. She is only ſix months old, built upon a new conſtruction, and is in every reſpect one of the fineſt frigates the French had, and certainly the largeſt, meaſuring 45 feet beam. The other frigate, La Conſtance, commanded by Monſieur Deſauney, mounting 24 nine-pounders upon the main deck, and manned with 189 men; ſhe is two years old, and a very fine ſhip. Theſe are two of the frigates which landed troops in Wales; it is a pleaſing circumſtance to have completed the failure of that expedition. I am particularly happy to inform your Lordſhip that neither the St. Fiorenzo nor La Nymphe have had any men killed or wounded, or the ſhips hurt. The St. Fiorenzo only having received two ſhot in her hull. La Reſiſtance had ten men killed, the firſt lieutenant and eight men wounded. La Conſtance had eight men killed and ſix wounded.

I have the honour to be,

Your Lordſhip's moſt obedient ſervant,

H. NEALE.

Admiral Lord Bridport, K. B.
&c. &c. &c.

Admiralty

Admiralty Office, March 18, 1797.

Extract of a Letter from Vice-Admiral Kingſmill, Commander in Chief of his Majeſty's Ships and Veſſels at Cork, to Evan Nepean, Eſq. dated on board his Majeſty's Ship Polyphemus, in Cork Harbour, the 10th of March, 1797.

PLEASE to inform my Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, that his Majeſty's ſhip Alcmene arrived here laſt evening from Lough Swilly by the weſtward, and in her way has captured a French privateer ſhip of ſixteen guns and 154 men, off the Skelligs, as will be further explained in the accompanying letter from Captain Brown.

SIR, *Alcmene, Cork Cove, March 9, 1797.*

BE pleaſed to communicate to the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, that on the 6th of March, making the beſt of my way to Cork, I ſaw a ſhip ſtanding for the S. W. which I immediately purſued, and after a ſeventeen hours chaſe, captured her: ſhe proves to be the Surveillant privateer of ſixteen guns and 154 men, had been out thirty-two days from Bourdeaux, had taken two brigs, the one from Liſbon and the other from Liverpool; the latter of which (laden with coals) I had the good fortune to recapture, and have allowed her maſter to proceed to his original deſtination.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your moſt obedient humble ſervant,
W. BROWN.

To Vice-Admiral Kingſmill,
&c. &c. &c.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, March 25, 1797.

Admiralty Office, March 25, 1797.

Extract of a Letter from Rear-Admiral Sir John Orde, Bart. Commanding Officer of his Majeſty's Ships and Veſſels at Plymouth, to Evan Nepean, Eſq. dated the 22d of March, 1797.

ENCLOSED I ſend you a letter from Lieutenant Elliot, commanding the armed lugger Plymouth, acquainting me with his having taken and brought into this port a ſmall French privateer of four guns and twenty-nine men, in purſuit of which I had ordered him yeſterday, in conſequence of a ſignal from the Telegraph of an enemy's ſmall cruiſer being off the Start.

On board his Majeſty's hired armed Lugger the Plymouth,
Hamoaze, March 22, 1797.

SIR,

IN purſuance of your orders of yeſterday, I got his Majeſty's hired lugger under my command under weigh, and went in purſuit of the enemy's cruiſer, as denoted per ſignal, and I have the pleaſure to inform you, that the Start bearing North, diſtant three leagues, I fell in with and captured this morning, after a ſhort chaſe, La Epervier, French privateer, mounting four carriage guns, two of which were thrown overboard in chaſe, three ſwivels, and otherwiſe well armed with ſmall arms, is ſloop rigged, and navigated with twenty-nine men, Dick Poiſſon, captain,

captain, formerly an English thrawl-boat; she is three days from Brest, and had taken nothing.

I have the honour to remain, Sir,
Your humble servant,
ROB. ELLIOT.

To Sir John Orde, Bart. Rear-Admiral of the White, &c. &c.

Admiralty Office, March 25, 1797.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. William Weston, Collector of the Customs at Weymouth, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated March 23, 1797.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to acquaint you, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that yesterday evening arrived the Greyhound revenue cutter, Captain Wilkinson, with a French privateer, lugger rigged, called La Liberté, commanded by Citizen Barnard Emanuel Papillon, with four swivel guns, plenty of small arms, cutlasses, &c. and manned with 18 men, which she fell in with the 21st instant, about eleven o'clock, A. M. off the Owers, steering into a convoy, and, after a chase of eight hours, captured about three leagues from Cape Barfleur; she is entirely new, never was at sea before, sailed from Havre Sunday last, and had taken nothing.

I am, Sir, &c.
WILLIAM WESTON.

From the LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY,

March 27, 1797.

Parliament-street, March 27, 1797.

EARLY this morning Captain Drew, of the 45th regiment, arrived from the island of Trinidad, with a dispatch from Lieutenant-general Sir R. Abercromby, K. B. to the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, of which the following is a copy:

SIR, *Head-quarters, Trinidad, Feb. 27, 1797.*

ON my arrival in this country, I did not fail to lay before the Admiral my instructions, and to consult with him upon the means to carry them into execution. I found in him every desire to co-operate in the execution of the views to which they are directed. The arrival of part of the convoy from England enabled us to proceed with confidence in our operations: therefore, as soon as the troops could be collected from the different islands, which were ordered to rendezvous at Cariacou, the Admiral sailed from Martinique, which island he left with his squadron on the 12th instant.

The precision with which the Admiral had given his orders to assemble the ships of war and transports, left us not a moment of delay. On the 15th, in the morning, the fleet sailed from Cariacou. On the 16th, in the afternoon, it passed through the Bocas, or entrance into the Gulf

of Paria, where we found the Spaniſh admiral with four ſail of the line and a frigate, at anchor, under cover of the iſland of Gaſpargrande, which was fortified.

Our ſquadron worked up, and came to anchor oppoſite, and nearly within gunſhot of the Spaniſh ſhips. The frigates and tranſports were ordered to anchor higher up in the Bay, and at the diſtance nearly of five miles from the town of Port d'Eſpagne. The diſpoſition was immediately made for landing at day-light next morning, and for a general attack upon the town and ſhips of war.

At two o'clock in the morning of the 17th, we perceived the Spaniſh ſquadron to be on fire; the ſhips burnt with great fury, one line of battle ſhip excepted, which eſcaped the conflagration, and was taken poſſeſſion of at day-light in the morning, by the boats from our fleet; the enemy at the ſame time evacuated the iſland, and abandoned that quarter.

This unexpected turn of affairs directed our whole attention to the attack of the town. The troops were immediately ordered to land, and, as ſoon as a few hundred men could be got on ſhore, about four miles to the weſtward of it, we advanced, meeting with little or no reſiſtance. Before night we were maſters of Port d'Eſpagne and the neighbourhood, two ſmall forts excepted. In the morning a capitulation was entered into with the Governor Don Chacon, and in the evening all the Spaniſh troops laid down their arms, and the whole colony paſſed under the dominion of his Britannic Majeſty.

Copies of the capitulation, of the ſtores and proviſions taken, are herewith tranſmitted.

It is a peculiar ſatisfaction to me that there is no liſt of killed or wounded; Lieutenant Villeneuve, of the 8th regiment of foot, who was brigade major to Brigadier-general Hompeſch, being the only perſon who was wounded, and he is ſince dead of his wounds.

From the Admiral I have experienced every poſſible co-operation. Captain Woolley, of his Majeſty's ſhip the Arethuſa, and Captain Wood, of the Favourite ſloop of war, who had been ſent to reconnoitre in the Gulf of Paria, afforded us minute information of the ſituation of the enemy previous to our arrival. Captain Woolley, who directed the diſembarkation, ſhewed all the zeal and intelligence which I have experienced from him on former occaſions. To Lord Craven, who begged to attend the expedition, I am indebted for great zeal and exertion.

Lieutenant-colonel Soter, who is intimately acquainted with this country, has been, and continues to be, of very great uſe to me. I ſhould not do juſtice to his general character, if I did not take this opportunity to expreſs it. My aid de-camp, Captain Drew, of the 45th regiment, will have the honour to deliver this letter: he has ſerved long in this country, and is capable to give ſuch further information as may be required. I humbly beg leave to recommend him to his Majeſty's favour.

I have the honour to be, &c.

RA. ABERCROMBY, K. B.

 ARTI-

ARTICLES OF CAPITULATION,

For the Surrender of the Iſland of Trinidad, between his Excellency Sir Ralph Abercromby, K. B. Commander in Chief of his Britannic Majeſty's Land Forces; his Excellency Henry Harvey, Eſq. Rear-Admiral of the Red, and Commander in Chief of his Britannic Majeſty's Ships and Veſſels of War; and his Excellency Don Joſef Maria Chacon, Knight of the Order of Calatrava, Brigadier of the Royal Navy, Governor and Commander in Chief of the Iſland of Trinidad and its Dependencies, Inſpector-general of the Troops of its Garriſon, &c. &c. &c.

Article I. THE officers and troops of his Catholic Majeſty and his allies in the iſland of Trinidad are to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war, and are to deliver up the territory, forts, buildings, arms, ammunition, money, effects, plans, and ſtores, with exact inventories thereof, belonging to his Catholic Majeſty; and they are hereby transferred to his Britannic Majeſty, in the ſame manner and poſſeſſion as has been held heretofore by his ſaid Catholic Majeſty.

II. The troops of his Catholic Majeſty are to march out with the honours of war, and to lay down their arms, at the diſtance of three hundred paces from the forts they occupy, at five o'clock this evening, the 18th of February.

III. All the officers and troops aforeſaid of his Catholic Majeſty are allowed to keep their private effects, and the officers are allowed to wear their ſwords.

IV. Admiral Don Sebaſtien Ruiz de Apodaca, being on ſhore in the iſland, after having burnt and abandoned his ſhips, he, with the officers and men belonging to the ſquadron under his command, are included in this capitulation, under the ſame terms as are granted to his Catholic Majeſty's troops.

V. As ſoon as ſhips can be conveniently provided for the purpoſe, the priſoners are to be conveyed to Old Spain; they remaining priſoners of war until exchanged by a cartel between the two nations, or until the peace; it being clearly underſtood that they ſhall not ſerve againſt Great Britain or her allies until exchanged.

VI. There being ſome officers among his Catholic Majeſty's troops, whoſe private affairs require their preſence at different places on the continent of America, ſuch officers are permitted to go upon their parole to the ſaid places for ſix months, more or leſs; after which period they are to return to Europe: but as the number receiving this indulgence muſt be limited, his Excellency Don Chacon will previouſly deliver to the Britiſh commanders a liſt of their names, rank, and places which they are going to.

VII. The officers of the royal adminiſtration, upon the delivery of the ſtores with which they are charged, to ſuch officers as may be appointed by the Britiſh commanders, will receive receipts, according to the cuſtom in like caſes, from the officers ſo appointed to receive the ſtores.

VIII. All the private property of the inhabitants, as well Spaniards as ſuch as may have been naturalized, is preſerved to them.

IX. All public records are to be preſerved in ſuch courts or offices as they are now in; and all contracts or purchaſes between individuals, which

which have been done according to the laws of Spain, are to be held binding and valid by the British government.

X. The Spanish officers of administration, who are possessed of landed property in Trinidad, are allowed to remain in the island, they taking the oaths of allegiance to his Britannic Majesty; and they are farther allowed, should they please, to sell or dispose of their property, and to retire elsewhere.

XI. The free exercise of their religion is allowed to the inhabitants.

XII. The free coloured people, who have been acknowledged as such by the laws of Spain, shall be protected in their liberty, persons, and property, like other inhabitants; they taking the oath of allegiance, and demeaning themselves as becomes good and peaceable subjects of his Britannic Majesty.

XIII. The sailors and soldiers of his Catholic Majesty are, from the time of their laying down their arms, to be fed by the British government, leaving the expence to be regulated by the cartel between the two nations.

XIV. The sick of the Spanish troops will be taken care of, but to be attended, and to be under the inspection of their own surgeons.

XV. All the inhabitants of Trinidad shall, within thirty days from the date hereof, take the oath of allegiance to his Britannic Majesty, to demean themselves quietly and faithfully to his government, upon pain, in case of non-compliance, of being sent away from the island.

Done at Port d'Espagne, in the island of Trinidad, the 18th day of February, 1797.

RALPH ABERCROMBY,
HENRY HARVEY,
JOSEPH MARIA CHACON.

Admiralty Office, March 27, 1797.

CAPTAIN Harvey, of his Majesty's ship Prince of Wales, arrived at the Admiralty this morning with dispatches from Rear-Admiral Henry Harvey, commander in chief of his Majesty's ships and vessels at Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands, dated off Port d'Espagne, in the Gulf of Paria, February 21, 1797, to Mr. Nepean, Secretary of the Admiralty, of which the following is a copy:

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to acquaint you, for the information of their Lordships, that it having been determined an attack should be made on the island Trinidad, both with a view to that colony, and to the Spanish squadron which had been there for some time past, the troops intended for this expedition from Martinique were accordingly embarked in the ships of war and transports, and I sailed from Fort Royal Bay the 12th instant, with the ships and vessels of his Majesty's squadron under my command, as per margin*. Lieutenant-general Sir Ralph Abercromby embarked with me in the Prince of Wales.

The Invincible had previously sailed for Barbadoes, with two transports, to embark a part of the 14th regiment, and the Thorn and Zebra

* Prince of Wales, Bellona, Vengeance, Scipio, Favourite, Zephyr, Terror bomb.

were

were ordered to receive the detachment from Tobago. The Favourite was ſent to St. Vincent to collect ſome troops from that iſland, and the whole were ordered to rendezvous at the iſland of Cariacou, one of the Grenadines, on or before the 13th; and, on my arrival at that iſland, the 14th, I found all the ſhips and tranſports were aſſembled.

On the 15th, in the morning, I failed with the ſquadron and tranſports, paſſing between Cariacou and Grenada; and on the 16th arrived off Trinidad, and ſtood towards the Gulf of Paria, when, having paſſed through the Great Bocas Channel, at half paſt three in the afternoon, the Spaniſh ſquadron were diſcovered at anchor in Shagaramus Bay, conſiſting of four ſail of the line, under the flag of a rear-admiral, and one frigate.

As the day was well advanced before I approached the Bay, and the enemy appeared in ſtrength on Gaſparaux iſland, which commanded the anchorage, by batteries erected for that purpoſe, I ordered the Arethuſa, Thorn, and Zebra, to proceed a little farther up the Gulf, and anchor with all the tranſports. The Alarm, Favourite, and Victorieuſe were ordered to keep under ſail above the tranſports during the night, and prevent any veſſels ſailing from Port d'Eſpagne.

In the evening, juſt before dark, I anchored with the ſhips of the line in order of battle oppoſite the enemy's ſquadron, within random ſhot of their ſhips and batteries, and in conſtant readineſs to prevent their eſcaping in the night, which I ſuſpected they might attempt, as all their ſails were bent, and they appeared perfectly ready for ſailing.

At two o'clock in the morning of the 17th we diſcovered one of their ſhips on fire, and ſoon after three others, all of which burnt with great fury until near day-light, when they were entirely conſumed. One of them having eſcaped the conflagration, the boats were ſent from the ſquadron, and ſhe was brought out without having received any damage.

I have great ſatisfaction in acquainting their Lordſhips, that this ſquadron of the enemy, commanded by Rear-admiral Don Sebaſtian Ruiz de Apodaca, were deſtroyed or captured according to the liſt I herewith encloſe; and although this ſervice was effected without any other act, on the part of his Majeſty's ſquadron under my command, than being placed in ſuch a ſituation as to prevent their eſcape, I am fully convinced that, had they remained at their anchorage until the next day, the officers and men whom I have the honour to command would have completed, by their exertion and zeal, the capture of the whole, notwithſtanding the advantage of their ſituation, under the cover of about twenty pieces of cannon and three mortars, which were mounted on Gaſparaux iſland, and had been placed there for the ſole purpoſe of defending the ſhips in the Bay. That iſland, which, like the ſhips, had been abandoned during the night, was taken poſſeſſion of ſoon after day-light by a party of the Queen's regiment.

General Abercromby *, early in the morning, joined the Arethuſa, and the troops were all landed, in the courſe of the day, under the direction of Captain Woolley, covered by the Favourite ſloop, about three miles from the town, without oppoſition: the General took poſſeſſion of the town the ſame evening, and the 18th the governor deſired to capitulate for the whole iſland, and the articles were agreed to, and ſigned the ſame day; a copy of which I herewith tranſmit.

* Vide Sir Ralph Abercromby's letter.

Captain

Captain Harvey, of his Majeſty's ſhip Prince of Wales, will have the honour to deliver this diſpatch, from whom I have always experienced the greateſt zeal and attention to his Majeſty's ſervice.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your moſt obedient humble ſervant,

HENRY HARVEY.

Liſt of Spaniſh Ships of War burnt and captured in Shagaramus Bay, in the Gulf of Paria, Feb. 17, 1797, *by the Squadron under the Command of Rear-admiral Harvey.*

Burnt.

San Vincente, 84 guns, Rear-admiral Don Sebaſtien Ruiz de Apodaca —Captain John Geronimo Mendoza.

Gallardo, 74 guns, Don Gabriel Sorondo.

Arrogante, 74 guns, Don Raphael Benaſa.

Santa Cecilia, 36 guns, Don Manuel Utreſabel.

Captured.

San Damaſo, 74 guns, Don Toref Jordan.

HENRY HARVEY.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, March 28, 1797.

Admiralty Office, March 27, 1797.

THE letters, of which the following are copies, were this day received by Mr. Nepean, ſecretary of the Admiralty, from Rear-admiral Harvey, commander in chief of his Majeſty's ſhips and veſſels employed at Barbadoes and the Leeward Iſlands.

Extract of a Letter from Vice-Admiral Sir Hyde Parker, Commander in Chief of his Majeſty's Ships and Veſſels employed at Jamaica and St. Domingo, to Mr. Nepean, dated 23*d December*, 1796.

YOU will pleaſe to inform their Lordſhips, that Captain Ricketts, of his Majeſty's ſhip Magicienne, has taken the French corvette La Cerf Volant, and Captain Cooke, of the Quebec, L'Africaine; the particulars are fully ſtated by their ſeveral letters, copies of which are encloſed.

La Magicienne, off Altavella, St. Domingo, November 2, 1796.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to inform you, that I yeſterday captured La Cerf Volant French corvette, armé en parliamentaire, and commanded by Monſ. ———, enſeigne de vaiſſeau, having on board delegates from the ſouthern department of St. Domingo to the French legiſlative body, and concealed diſpatches for the Directory.

General Rigaud, the commander in chief at Aux Cayes, expedited her, and flattered himſelf that ſhe would evade the ſcrutiny of the Britiſh cruiſers. A midſhipman belonging to the Hindoſtan, who had been taken priſoner ſome months ago, and ſix ſeamen, were compelled to

embark

embark on board her, to carry the appearance of her being a flag of truce.

I have the honour, &c.

H. RICKETTS.

To Sir Hyde Parker, Knt. Vice-Admiral of the Red, and Commander in Chief, &c.

La Magicienne, off Jacamel, St. Domingo, December 4, 1796.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to enclose a copy of a letter from Captain Cook, commander of the King's ship Quebec, giving an account of his having captured yesterday L'Africaine French corvette, of 18 guns.

I have the honour, &c.

H. RICKETTS.

To Vice-Admiral Sir Hyde Parker, Knt. Commander in Chief, &c. &c.

Quebec, off Cape Jacamel, St. Domingo, December 3, 1796.

SIR,

I HAVE the pleasure to inform you, that yesterday morning, at day-break, we discovered a ship in the south-west, which at first we supposed to be the Magicienne, but as it became lighter, I was soon convinced from her appearance, she was an enemy, and gave chase to her.

It being very light winds, we did not get within shot of her till near noon, when, on firing a few chase guns, she struck her colours, and proved to be L'Africaine French corvette, of 18 guns and 99 men, commanded by Monf. Scray, enseigne de vaisseaux; was twenty-two days from Aux Cayes, but had only re-taken one of our prizes.

I am, &c.

JOHN COOK.

To Henry Ricketts, Esq. Captain of his Majesty's Ship Magicienne.

Extract of a Letter from Vice-Admiral Sir Hyde Parker, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels employed at Jamaica and St Domingo, to Mr. Nepean, Secretary to the Admiralty, dated the 27th December, 1796.

ON the 10th instant the Resource and Mermaid arrived from windward at Jamaica: in their passage down, off the east end of St. Domingo, they took the General Leveau, French brig corvette, of 16 guns and 80 men, which sailed from South Carolina sixteen days before; also off Allavelle, the south side of St. Domingo, they took a Dutch brig and Spanish schooner, the former having on board several thousand dollars, and a valuable cargo of dry goods, the latter laden with raw hides.

Prince of Wales, Fort Royal Bay, Martinique, Feb. 18, 1797.

SIR,

ENCLOSED is an account of Spanish vessels detained, and an account of vessels recaptured by his Majesty's ships and vessels respectively expressed against their names.

I am, &c.

HENRY HARVEY.

Evan Nepean, Esq.

An

An Account of Spanish Vessels, detained (by Admiralty Order, being Spanish Property) by his Majesty's Ships and Vessels under the Command of Henry Harvey, Esq. Rear-Admiral of the Red, Commander in Chief, &c. &c. Leeward Islands.

Schooner Pastora, laden with oxen, hides, and cocoa, sent in by the Bull Dog.—Sloop Maria Manuel, laden with cattle, sent in by the George armed sloop.—Launch Del Carmen, laden with mules, sent in by the Alarm.—Schooner Flora, laden with sundries, sent in by the Alarm.—Sloop Prince of Asturias, in ballast, sent in by the Alarm.—Launch Rosaria, laden with 900 dollars and some hogs, sent in by the Alarm.—Launch San Joseph de Arminas, laden with corn, sent in by the Alarm.—Launch Del Carman, laden with mules, sent in by the Alarm.—Sloop San Nicholas, in ballast, sent in by the Alarm.—Launch Rosario, laden with mules, sent in by the Alarm.—Launch Del Carmen, laden with corn, sent in by the Alarm.—Ship Anna Maria, laden with dry goods, sent in by the Fury.

(Signed) HENRY HARVEY.

An Account of Vessels recaptured by his Majesty's Ships and Vessels under the Command of Rear-Admiral Harvey, Commander in Chief, &c. &c. &c. Leeward Island Station.

Ship Britannia, in ballast, sent in by the Bull Dog, recaptured, having been taken by a French privateer.—Brig Lady Mary Fitzmaurice, laden with merchandise, sent in by the Lapwing, recaptured, having been taken by a French privateer.—Sloop Ferdinand, laden with merchandise, sent in by the Lapwing, recaptured, having been taken by a French privateer.—Schooner Syren, laden with sugar and cotton, sent in by the Ariadne, part of the cargo condemned as a lawful prize.—Schooner L'Alexandre, laden with warlike stores, sent in by the Ariadne, condemned as a lawful prize. Guinea ship Helen, laden with slaves, &c. sent in by the Vengeance's tender, captured the 7th of December, 1796, by the Scipion French corvette. Ship Aspinall, laden with slaves, sent in by L'Aimable, recaptured.—Ship Thomas, laden with sugar, coffee, and mahogany, sent in by the Invincible, recaptured.

HENRY HARVEY.

Prince of Wales, Fort Royal Bay,
January 18, 1797.

SIR,

I AM to acquaint you, for the information of their Lordships, that his Majesty's ship Lapwing, commanded by Captain Barton, on the 28th of last month, captured off Montserrat a French privateer, called the Maria Topaze, of 10 guns (six of which she threw overboard when chased) and 64 men, belonging to Guadaloupe. She had sailed the day before from St. Eustatia on a cruise.

I am, &c.
HENRY HARVEY.

Evan Nepean, Esq.

Prince of Wales, Fort Royal Bay, Martinique,
SIR, *January* 18, 1797.

BE pleaſed to acquaint their Lordſhips, that Captain Fellowes, in his Majeſty's ſhip Alarm, being on a cruiſe off Grenada, fell in, on the 23d of November laſt, with a Spaniſh brigantine corvette, called the Galgo, carrying 18 ſix-pounders, 6 ſwivels, and 124 men, commanded by Don Barber, from Porto Rico, bound to Trinidada, having on board 80,355 dollars, and ſome proviſions for the government of that iſland, which he captured, and carried into Grenada. I am, &c.

Evan Nepean, Eſq. HENRY HARVEY.

Prince of Wales, Fort Royal Bay, Martinique,
SIR, *January* 25, 1797.

YOU will be pleaſed to acquaint their Lordſhips, that his Majeſty's ſhip Bellona, on the 7th inſtant, captured a French ſchooner privateer, called La Legere, of 6 guns and 48 men, to windward of Deſeada, and, on the 10th inſtant following, the Bellona and Babet drove a French ſchooner privateer on ſhore on that iſland, and, in attempting to get her off, by employing the former privateer, both the veſſels were loſt on the rocks and deſtroyed; in which ſervice Lieutenant Hitt, of the Bellona, who had exerted himſelf with great gallantry and good conduct on the occaſion, was much wounded by the fire of muſquetry from the iſland. The Babet on the ſame day chaſed a brig, prize to the latter ſchooner, which ran on ſhore at Deſeada, and, not being able to get her off, ſhe was burnt. I have the honour, &c.

Evan Nepean, Eſq. HENRY HARVEY.

SIR, *Prince of Wales, Trinidad, Feb.* 21, 1797.

BE pleaſed to acquaint their Lordſhips, that very few veſſels of the enemy have been taken poſſeſſion of at the ſurrender of this iſland: what have been captured are chiefly ſmall craft of little or no value. Two merchant veſſels and a French privateer were ſet fire to when the ſhips of war were deſtroyed. The other veſſels at Port d'Eſpagne belong to neutral powers.

Some naval ſtores, conſiſting chiefly of ſmall cables, cordage, and ſailcloth, were found in the magazines on ſhore, which I ſhall cauſe to be embarked, and ſent to Martinique.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

Evan Nepean, Eſq. HENRY HARVEY.

Copy of a Letter from Rear-Admiral Sir John Orde, Bart. commanding his Majeſty's Ships and Veſſels at Plymouth, to Evan Nepean, Eſq. dated Cambridge, in Hamoaze, March 26, 1797.

SIR,

ENCLOSED I ſend you, for the information of my Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, a letter from Captain Wittman, commander of his Majeſty's ſloop Suffiſante, whoſe enterpriſe and exertions I much approve of. I am, &c.

J. ORDE.

SIR,

SIR, *La Suffisante, March 26, 1797.*

IN obedience to your orders of the 22d inſtant, I proceeded, with his Majeſty's ſloop under my command, to cruiſe off the Start, and on the morning following gave chaſe to an armed brig, which led me to the eaſtward as far as Peveral Point, with little proſpect of coming up with her, which induced me to relinquiſh the purſuit. On my way back to the weſtward on Saturday afternoon, I chaſed and captured Le Buonaparte, a ſmall cutter privateer, of 14 guns, three days from St. Maloes, and had not made any captures.

I have the honour, &c.

Rear-Admiral Sir John Orde, Bart. &c. &c. &c. J. WITTMAN.

Copy of a Letter from Rear-Admiral Harvey, Commander in Chief of his Majeſty's Ships and Veſſels in the Leeward Iſlands, to Evan Nepean, Eſq. dated Prince of Wales, Gulf of Paria, Trinidad, Feb. 21, 1797.

I AM to acquaint you, for the information of their Lordſhips, that his Majeſty's ſhip Lapwing, on the 31ſt ult. captured off Barbuda, and ſent into St. Chriſtopher's, a French privateer ſchooner, belonging to Guadaloupe, called L'Eſpoir, mounting four guns and 10 ſwivels, and having on board 48 men.

You will likewiſe be pleaſed to inform their Lordſhips, that his Majeſty's ſhip Matilda on the 13th inſtant fell in, with and captured, to windward of Barbadoes, a French national ſchooner, armed with two ſix-pounders and ſome ſwivels, and having on board 38 men, which Captain Milford ſent into that iſland.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, April 1, 1797.

Admiralty Office, April 1, 1797.

Copy of a Letter from the Commiſſioners for conducting the Tranſport Service, to Evan Nepean, Eſq. dated the 29th of March, 1797.

SIR,

WE beg to tranſmit for the information of the Right Hon. the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, the incloſed extract of a letter from Lieutenant Kent, commanding the Dover armed tranſport, ſtating his having captured a Spaniſh brig, bound with diſpatches to Buenos Ayres.

We are, &c. &c.

A. SERLE,
J. SCHANK,
J. MARSH.

Extract of a Letter from Lieutenant Henry Kent, commanding the Dover Armed Tranſport, to the Commiſſioners for the Tranſport Service, dated Spithead, March 27, 1797.

AGREEABLE to orders I received from Sir John Jervis, I ſailed with the ſhip under my command from Liſbon on the 9th inſtant, with

a fresh breeze from the northward. On Sunday the 12th, at noon, I discovered a brig, bearing N. N. W. I instantly crowded all the sail I could carry, and having the advantage of squally weather, I gained on her fast. At midnight I got within reach, and after firing a few shot at her she hove to. I immediately boarded her, took possession, and put Mr. Isaac Jarmar, Master of the Dover, into her as prize-master. She proves to be his Catholic Majesty's brig the Magallanes, commanded by Don Jacinto de Vargas Machuea, a very fine copper-bottomed vessel, pierced for 18 guns (had only four mounted), and navigated by 36 men, sails remarkably fast, and is well fitted for her voyage.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, April 4, 1797.

Admiralty Office, April 4, 1797.

Extract of a Letter from Rear-Admiral Pringle, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels at the Cape of Good Hope, to Mr. Nepean, dated at that Settlement on the 15th of January last.

ON the 31st ult. his Majesty's ships Jupiter and Sceptre returned here from their cruise off the Mauritius, having captured three small vessels, two of which they destroyed; the third, a brig, arrived the 12th instant. Captain Losack left that station on the 25th of November, having previously detached the Crescent, Braave, and Sphynx, to look into Foul Point and Augustine Bay. On the 13th these last ships returned to this place, having captured five vessels, as per inclosed list, and also destroyed an establishment of the enemy at Foul Point upon the island of Madagascar; the articles of the capitulation of which I now inclose, together with Captain Spranger's letter to me upon the subject.

Inclosures referred to in the foregoing Letter from Rear-Admiral Pringle, viz.

Crescent, Cape of Good Hope,
SIR, *Jan.* 14, 1797.

I HAVE the honour to inform you, that, in pursuance of my orders, I proceeded with his Majesty's ship Braave and Sphynx under my command to Foul Point in the island of Madagascar; and having landed the marines and small arms, men of the squadron, and summoned the French resident to surrender, I took possession of the fort and factory in behalf of his Britannic Majesty, and remained there till I had completed the demolition of the establishment, agreeable to my directions.

The French had a considerable depot of arms and ammunition, stores and merchandise for trading with the natives, the destruction of which must greatly distress the enemy, as the island of Mauritius draws its principal supplies of provisions from this settlement.

I have also the honour to transmit you the capitulation of M. Rasselin, the resident, whom I sent, together with other prisoners, in a cartel to the Isle of France; and remain, with great respect, Sir, &c.

Rear-Admiral Pringle, J. W. SPRANGER.
&c. &c. &c.

Transla-

Translation of a Letter from Monſ. Raſſelin, Reſident at Foul Point, to Captain Spranger, containing the Terms for the Surrender of that Settlement.

SIR,

HAVING been ſummoned by you to ſurrender this ſettlement, I am to acquaint you, that the ſuperior force you have brought againſt it renders all reſiſtance on my part uſeleſs: I have therefore to deſire before I lower the French colours, that you will cauſe a few guns, unſhotted, to be fired at the place, which I will anſwer in the ſame manner, and then the three-coloured flag ſhall be hauled down; but I muſt repeat my deſire that no ſhot may be fired by you, leſt any miſchief or alarm ſhould be occaſioned to the natives.

Foul Point, Iſland of Madagaſcar, 12th Frimaire, Fifth Year of the French Republic. RASSELIN.

Theſe articles, propoſed by Monſ. Raſſelin, agent for the republic of France at Foul Point, Iſland of Madagaſcar, are agreed to by

J. W. SPRANGER,
Captain of his Majeſty's Ship Creſcent, and ſenior Officer of his Majeſty's Forces at Foul Point.

Witneſs, D. WALKER.

Liſt of the Enemy's Ships and Veſſels captured by the Squadron under the Orders of Captain Spranger, of his Majeſty's Ship Creſcent, viz.

Ship La Reunion, 320 tons, in ballaſt, bound from the Iſle de Bourbon to Foul Point.
Ship Le Navigateur, 300 tons, in ballaſt, bound from the Iſle de France to Foul Point.
Brig La Diane, 80 tons, cargo of ſlaves, pepper, ſalt, &c. bound from Moſambique to the Iſle de France.
Cutter L'Euphraſie, 46 tons, in ballaſt, bound from Foul Point to the Iſle de France.
Lug-boat Le Tigre, 18 tons, cargo of ſlaves, bound from Quiloa to Foul Point.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, April 8, 1797.

Downing Street, April 8, 1797.

A DISPATCH, of which the following is an Extract, has been received by the Right Hon. Lord Grenville, his Majeſty's principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, from Colonel Graham, dated Headquarters of his Royal Highneſs the Archduke Charles, at Vippach, March 20, 1797.

IN my laſt diſpatch from Udine, of the 14th inſtant, I had the honour of informing your Lordſhip that the Archduke's head-quarters were juſt going to be moved forward to Paperiano, near Codroipo, in conſequence of a report of the French army being in motion towards the

 Piave,

Piave. This intelligence was foon after confirmed, with the additional account of General Maffena's having penetrated by Feltri into the upper valley of the Piave, and defeated General Lufignan near Bellerno; but it was ftill doubtful whether their principal corps was advancing towards the Tagliamento, merely to cover General Maffena's column, or to undertake offenfive operations. On the 15th, General Hohenzollern, who had been left with a detachment on the Piave, retired behind the Tagliamento, where the Imperial army was cantoned. On the 16th, about ten A. M. the enemy advanced by the high road of Valvafone, and pufhed fome fmall parties of cavalry and infantry acrofs the river, which, from the extraordinary drought of the feafon, was every where fordable; but thefe were driven back with fome lofs. A diftant cannonade was then kept up during the reft of the day, till four P. M. when the enemy having formed a very ftrong column of demi-brigade in front, intermixed with cavalry and artillery, advanced rapidly, and croffed the river near the upper end of the extenfive and open plain, occupied by twelve weak fquadrons. His Royal Highnefs's perfonal exertions could not prevent thefe from yielding to fuch fuperior force. After this fuccefsful attack by the enemy's left, the right wing croffed the river without oppofition; but the progrefs of their numerous cavalry was checked by the fteady behaviour of the regiment of Puis, pofted at the end of the plain next to Codroipo.

The reft of the infantry was under arms further back, near their cantonments, and was not engaged. On feeing the enemy's force, which both in cavalry and infantry was greatly fuperior to that of the Imperial army, the Archduke ordered a retreat after fun-fet. The head-quarters were that night at Ontagnaul, and were removed on the 17th to Vifco, behind Palma, which, not being in a ftate of defence, was evacuated on the 18th, and the head-quarters removed to Gorice.

On the 19th the enemy advanced towards the Ifonzo, in two columns, above and below Gradifka, which ferved as a *tête du pont* over that river. Their left was repulfed in an attempt to ftorm Gradifka, but their right found little difficulty in croffing the river near Caffegliano, though in ordinary feafons it is fcarce any where fordable; and as they might there turn the left of the pofition at Gorice, it became neceffary to abandon it.

The head-quarters came here this morning.

Admiralty Office, April 8, 1797.

Copy of a Letter from Rear-Admiral Sir John Orde, Bart. Commander in Chief of his Majefty's Ships and Veffels at Plymouth, to Evan Nepean, Efq. dated March 31, 1797.

SIR,

ENCLOSED I fend, for the information of the Right Hon. the Lords Commiffioners of the Admiralty, a letter juft received from Lieutenant Elliot, commander of the Plymouth armed lugger, of whofe great activity and fuccefsful exertions I hope their Lordfhips will approve.

I am, &c. &c. &c.

J. ORDE.

SIR,

Sir, *Plymouth Lugger, March* 31, 1797.

I HAVE the pleafure to acquaint you, that, on the 29th, after a chafe of eight hours, and exchanging a few fhot, I captured (the Cafket light bearing E. by N. diftant three leagues) L'Amitié, a French privateer of 14 guns (fix of which they had thrown overboard) and 55 men, belonging to St. Malo, but laft from Refcof, from which port they had been but three days; during that time they had made no capture; fhe is fchooner-rigged, fails faft, and about 60 or 70 tons burden.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c. &c.

Sir John Orde, Bart. ROB. ELLIOT.

Admiralty Office, April 8, 1797.

Extract of a Letter from Sir John Orde, Bart. Commander in Chief of his Majefty's Ships and Veffels at Plymouth, to Evan Nepean, Efq. dated April 3, 1797.

HEREWITH I tranfmit an extract of a letter which I have received from Captain Seymour, of the Spitfire, acquainting me of his having brought in here a fmall French privateer called the Bons Amis, of fix guns and 32 men, which he captured off the Eddiftone.

Extract of a Letter from Captain Seymour, commanding his Majefty's Sloop Spitfire, to Sir John Orde, Bart. dated April 2, 1797.

THE Spitfire has this moment captured, after a five hours chafe, Le Bons Amis, late Friends Endeavour, of Fowey, French privateer cutter, of fix guns and 32 men, out three days; had not made a capture.

Admiralty Office, April 8, 1797.

Copy of a Letter from Lieutenant Sharp, commanding the Dover hired Cutter, in his Majefty's Service, to Mr. Nepean, dated Falmouth, April 3, 1797.

Sir,

I AM to acquaint you, for the information of my Lords Commiffioners of the Admiralty, that I have captured, in his Majefty's hired armed cutter Dover, under my command, three leagues E. by S. off the Lizard, Le Prends Garde a Loup, French cutter privateer, carrying two three pounders, befides fwivels, with 28 men, out four days from Rofcoufe, and had not taken any thing.

I am, Sir,
Your moft obedient humble fervant,
WILLIAM SHARP.

Admiralty

Admiralty Office, April 8, 1797.

Extract of a Letter from Vice-Admiral Sir Hyde Parker, Knt. Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels at and about Jamaica, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated on board the Queen, Cape Nicola Mole, February, 2, 1797.

SINCE my letter of the 12th of January, five national vessels belonging to the French republic have been captured by his Majesty's ships under my command, viz. one of six guns and 40 men, by the Canada; three by the Magicienne; one of 24 guns called the Brutus, which had done great mischief to our trade, and two others of 10 guns each; but not having received official report from Captain Ricketts, am not yet informed of the particulars. The prizes are arrived at Jamaica.

The Swallow brig has also captured a small schooner privateer (armed with swivels only, and 18 men), on her way from Providence to this port.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, April 11, 1797.

Admiralty Office, April 11, 1797.

Extract of a Letter from Captain George Fowke, Commander of his Majesty's Sloop Swallow, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated at Nassau Harbour, the 24th of February, 1797.

I ARRIVED here on the 29th of January, having, in my way up from Cape Nichola Mole, captured La Molinette, a small French privateer, carrying two swivels only, with 18 men; had 14 men on board when taken, four having been put on board an American schooner they had captured the day before. She had left Gonaives six days before I fell in with her on the 27th of January, for the purpose of intercepting American vessels bound to and from the British ports.

Admiralty Office, April 11, 1797.

Extract of a Letter from Captain James Cornwallis, Commander of his Majesty's Ship Sheerness, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated at Sea, 13th of January, 1797.

ON the 8th of January, in latitude 37 deg. 23 min. North, longitude 15 deg. 16 min. West, we discovered at day-light, a strange brig a little to windward of the convoy. I permitted the Zephyr to chase her, and, from Captain Laurie's good management, I have the pleasure to acquaint their Lordships he took possession of and brought her into the convoy next morning. I have inclosed a copy of Captain Laurie's letter, giving me an account of the capture. The prisoners, all but nineteen, I have distributed among the merchantmen of the convoy, not thinking it prudent for them to remain on board the Zephyr. I have directed her to proceed with Captain Laurie to Barbadoes.

SIR, *Zephyr, at Sea, Jan. 9, 1797.*

I HAVE the pleaſure to acquaint you, that at half paſt ten laſt night I came up with and captured Le Ræfleche privateer, of 12 guns, ſix and four pounders, pierced for fourteen, and 67 men, commanded by one Pierre Souſtra, lieutenant de vaiſſeau, thirty-three days from Bayonne; has only taken the ſhip John and Thomas, James Johnſton maſter, of Peterſburgh; Virginia, from London, bound to Madeira and Bengal. She is ſaid to ſail well, and is quite new, this being her firſt cruiſe; is victualled and watered for two months, and completely equipped.

I have the honour to be, Sir, &c. &c.

James Cornwallis, Eſq. ROB. LAURIE.
&c. &c. &c.

Admiralty Office, April 11, 1797.

Copy of a Letter from Vice-Admiral Kingſmill, Commander in Chief of his Majeſty's Ships and Veſſels at Cork, to Evan Nepean, Eſq. dated on board his Majeſty's Ship Polyphemus, Cork Harbour, April 3, 1797.

SIR,

PLEASE to acquaint my Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, that, on intelligence brought me of a cruiſer of the enemy's having been ſeen off the Skellocks, I immediately diſpatched Captain Ruddach, in the Hazard, on the 28th ult. to ſcour that coaſt; and on the 1ſt inſtant he fortunately fell in with and captured Le Hardi brig privateer, of 18 guns and 130 men, from Breſt, a remarkable faſt failing veſſel, with which he has juſt returned here. Encloſed is his letter to me on the ſubject. I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

R. KINGSMILL.

Copy of a Letter from Alexander Ruddach, Eſq. Commander of his Majeſty's Sloop Hazard, to Vice-Admiral Kingſmill, dated April 2, 1797.

SIR,

I HAVE the pleaſure to inform you, that, in following your orders, we yeſterday (cloſe to the Skellocks) captured a very fine coppered French brig, Le Hardi, of 18 nine-pounders and 130 men, after a chaſe of ſeven hours. She then carried away both topmaſts: it was otherwiſe very doubtful whether we ſhould have come up with her. I underſtand ſhe was built at Cowes, about two years ago, for the Spaniards. She left Breſt the 17th of March, was ſoon after chaſed by two frigates, but eſcaped after many of their ſhot went through her ſails, and one ſtruck her hull. She has only made one prize, a Portugueſe of little value. I am, &c. &c.

ALEX. RUDDACH.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, April 15, 1797.

Downing-ſtreet, April 15, 1797.

BY accounts received from Colonel Graham, dated at the head-quarters of the Archduke Charles, at Clagenfurt, March 27th, it appears, that on the 22d, an engagement had taken place at Tarvis, between the French, under General Maſſena, and four battalions of Auſtrians, commanded by Major-General Gontreuil. The numbers of the French are ſaid to have been from 12 to 15,000 men.

The Archduke Charles having travelled poſt from Leybach, arrived at Tarvis during the affair, and immediately mounting a priſoner's horſe, during the remainder of the day, encouraged the troops by his example, diſplaying the moſt ſignal proofs of perſonal bravery and exertion. In the afternoon, the great ſuperiority of the enemy's numbers prevailed. General Gontreuil and Count Wratiſlaw, his Royal Highneſs's firſt aid-de-camp, were ſeverely wounded, and the loſs of men was conſiderable.

By accounts from Vienna, dated April 1, it appears, that letters of the 30th ult. had been received there from Clagenfurt, where the head-quarters of the Archduke Charles ſtill were on that day. Nothing had happened in that quarter ſince the affair of Tarvis.

Admiralty Office, April 15, 1797.

Extract of a Letter from Captain White, of his Majeſty's Ship the Veſtal, to Evan Nepean, Eſq. dated Whitebooth Roads, April 11, 1797.

I HAVE the honour to requeſt you will be pleaſed to acquaint my Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty of my return this day to the Humber, having brought in with me the Voltigeur French privateer ſchooner (formerly the Vengeur lugger), which I captured yeſterday morning, Flamborough Head bearing about W. by S. ſeven leagues; ſhe mounts eight three-pounders, and as many ſwivels, and had forty men when ſhe left Calais about twelve days ſince, fourteen of whom ſhe had put on board a brig and two ſloops, which ſhe had taken on the 2d and 3d inſtant, between St. Abb's Head and Flamborough.

Admiralty Office, April 15, 1797.

Copy of a Letter from Rear-Admiral Sir John Orde, Bart. commanding Officer of his Majeſty's Ships and Veſſels at Plymouth, to Evan Nepean, Eſq. dated the 12th of April, 1797.

SIR,

ENCLOSED I ſend you, for the information of my Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, an extract of a letter, which I have received from Captain Boyle, Commander of his Majeſty's ſloop Kangaroo, who I had ſent out to look after a brig laden with proviſions, that had ſeparated from his convoy in their way from Ireland, acquainting me with the capture of La Sophie, French cutter privateer, of fourteen four-pounders and forty men.

Extract

Extract of a Letter from Captain Boyle, Commander of his Majesty's Sloop Kangaroo, to Rear-Admiral Sir John Orde, Bart. dated in Mount's Bay, the 10th of April, 1797.

I HAVE the honour to inform you, that, in consequence of your orders of the 8th instant to proceed to sea, on the 9th, at eight P. M. the Lizard bearing N. W. two leagues, I fell in with and captured La Sophie, French cutter privateer, pierced for fourteen four-pounders (eight of which she hove overboard), and having forty men. She sailed from Havre de Grace on the 7th instant, being her first cruise, and had made no captures.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, April 25, 1797.

Admiralty Office, April 25, 1797.

Copy of a Letter from Admiral Peyton, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels in the Downs, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated the 23d of April, 1797.

SIR,

BE pleased to inform their Lordships, that I have received a letter from Captain Lloyd, of his Majesty's sloop Racoon, acquainting me, that at one A. M. on the 20th instant, Fairlight bearing N. N. E. distance about five or six leagues, he gave chase to a cutter, and at three came up with and captured Les Amis French privateer, mounting two carriage guns, four-pounders, six swivels, and manned with thirty-one men, which left Boulogne the preceding evening at seven, and had only captured one vessel, which he had the good fortune to retake, the Good Intent, James Marshall master, in ballast, bound and belonging to Sunderland.

I am, Sir, &c.

JOS. PEYTON.

Copy of a Letter from Rear-Admiral Sir John Orde, Bart. commanding Officer of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels at Plymouth, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated the 21st of April, 1797.

SIR,

ENCLOSED I transmit a letter from Capt. Wittman, commander of his Majesty's sloop Suffisante, acquainting me of his having captured La Petit Helena, French lugger privateer, of two guns and thirty-three men, which he has brought into this port.

I am, Sir, &c. &c.

J. ORDE.

SIR, *La Suffisante, at Sea, April* 21, 1797.

I BEG leave to acquaint you, that, with his Majesty's sloop under my command, I this day chased and captured La Petit Helena, French lugger privateer, of two guns and thirty three men, belonging to Brest, but last from the Isle de Basse, and has not taken any thing.

I am, Sir, &c. &c. &c.

Sir John Orde, Bart. J. WITTMAN.

Admiralty Office, April 25, 1797.

Copy of a Letter from Admiral Sir John Jervis, K. B. Commander in Chief of his Majeſty's Ships and Veſſels in the River Tagus, to Evan Nepean, Eſq. dated the 31ſt of March, 1797.

I HEREWITH encloſe you a letter which I have this moment received from Captain Digby, of his Majeſty's ſhip the Aurora.

His Majeſty's Ship Aurora, at Sea,
SIR, *March 29, 1797.*

I HAVE to inform you, that the French privateer Neptune was, on the 27th inſtant, captured by the Aurora after a chaſe of eight hours, 38 leagues to the weſtward of Cape Finiſterre. She has been out 34 days from Nantes, and had taken the veſſels named in the margin*; is pierced for 16 guns, ſix of which were thrown overboard during the chaſe, and had on board 90 men when ſhe left Nantes.

I am, Sir,
Your moſt obedient humble Servant,
(Signed) H. DIGBY.

Admiral Sir John Jervis, K. B.
&c. &c. &c.

Admiralty Office, April 25, 1797.

Copy of a Letter from Admiral Sir John Jervis, K. B. Commander in Chief of his Majeſty's Ships and Veſſels in the River Tagus, to Evan Nepean, Eſq. dated March 31, 1797.

I ENCLOSE, for the information of the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, a letter from Captain Bligh, of his Majeſty's ſloop the King's Fiſher, relating the particulars of his capturing Le General, French privateer, after a ſhort reſiſtance.

SIR, *King's Fiſher, Tagus, March 30, 1797.*

I BEG leave to acquaint you, that yeſterday morning, Oporto bearing E. N. E. diſtant 16 leagues, we diſcovered a brig to the weſtward, ſtanding towards us. At nine A. M. we perceived ſhe had tacked, on which I made ſail in chaſe, and at a quarter before four P. M. came up with her; when, after exchanging two or three broadſides, ſhe ſtruck, and proved to be Le General, privateer, of Bourdeaux, pierced for 18 guns, but mounting 14, four and three pounders, and manned with 104 men, one of whom was killed, and three wounded. We had not a man hurt. She had been out fifteen days, and had taken an Engliſh brig, from Faro, bound to Falmouth.

Le General is exceedingly well equipped, and is ſaid to be a faſt-ſailing veſſel, but had loſt her fore top-gallant maſt and bowſprit in the late gales, and was ſteering for Vigo to repair her damages.

I have the honour to be, &c.
(Signed) JOHN BLIGH.

Admiral Sir John Jervis, K. B.
&c. &c. &c.

* La Santiſſima Rita; the Swift brig, of Plymouth; a Spaniſh brig, prize to the Thalia; a brig from Liverpool, that had been ranſomed for 1300l. having her mate on board as hoſtage.

Admiralty Office, April 25, 1797.

Extract of a Letter from the Hon. William Waldegrave, Vice-Admiral of the Blue, to Mr. Nepean, dated on board his Majesty's Ship Flora, at Spithead, the 24th of April, 1797.

I BEG that you will please to inform the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that I sailed from Lisbon, with my flag on board his Majesty's ship Flora, Captain Middleton commander, on the 3d of this month, and arrived this day at Spithead, in company with the Pearl frigate.

On the 12th instant I fell in with the above frigate, lat. 43 deg. 48 min. north; long. 13 deg. 11 min. west, she being then in chase of a French privateer; we instantly joined in the chase, which compelled the enemy to haul her wind, notwithstanding which, it was not until the 13th, at three quarters past eleven P. M. that we found ourselves close alongside of her, and even this owing to the privateer's being becalmed, and our carrying the breeze up with us. On the first broadside she struck. She is called L'Incroyable, mounts 24 guns on her main-deck, and had on board 220 men. She belonged to Bourdeaux, and sailed from that port on the 2d instant. She fortunately had made no capture, though reputed to be the fastest sailing vessel from France. I am informed by Captain Ballard that he had been in chase of her from the morning of the 11th.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, April 29, 1797.

Downing Street, April 29, 1797.

A LETTER, of which the following is a copy, has been received from Colonel Craufurd, by the Right Hon. Lord Grenville, his Majesty's principal secretary of state for the foreign department.

MY LORD,

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship, that General Hoche has given notice to General Werneck, that the armistice which had been arranged for the Lower Rhine, will expire this day.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) CHARLES CRAUFURD.

Right Hon. Lord Grenville, &c.

Downing Street, April 29, 1797.

BY dispatches from Colonel Graham, dated at the head-quarters of his Royal Highness the Archduke Charles, at Vorderenberg, the 8th instant, it appears that no general action had taken place since the date of his last dispatches; and that General Buonaparte's head-quarters were then at Bruck.

Vienna,

Vienna, April 11.

AN armiſtice for ſix days has been agreed between the Archduke Charles and General Buonaparte, which will expire on the 13th inſt.

Vienna, April 12.

ACCOUNTS from the Tyrol ſtate, that Baron de Laudohn had gained ſeveral conſiderable advantages over the enemy. On the 4th he had made himſelf maſter of Botzen, and on the 5th he had advanced as far as Deutchen and Branrol.

The enemy abandoned Millervald, Oberau, Unterau, and ſet fire to the two bridges between Oberau and Ampozzo, in the night of the 4th, and retired precipitately to Puſterhal. General Laudon had in the mean time taken the enemy in the rear, and had forced them to abandon the poſts of Clauſer and Steben; they were alſo driven from Brixen, and Baron Kerpen had advanced the whole of his line, and had effected a junction, and fixed his head-quarters at Brixen.

The enemy left behind them a conſiderable quantity of proviſions and ammunition.

The people of the Tyrol are riſing in a maſs, and the commotions in the Venetian ſtates threaten the French in the rear.

Prince Eſterhazy is advancing through Croatia with a conſiderable body of Hungarians.

Admiralty Office, April 29, 1797.

Extract of a Letter from Vice-Admiral Sir Hyde Parker, Knt. Commander in Chief of his Majeſty's Ships and Veſſels at Jamaica, to Evan Nepean, Eſq. dated the 9th of March, 1797.

ENCLOSED I have the honour to tranſmit a liſt of ſuch armed veſſels as have been captured or deſtroyed ſince my laſt.

A Liſt of Prizes captured by his Majeſty's Ship La Magicienne, during her laſt Cruiſe.

La Fortune, of 8 guns, 74 men.
Le Poiſſon Volant, of 12 guns, 80 men.
Le Poiſſon Volant, of 5 guns, 50 men.
Spaniſh Cutter, of 6 guns, formerly called the Bawvaes, laden with olives and dry goods.

By the Diligence.

La Fogouſe, of 6 guns, 57 men.

One privateer ſchooner, deſtroyed by the boats of the ſquadron, under the command of Lieutenant Spread, of his Majeſty's ſhip Queen, who retook an American brig ſhe had captured in our ſight, to recover which the boats were ſent in chaſe.

H. PARKER.

Admi-

Admiralty Office, April 29, 1797.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. William Arnold, Collector of his Majesty's Customs at Cowes, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated April 27, 1797.

I HAVE the honour to inform you, that a French privateer, the Daphne, of Cherbourg, Bar Corpa master, of the burden of 33 tons, with 25 men, two carriage guns and two swivels, has been taken and brought in here yesterday by the Nancy cutter, a small revenue cruiser belonging to this port, Robert Willis commander, 32 tons admeasurement, with 10 men and one swivel gun only.

The privateer is marked on the stern, Vigilant, of Guernsey, a deception often made use of, I am informed, to decoy English trading vessels within reach of the guns of the enemy's cruisers.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, May 2, 1797.

Downing-street, May 2, 1797.

A LETTER, of which the following is an extract, has been received from Colonel Craufurd, by the Right Hon. Lord Grenville, his Majesty's principal secretary of state for foreign affairs, dated Franckfort, April 19, 1797.

" I have the honour to inform your Lordship, that General Hoche yesterday attacked, with very superior numbers, and defeated an Austrian corps, commanded by General Kray, which formed a part of the army of the Lower Rhine, under the orders of General Werneck, and was stationed at Thurdorf, on the road leading from Neuwied to Hackenburg. In consequence of that circumstance, General Werneck, who was with the principal part of his army near Crobach, between Hackenburg and Altenkirchen, has determined to retreat."

Vienna, April 15, 1797.

ACCOUNTS have been received this day of the enemy having been obliged to abandon the town and port of Fiume, with considerable loss, on the 10th instant.

Vienna, April 16, 1797.

ACCOUNTS were received here this day, from Major-General Baron Laudohn, dated at Trent the 12th instant, stating, that he had driven the enemy from Roveredo, Torbole, and Riva, and had occupied those places. On this occasion he took from the enemy several magazines (among which was one of powder), 12 pieces of cannon, and 400 prisoners.

Vienna, April 17, 1797.

THE preparations for defence are continuing here with uncommon vigour. An intrenched camp is forming on the Wienerberg, on the Italian road, at a little diſtance from the lines; and the works are continuing quite round the town. The firſt diviſion of the troops from the Rhine, accompanied by the Prince of Orange, is already arrived, as is a part of Monſ. de Seckendorf's corps.

This morning the numerous corps of volunteers of the town were aſſembled on the glacis, and afterwards marched to the circumjacent villages, where they will be ſtationed. Their regularity and good conduct do them infinite honour, and the happieſt ſpirit of loyalty is manifeſted by all claſſes here.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, May 6, 1797.

Admiralty Office, May 6, 1797.

Extract of a Letter from Captain Durham, Commander of his Majeſty's Ship Anſon, to Evan Nepean, Eſq. dated in Cawſand Bay, May 4, 1797.

I BEG leave to acquaint you, for the information of the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, that in conſequence of orders from Commodore Sir John Warren, Bart. I have this moment anchored with his Majeſty's ſhip under my command, and have further to inform you, that I yeſterday afternoon retook, off the Lizard, the Belle Iſle, of Maryport, which veſſel had been captured a few days ago, off Waterford, by the Buillione French privateer, of 14 guns.

Admiralty Office, May 6, 1797.

Copy of a Letter from Rear-Admiral Sir John Orde, Bart. commanding Officer of his Majeſty's Ships and Veſſels at Plymouth, to Evan Nepean, Eſq. dated May 3, 1797.

SIR,

ENCLOSED I tranſmit a letter from Captain Seymour, commander of his Majeſty's ſloop Spitfire, acquainting me of his having captured L'Aimable Manette, French brig privateer, of 14 guns and 69 men, which he has brought into this port; ſhe appears a beautiful veſſel, is quite new, and half coppered.

I am, Sir, &c. &c. &c.

J. ORDE.

His Majeſty's Sloop Spitfire, Plymouth Sound, May 3, 1797.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to inform you of the Spitfire's arrival with L'Aimable Manette, French brig privateer, of Nantes, 14 guns and 69 men, out thirteen days; had taken nothing; captured, after a chaſe of eight hours, on the 1ſt inſtant.

The

The evening before ſhe was taken ſhe had fought an outward-bound English yellow-ſided ſhip, carrying 16 nine-pounders, which had killed and wounded fifteen of her crew, and obliged her to ſheer off.

I am, Sir, &c. &c. &c.

Sir John Orde, Bart. &c. &c. M. SEYMOUR.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, May 23, 1797.

Admiralty Office, May 23, 1797.

Extract of a Letter from Captain Sir Edward Pellew, Bart. of his Majeſty's Ship Indefatigable, to Evan Nepean, Eſq. dated Falmouth, May 20, 1797.

ON the 30th of April laſt we captured the French brigantine privateer Le Baſque, of eight guns and fifty men.

Admiralty Office, May 23, 1797.

Extract of a Letter from L. W. Halſted, Eſq. Captain of his Majeſty's Ship Phœnix, to Evan Nepean, Eſq. dated at Sea, May 18, 1797.

BE pleaſed to acquaint their Lordſhips, that on the night of the 16th inſtant, at ten o'clock, I received intelligence of a French privateer having captured a brig, cloſe to the Smalls, the day before; in conſequence of which I ſailed the next morning in ſearch of her, and have the pleaſure to ſay I retook the brig, and ſhortly afterwards took the privateer this morning, about ſix or ſeven miles from the Saltees, near Waterford.

The privateer is a ſmall lugger, named L'Eſpeigle, mounting four carriage guns, with thirty-ſix men.

Admiralty Office, May 23, 1797.

Extract of a Letter from Vice-Admiral Kingſmill, Commander of his Majeſty's Ships and Veſſels at Cork, to Evan Nepean, Eſq. dated on board the Polyphemus, May 17, 1797.

ON the 11th inſtant, in the latitude of 43 deg. 9 min. longitude 11 deg. the Cerberus fell in with and captured La Dunkerquoiſe French ſhip privateer, of 18 guns and 100 men, as will be ſeen by Captain Drew's letter to me, which accompanies this.

SIR, *Cerberus, Cork Harbour, May 16, 1797.*

IN conformity to your orders, I have the pleaſure to acquaint you, the Newfoundland and Weſt-India trade ſeparated from me in a fair way of effecting their paſſage; and on my return here captured La Dunkerquoiſe French private ſhip of war, pierced for 18 nine pounders, and

her complement 100 men; but had thrown moſt of her guns overboard in chaſe.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c. &c.

JOHN DREW.

Vice-Admiral Kingſmill, &c. &c. &c.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, June 6, 1797.

Parliament-ſtreet, June 6, 1797.

A DISPATCH, of which the following is a copy, has been received by the Right Honourable Henry Dundas, one of his Majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate, from Sir Ralph Abercromby, K. B. commander in chief of his Majeſty's forces in the Weſt Indies.

His Majeſty's Ship Prince of Wales, off Porto Rico, May 2, 1797.

SIR,

AFTER the reduction of Trinidad, the force deſtined for the expedition againſt Porto Rico being aſſembled, on the 8th of April the fleet ſailed from Martinico, and arrived at St. Kitt's on the 10th, where we waited the arrival of Captain Woolley, of his Majeſty's ſhip Arethuſa, who had been ſent to Tortola and St. Thomas to procure pilots and guides. This occaſioned the delay of a few days.

On Monday the 17th we made the iſland of Porto Rico, and came to an anchor off Congrejos Point. The whole of the north ſide of this iſland is bounded by a reef, and it was with much difficulty that a narrow channel was diſcovered, about three leagues to the eaſtward of the town, through which his Majeſty's ſloops the Beaver and Fury, with the lighter veſſels, paſſed into a ſmall bay, in which the troops, on the next morning, were diſembarked with little oppoſition from about a hundred of the enemy, who were concealed in the buſhes at the landing-place. In the afternoon of the ſame day the troops advanced, and took a poſition very favourable for our numbers, with our right to the ſea, and the left to a lagoon, which extends far into the country. The artillery was brought up without loſs of time, and every preparation made to force a paſſage into the iſland on which the town of Porto Rico is ſituated. It is neceſſary here to obſerve, that as the Moro Caſtle completely commands the paſſage into the harbour, the enemy kept open their communication with the ſouthern and weſtern part of the iſland, and even teazed and haraſſed our left flank with their numerous gun-boats. The only point, therefore, on which we could attack the town was on the eaſtern ſide, where it is defended by the caſtle and lines of St. Chriſtopher, to approach which it was neceſſary to force our way over the lagoon, which forms this ſide of the iſland. This paſſage was ſtrongly defended by two redoubts and gun-boats, and the enemy had deſtroyed the bridge which connects, in the narroweſt channel, the iſland with the main land. After every effort on our part, we never could ſufficiently ſilence the fire of the enemy (who had likewiſe entrenched themſelves in the rear of theſe redoubts), to hazard forcing the paſſage into the iſland with ſo ſmall a force; and this indeed would have been in vain, as the enemy could ſupport a fire ten times more powerful than we could have brought againſt them. The only thing left

fect was to endeavour to bombard the town from a point to the southward of it, near to a large magazine, abandoned by the enemy. This was tried for several days without any great effect, on account of the distance.

It appearing, therefore, that no act of vigour on our part, nor that any combined operation between the sea and land service could in any manner avail, I determined to withdraw, and to re-embark the troops, which was done on the night of the 30th of April, with the greatest order and regularity.

All our artillery and stores were brought off, except seven iron guns, four iron mortars, and two brass howitzers, which were rendered unserviceable, it being impossible to remove them. Not a sick or wounded soldier was left behind, and nothing of any value fell into the hands of the enemy.

During the whole of our operations I have experienced from Admiral Harvey the most cordial co-operation, and every act of personal kindness. At my request he landed three hundred seamen, under Captains Toddy and Browne, of the royal navy, to whose exertions, while on shore, we are under the greatest obligations. From the arrangements of the Admiral the landing and re-embarkation of the troops were conducted in the best order. To Captain Renou, of the royal navy, principal agent of the transports, I desire to express the sense I have of his good conduct upon all occasions.

I beg leave to assure you that the behaviour of the troops has been meritorious; they were patient under labour, regular and orderly in their conduct, and spirited when an opportunity to shew it occurred. All the departments of the army exerted themselves to my satisfaction. A return of our killed and wounded accompanies this dispatch.

I have the honour to be, &c.

RA. ABERCROMBY.

P. S. I have omitted to say that four Spanish brass field pieces fell into our hands, which were brought off.

Total of killed and wounded—1 lieutenant-colonel wounded, 1 captain killed, 1 ditto wounded, 1 ditto missing, 2 lieutenants missing, 30 rank and file killed, 68 ditto wounded, 121 missing.

53d regiment—Captain Rynd wounded, Captain Dover missing, supposed to be taken prisoner.

Admiralty Office, June 6, 1797.

Extract of a Letter from Vice-Admiral Sir Hyde Parker, Knt. Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels at Jamaica, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated on board his Majesty's Ship Queen, at Cape Nichola Mole, April 27, 1797.

HAVING on the 16th instant received information from Captain Bissett, of his Majesty's ship Janus, that he had chased into Maregot the French frigate Harmonie the evening before, and being myself obliged, for want of provisions, to return to this port with the Queen, Thunderer, and Valiant, I directed Captain Ogilvy to make sail in the evening, and lay off the Bay of Maregot all night; and on not discovering the French frigate there in the morning, he was directed to proceed

close along shore between the islands of Tortuga and Port au Paix; the Queen and Valiant keeping without Tortuga. On opening the Thunderer to the westward of Tortuga, Captain Ogilvy made the signal for an enemy in the S. E. and, on his coming within hale, had the satisfaction to find he had chased the frigate into Mostique Bay; and it was his opinion she might be destroyed, which I instantly gave him orders to use his utmost endeavours to execute, and directed the Valiant to assist. The sequel their Lordships will best understand by a copy of Captain Ogilvy's report. Although there was no proportion as to force, yet the consequences will be attended, I trust, with the greatest advantages to his Majesty's service; as from the very great scarcity of provisions at Cape François, the French deputies had forced, contrary to the opinion of the captain and officers, this frigate to go out, in order to convoy a number of American vessels, loaded with provisions, that had been captured by their privateers, and carried into the port of Port au Paix and Jean Rabel, up to Cape François.

In the road of Jean Rabel I found, on my passage down, fourteen laying there; and it appearing to me practicable to cut them out, I directed Captain Pigot, of the Hermione, to take under his command the Mermaid, Quebec, Drake brig, and Penelope cutter, and execute that service, which a copy of his report will prove to their Lordships he did in the most complete manner; and, from Captain Pigot's able and officer-like disposition, I have the satisfaction of saying, was executed without a man being hurt, although the road was defended by a battery of five guns (thirty-two pounders), and the vessels anchored within half musket shot of the shore.

You will also be pleased to lay before their Lordships the report of Captains Ricketts and Pigot, of vessels cut out and destroyed from two anchorages at the west end of Porto Rico.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, June 10, 1797.

Admiralty Office, June 10, 1797.

Extract of a Letter from Captain Gunter, Commander of his Majesty's Sloop Nautilus, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated at Sea, May 24, 1797.

I BEG you will inform the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty of the capture of the Adolphe French lugger privateer, after being chased four hours by his Majesty's sloops Nautilus and Sea-Gull, and previously started from under the land, and chased by his Majesty's hired cutter the King George.

She had been out nine days from Boulogne; she is quite new, had taken nothing, this being her first cruise, pierced for twelve guns, part of which she threw overboard in the chase, had only five on board when taken, and eight swivels, with thirty-five men.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. John Stevens, Collector of his Majesty's Customs at St. Ive's, to James Hume, Esq. Secretary to the Board of Customs in London, dated June 2, 1797.

BY a letter which I received from Capt. Richard John, of the Dolphin revenue cruiser, stationed at this port (yesterday morning), he informed

informed me of his having captured a French lugger privateer from Breſt, and put her into Mount's Bay; ſhe mounted two carriage guns and eight ſwivels, with muſkets, pikes, pole-axes, &c. in proportion, manned with thirty-ſix men, and officered from the Breſt fleet; her name Captain John has omitted to ſend me.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. F. Newport, Collector of his Majeſty's Cuſtoms at Dover, to Evan Nepean, Eſq. dated June 5, 1797.

SIR,

I BEG leave to inform you, that Mr. Dubois Smith, commander of the Lively cutter, in the ſervice of the Cuſtoms, ſent in this morning a French lug-ſail privateer, called the Flying Fiſh, which he took off Shoreham, with two ſwivel guns, a number of muſkets, and twenty-four men; out three days from Morlaix, and had taken nothing.

I am, Sir, &c. &c. &c.

F. NEWPORT.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, June 17, 1797.

Admiralty Office, June 17, 1797.

Extract of a Letter from Captain Richard Davies, Commander of his Majeſty's Ship Aſtrea, to Evan Nepean, Eſq. dated Yarmouth Roads June 13, 1797.

I REQUEST you will acquaint their Lordſhips, that on the 1ſ instant, off the Schaw, we fell in with and captured the Stulver, Dutch privateer, of ten guns and forty-eight men, belonging to Amſterdam out eighteen days, and taken nothing.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, June 24, 1797.

Admiralty Office, June 24, 1797.

Extract of a Letter from Captain Payne, Commander of his Majeſty's Sh Impetueux, to Evan Nepean, Eſq. dated at Sea, June 13, 1797.

I TAKE this opportunity of acquainting you of the poſition of t detachment of the weſtern ſquadron with me, by the Zoee, a Fren privateer ſhip, copper bottomed, mounting twenty guns (four which ſhe had thrown overboard in chaſe), and one hundred and twe men; ſhe was chaſed by the ſquadron, and captured by the Phaeton t evening before laſt, and had taken nothing ſince ſhe left Breſt four d ago.

Fr

From the LONDON GAZETTE, June 27, 1797.

Admiralty Office, June 27, 1797.

Copy of a Letter from Admiral Peyton, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels in the Downs, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated the 24th of June, 1797.

SIR,

YOU have enclosed herewith, for their Lordships' information, a copy of a letter I have received from Captain Bazely, of his Majesty's sloop Harpy, stating his having captured, on the 22d instant, the Esperance French row-boat, which had been two days from Dieppe, but had not taken any thing. For particulars I refer their Lordships to his said letter.

I am, Sir, &c. &c. &c.

J. PEYTON.

SIR, *Harpy, at Sea, June 23, 1797.*

I HAVE to acquaint you, that yesterday at noon, St. Vallery de Homme bearing S. E. three miles, we captured, after a chase of four hours, l'Esperance, a large French row-boat, belonging to Calais, 58 eet long, armed with 10 swivels, muskets, &c. manned with 32 men, nd rowing 30 oars, two days from Dieppe, and had not taken any ing.

I beg, by this opportunity, to inform you, that we have chased veral vessels of the above description into different ports in the course the last week.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c. &c.

HENRY BAZELY.

oseph Peyton, Esq. Admiral of the Blue, &c.

Admiralty Office, June 27, 1797.

xtract of a Letter from Captain Gunter, of his Majesty's Sloop Nautilus, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated at Sea, off Flackery in Norway, June 12, 1797.

I BEG you will be pleased to inform my Lords Commissioners of the miralty, that this morning his Majesty's sloop Nautilus, under my mmand, and Fox hired cutter (after a chase of ten hours), captured Brutal, a Dutch lugger privateer, of six guns and thirty-two men, the Syren French cutter privateer, of six guns and twenty seven n, who were cruising in company for the homeward bound Baltic voy. The catching of these two vessels gives me much pleasure, as y have infested this coast several months, and done an infinite deal of chief.

Admi-

Admiralty Office, June 27, 1797.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. George Hough, belonging to the Diligence Custom-house Cutter, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated Milford Haven, June 23, 1797.

SIR,

I BEG to acquaint you, for the information of my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that on the 20th instant, St. Ive's bearing S. W. ten leagues, I fell in with and captured, after a chase of twenty-four hours, l'Audacieux French lugger privateer, M. Jacques de Bon commander, mounting one eighteen pounder and two swivels, and manned with forty-six men, from St. Malo, out six days; had only taken a Danish brig from Liverpool, bound to Hamburgh, which I had the satisfaction to retake also a few hours afterwards.

I have the honour to be, &c.

G. HOUGH.

Admiralty Office, June 27, 1797.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Robert Adams, Commander of the Viper Excise Cutter, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated Harwich, June 25, 1797.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to inform you, that the Viper Excise cutter under my command, being on a cruise yesterday, at ten A. M. Naze Tower appearing north, fell in with and captured l'Espoir French privateer, under the command of Pierre François Codderin, and fifteen men. L'Espoir mounted two swivels, and well supplied with small arms. She had sailed from Dunkirk two days, without any success.

I have the honour to be, &c.

ROB. ADAMS

From the LONDON GAZETTE, July 1, 1797.

Admiralty Office, June 30, 1797.

Copy of a Letter from Vice-Admiral Kingsmill, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels at Cork, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated on board the Penguin, in Cork Harbour, June 24, 1797.

SIR,

PLEASE to inform my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that Captain Parker, of his Majesty's ship Santa Margarita, has just sent in a very fine Spanish privateer brig, named San Francisco, alias Los Amigos, pierced for 14 guns, and 53 men, which she captured on the 21st instant, on this coast, off the Durseys, by her venturing too near. She is from St. Sebastian's, and had cruised twenty days between Scilly and Cape Clear, but luckily the frigate was the only British ship she met with since her being out. She sails remarkably well, is quite new, and might have done much mischief.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) ROB. KINGSMILL

Adm.

Admiralty Office, July 1, 1797.

Extract of a Letter from Admiral Sir Peter Parker, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels at Portsmouth, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated on board the Royal William, at Spithead, June 29, 1797.

ENCLOSED is a letter from Lieutenant Thomas Newton, commanding the Telemachus cutter, giving an account of his having yesterday captured the French privateer Le Succefs, of six guns and forty-two men.

SIR, *Telemachus Cutter, Spithead, June 29, 1797.*

I HAVE to inform you, that yesterday afternoon, the Needle Point bearing N. by E. about five leagues, I chased and captured the Succefs French lugger privateer, mounting six carriage guns, two of which she threw overboard in the chase, and forty-two men. Came out the night before from La Hogue, and had taken nothing.

I have the honour to be, &c.

THOMAS NEWTON.

Admiral Sir Peter Parker, Bart. &c.

Admiralty Office, July 1, 1797.

Extract of a Letter from the Earl St. Vincent, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels employed on the Coast of Portugal, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated on board the Ville de Paris, off Cadiz, May 19, 1797.

I ENCLOSE a report from Lieutenant Pengelley, commanding his Majesty's cutter the Viper, relating his capture of a Spanish privateer.

SIR, *Viper, Gibraltar Bay, April 30, 1797.*

HAVING received orders from Captain Bowen (of his Majesty's ship Terpsichore) to proceed with his Majesty's cutter under my command to Algiers; upon my return to Gibraltar on the 13th ult. being about seven leagues N. W. from Alboran, I fell in with and gave chase to a brig in the N. W. quarter; at one P. M. I fired a gun, when she hoisted Spanish colours, and fired a gun shotted, hove-to, and gave us a broadside; at half past one we came close alongside of her, and brought her to action, which continued till ten minutes past three, when she hauled down her colours. During the action she attempted several times to set us on fire, by endeavouring to throw on board us flasks filled with powder and sulphur. She is called the Piteous Virgin Maria, mounting ten carriage guns, four six and six four-pounders, with eight swivels; had on board at the commencement of the action forty-two men, and had been from Malaga six days.

I am happy to inform you that I lost no men during the action; the enemy had three killed and seven wounded dangerously, one of which is since dead. The cutter received forty shot in the main-sail, and her rigging was very much damaged and cut to pieces; a four-pound shot is lodged in the lower mast. In justice to the officers and men, I beg leave to observe, that they respectively did their duty to my entire satisfaction.

I have the honour to be, &c.

J. PENGELLEY.

To Sir John Jervis, K. B. &c.

Admi-

Admiralty Office, July 1, 1797.

Extract of a Letter from Earl St. Vincent, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels employed on the Coast of Portugal, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated on board the Ville de Paris, off Cadiz, May 28, 1797.

ON the morning of the 24th instant, a brig corvette was observed approaching the squadron, under Spanish colours, and the signal was made for the Romulus and Mahonesa to take possession of her; they run along-side her, under Spanish colours, and the mistake was not discovered until they hoisted English, by which means the Nuestra Senora del Rosario, of twenty guns and one hundred men, commanded by Don Juan Antonio de Carega, was captured without a shot fired.

Copy of a Letter from Captain Edward Bowater, Commander of his Majesty's Ship Trent, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated Yarmouth Roads, June 27, 1797.

SIR,

YOU will please to inform my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty of my having captured this day, ten leagues to the eastward of Yarmouth, a French lugger privateer, named the Poisson Volant, mounting fourteen carriage guns and fifty men; the guns were thrown overboard during the chase, and twenty-eight of the men were in two prizes (a ship and a brig) she had taken some days before off Buckiness.

The lugger is quite new, well found, and sails fast; left Havre de Grace eighteen days since.

I have the honour to be, &c.

EDWARD BOWATER.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, July 8, 1797.

Admiralty Office, July 8, 1797.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Munnings, Commander of the Repulse Revenue Cutter, to the Collector and Comptroller of Colchester, dated June 28, 1797.

GENTLEMEN,

BEING on a cruise off Orfordness yesterday, at three P. M. fell in with and gave chase to a French lugger privateer; at six P. M. she struck her colours, after attempting to board us. She proves to be the Tiger, of Dunkirk, commanded by Lewis Augustin Buen Chatening, with two two-pounders, four swivels, and small arms, and twenty-eight men, burden thirty tons, which I have just arrived here with, and am waiting for a party of soldiers to escort them to Colchester. She had been only ten hours from Ostend.

I am, &c.

G. G. H MUNNINGS.

Admiralty Office, July 8, 1797.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Robert Adams, Commander of the Viper Excise Cutter, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated at Harwich, July 5, 1797.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to inform you, that the Viper cutter, under my command, being on a cruise on the 2d inst. at one P. M. after a chase of two hours, captured on the shore near Clackton, in the Wallet, Les Graces French lugger privateer, mounting one two-pounder and two swivels, in carriages, which were thrown overboard in the chase; the small arms remain on board. Les Graces sailed from Dunkirk on the 1st instant, under the command of Guillaume Gaspard Malo, and twenty-two men, and had taken nothing. The enemy fled into the country immediately on their landing, but being pursued by the cutter's crew, assisted to the utmost by the inhabitants and troops on the coast, the French commander, with twenty of his crew, were secured, and are now safely lodged in the prison at this place.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c. &c.

ROBERT ADAMS.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, July 11, 1797.

Admiralty Office, July 11, 1797.

Extract of a Letter from Admiral the Earl of St. Vincent, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels employed on the Coast of Portugal, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated on board the Ville de Paris, off Cadiz, June 16, 1797.

SIR,

I DESIRE you will acquaint the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that Lieutenant Hardy, in the French republican corvette La Mutine, cut out of the Bay of Santa Cruz, by the boats of his Majesty's ships Lively and La Minerve, has this moment joined.

The gallantry of this action, recited in the public and private letters of the Captains Hallowell and Cockburn, has prompted me to take the Mutine into his Majesty's service, and to appoint Lieutenant Hardy to the command of her; a measure so necessary to encourage a continuance of daring enterprise, I am confident will merit the approbation of their Lordships.

Lively, off S. W. End of Teneriffe, May 31, 1797.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to inform you, that on standing into the Bay of Santa Cruz, in the island of Teneriffe, on the afternoon of the 28th, in company with La Minerve, I discovered an armed brig lying in the road, which, on our nearer approach, hoisted French colours. Captain Cockburn agreeing with myself in opinion that she might be taken from her anchors, I ordered all the boats of the two ships, with a Lieutenant in each, the next night, to bring her out; Lieutenant Hardy, of La Minerve, being the senior officer, the command fell on him. At about

about half paſt two in the afternoon, he made a moſt reſolute attack, in which he was gallantly ſupported by Lieutenants Bland, Hopkins, and Buſhby, and Lieutenant Bulkley of the marines, in the Lively's boat, and Lieutenants Gage and Maling in La Minerve's boats, and under a ſmart fire of muſketry from the brig, boarded and carried her almoſt immediately. This gave an alarm to the town, and a heavy fire of artillery and muſketry was opened from every part of the garriſon, and from a large ſhip lying in the road, immediately, which continued without intermiſſion for near an hour, during which time they were very much expoſed in getting the brig under weigh, and towing her out, there being very little wind, and a little before four o'clock they had got out of reach of the batteries with La Mutine French national corvette, of 12 ſix-pounders, and two thirty-ſix pounder carronades, and one hundred and thirty-five men, one hundred and thirteen of whom were on board at the time, commanded by Citizen Xavier Paumier, Capitain de Frigate. She failed from Breſt on the 8th for l'Iſle de France, and had put into the Bay of Santa Cruz, three days before ſhe was captured, to take in water. The captain was on ſhore at the time ſhe was cut out.

Lieutenant Hardy having commanded the boats on this expedition, I have ſent him in with the prize, and cannot recommend him, or the officers or ſeamen employed on that ſervice with him, in too ſtrong terms. Encloſed is a liſt of the wounded belonging to both ſhips.

I have the honour to be, &c.

BENJ. HALLOWELL.

Liſt of the Petty Officers and Seamen belonging to his Majeſty's Ship Lively, who were wounded on the 29th of May, in taking La Mutine French National Corvette, ſo as to render them incapable of doing their Duty for the preſent.

Mr. Ralph Standiſh, maſter's mate. William Allen, quarter-maſter. Seamen. Peter Lawrence, Glenville Newberry.

Return of Officers and Men belonging to his Majeſty's Ship Minerve, wounded on the 29th of May, 1797, taking the National Brig La Mutine.

Lieutenant Hardy.

Warrant officers.—Mr. J. Coulſon, gunner.

Petty Officers.—Mr. Eagar, midſhipman. Mr. Carpenter, ditto, dangerouſly. Matthew Veſſey, gunner's mate. Davis Lewis, ſecond maſter's mate. Robert Sloper, coxſwain.

Seaman.—Anthony Hull, dangerouſly.

Soldiers of the 11th regiment.—James Dunlap, corporal. John Milton, private. Samuel Clark, ditto.

Total eleven.

GEORGE COCKBURN.

Admiralty Office, July 11, 1797.

Copy of a Letter from Admiral the Earl of St. Vincent, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels employed on the Coast of Portugal, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated on board his Majesty's Ship Ville de Paris, off Cadiz, June 15, 1797.

I ENCLOSE, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, two letters from Captain Morris, of his Majesty's ship the Boston, giving an account of his capturing El Principe de Paz, Spanish brig privateer, and El Enfante Spanish packet.

SIR, *Boston, off Vigo, June 4, 1797.*

I HAVE the honour to inform you, his Majesty's ship this morning, after a chase of three hours, captured El Principe de Paz, Spanish brig privateer, of twenty guns and one hundred men: she sailed last evening from Vigo on her first cruise. It is with extreme concern I have to add, that the only one of her shot that took effect killed Mr. Mainwaring, midshipman, a very amiable young gentleman, of great promise as an officer.

His Majesty's sloop Kingsfisher being in sight, I have directed Captain Maitland to proceed to Lisbon with the prize and prisoners.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Admiral Sir John Jervis, K. B. &c. &c. &c. J. N. MORRIS.

SIR, *Boston, off Vigo, June 10, 1797.*

I HAVE the honour to acquaint you, that yesterday at noon his Majesty's ship under my command gave chase to a brig, and at six o'clock brought her to, close in with the Bayona islands, at the entrance of Vigo: she proves to be his Catholic Majesty's packet El Enfante, and sailed the evening before from Corunna, and was bound for the Havannah. I have the honour to be, &c.

Sir John Jervis, K. B. &c. &c. &c. J. N. MORRIS.

Admiralty Office, July 11, 1797.

Extract of a Letter from Admiral Lord Bridport, K. B. to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated on board the Royal George, in Torbay, July 9, 1797.

HEREWITH you will receive the copy of a letter from Sir Harry Neale, Bart. to me, stating the capture of the Castor French lugger privateer by his Majesty's ship St. Fiorenzo, under his command, on the 1st instant, sixty leagues west of Scilly. I am, &c.

BRIDPORT.

MY LORD, *St. Fiorenzo, Torbay, July 8, 1797.*

I BEG to inform you that I captured the Castor, a French lugger privateer, on the 1st instant, sixty leagues west of Scilly, pierced for fourteen guns, and manned with fifty-seven men: she had been out from St. Maloes eighteen days, and had taken the Resolution brig belong-

belonging to Tinmouth, laden with ſalt. She threw her guns overboard during the chaſe.

I have the honour to be,
Your Lordſhip's moſt obedient humble Servant,
H. NEALE.

Right Hon. Lord Bridport, K. B.
Commander in Chief, &c. &c.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, July 22, 1797.

Admiralty Office, July 22, 1797.

Extract of a Letter from Vice-Admiral Sir Hyde Parker, Knt. Commander in Chief of his Majeſty's Ships and Veſſels at Jamaica, to Evan Nepean, Eſq. dated June 11, 1797.

I HAVE the pleaſure to acquaint you for their Lordſhips' information, that the Grand Ance is acknowledged to be ſaved by a ſpirited and well-timed attack made by Captain Ricketts, of his Majeſty's ſhip La Magicienne, upon the enemy's tranſports of proviſions and ammunition in Carcaſſe Bay, for the particulars of which I beg leave to refer you to a copy of Captain Ricketts' letter.

You will alſo receive herewith a copy of a letter from Captain Mends, of his Majeſty's brig Diligence, together with a liſt of armed veſſels taken by the ſquadron ſince my letter of the 27th of April.

La Magicienne, in Carcaſſe Bay, St. Domingo, April 24, 1797.

SIR,

I BEG leave to inform you, that on Sunday the 23d inſtant, when doubling Cape Tiberoon, in company with the Regulus and Fortune ſchooner, we diſcovered a ſix-gun privateer ſloop and four ſchooners at anchor in this Bay, which convinced me that the poſt of Irois was attacked: ſoon after the alarm gun was fired at the fort. As no time was to be loſt in endeavouring to counteract the views of the enemy, we ſtood in and anchored, when we commenced a heavy cannonade, and had the good fortune, in a ſhort time, to drive them into the mountains; their field-pieces, ammunition, proviſions, and veſſels laden with neceſſaries for carrying on the ſiege, fell into our hands.

The good conduct of every officer and ſailor belonging to our little ſquadron, manifeſted itſelf upon this occaſion, as well as upon many others, ſince I have had the honour to command it. I have to regret the loſs of four men killed, and Mr. Morgan, maſter's mate, and ten men wounded (though not mortally), who were in the Magicienne's boat when endeavouring to tow out the privateer.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c. &c.
W. H. RICKETTS.

To Sir Hyde Parker, Knt. Vice-Admiral of the Red, &c.

SIR, *Diligence, Naſſau, New Providence, March 13, 1797.*

I BEG leave to inform you, that having cleared the Bahama ſtraits the third of this month, the following day, ten leagues S. W. of the Pan of Motonzas, we fell in with and took, after an action of three quarters of an hour, La Nativetas, of ſixteen guns and fifty men, about five

five hundred tons, laden with logwood, and left the Havannah that morning for Cadiz. I have the pleasure of testifying the best conduct of my officers and people, in this little affair, and have no doubt but that they will distinguish themselves when any occasion offers, and am happy to add we had only one man slightly wounded.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c. &c.

Sir Hyde Paker, Knt. Vice-Admiral of the Red, &c. R. MENDS.

A List of armed Vessels taken and destroyed by his Majesty's Squadron under my Command since the 27th of April.

Port au Paix French privateer schooner, of 2 guns and 17 men; taken by his Majesty's brig Swallow.

La Liberté French privateer schooner, mounting 6 guns; had on board only 13 men, the remainder put into the different prizes which she had taken. Taken by his Majesty's sloop Proselyte.

Le Buonaparte French privateer schooner, mounting 3 guns and 39 men; taken by his Majesty's ship Ambuscade.

General Toussaint French privateer schooner, mounting 8 guns and 5 men; taken by his Majesty's brig Swallow. With several row-boats.

H. PARKER.

Admiralty Office, July 22, 1797.

Copy of a Letter from Vice-Admiral Kingsmill, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels at Cork, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated on board his Majesty's Ship L'Engageante, Cork Harbour, July 13.

SIR,

PLEASE to inform my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that his Majesty's ship Santa Margarita is returned, and has brought in L'Adour, a fine new French ship out of Bayonne, carrying sixteen guns and one hundred and forty-seven men, being the second privateer she has taken during her late cruise. Enclosed is Captain Parker's letter to me, giving a further account of her, for the information of their Lordships. I have, &c.

ROBERT KINGSMILL.

SIR, *Santa Margarita, Cork-Harbour, July 13.*

I HAVE to inform you, that on the 10th instant, Cape Clear bearing N. E. by E. eight leagues, I captured L'Adour French ship privateer, belonging to Bayonne, pierced for twenty guns, mounting sixteen 9 and 6 pounders, and one hundred and forty-seven men; she had been on the coast ten days, and has taken the Betsey, from Newfoundland, bound to Bristol, and sent her to Bayonne. It is very fortunate the above ship is taken, as she must have done great damage to the trade, being a very fast sailer, but two months launched, well found, and completely victualled and stored for a three months cruise.

I am, &c.

To Vice-Admiral Kingsmill. GEO. PARKER.

Admi-

Admiralty Office, July 22, 1797.

Extract of Letter from Captain Tyler, of his Majesty's Ship L'Aigle, to Admiral Earl St. Vincent, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels employed on the Coast of Portugal, dated at Sea, June 13.

I SAILED from Lisbon on the 7th instant, and on the 12th I captured a brig of six guns and twenty-four men; she had been out but eight days from Bourdeaux, and bound to the Isle of France.

Admiralty Office, July 22, 1797.

Extract of a Letter from Captain Morris, of his Majesty's Ship Boston, to Admiral Earl St. Vincent, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels employed on the Coast of Portugal; dated off Cape Finisterre, June 17.

I HAVE the honour to inform you, that his Majesty's ship under my command yesterday morning captured the St. Bernardo, alias El Conquestador, privateer of twelve guns and seventy-five men, belonging to Ribadeo; seven days out of port, and had not taken any thing.

Admiralty Office, July 22, 1797.

Extract of a Letter from the Hon. Captain Curzon, Commander of his Majesty's Ship Pallas, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated at Spithead, the 20th of July.

ON the 16th instant, being in latitude 44 deg. 50 min. longitude 15 deg. 10 min. I fell in with and captured the Spanish ship letter of marque St. Jose y Nostra Signora de Begoyna, mounting sixteen 6 pounders, with fifty-two men, laden with brandy, wine, and flour, from Bilboa, bound to the Caracas; out twelve days, and had not taken any thing. I arrived here this day with his Majesty's ship under my command, in company with the prize.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, July 25, 1797.

Admiralty Office, July 25, 1797.

Copy of a Letter from Captain Honeyman, Commander of his Majesty's Sloop Tisiphone, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated July 23, 1797.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour of stating to you, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that having been ordered by Admiral Duncan to take his Majesty's brig Rambler under my command, and cruise on the Dogger Bank, I yesterday, at five A. M. in the latitude of 54 deg. 30 min. the Rambler in company, fell in with and captured, after a chase of half an hour, Le Prospere, French privateer brig, mounting 14 four-pounders, and manned with 73 men; four days from Dunkirk,

Dunkirk, without capturing any thing. She received the fire of feveral of our guns, and ftruck without making any refiftance.

In confequence of the number of prifoners, I have thought it proper to proceed to the neareft port to land them, and, after having fo done, I fhall proceed with all poffible difpatch to my ftation.

I am, Sir,
Your moft obedient humble Servant,
ROB. HONEYMAN.

Copy of a Letter from Sir Edward Pellew, Bart. Captain of his Majefty's Ship Indefatigable, to Mr. Nepean, dated Falmouth, July 22, 1797.

SIR,

YOU will be pleafed to inform their Lordfhips, that the Duke of York lugger returned laft night. She fell in with a French lugger privateer, and chafed her off the land into the hands of Lieutenant Bray, commanding the Hind revenue cutter, who alfo retook a floop, which the privateer had before captured; the lugger mounts two guns with twenty-five men.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your moft obedient humble Servant,
EDWARD PELLEW.

Extract of a Letter from Vice-Admiral Kingfmill, Commander in Chief of his Majefty's Ships at Cork, to Evan Nepean, Efq. dated July 20, 1797.

PLEASE to inform my Lords Commiffioners of the Admiralty, that his Majefty's fhip Magnanime arrived here laft night, and has brought in a faft-failing coppered fhip privateer, the Triton, of which a further account is given in the enclofed letter to me from the Hon. Captain De Courcy.

SIR, *Magnanime, at Sea, July 17, 1797.*

CRUISING feventy leagues weftward of Cape Clear, in compliance with your inftructions of the 22d ult. his Majefty's fhip the Magnanime under my command, amidft thick and ftormy weather, fell in with and captured Le Triton, a French privateer, nineteen days from Nantz, pierced for eighteen guns, though only mounting eight twelve-pounders, and manned with 180 men. Upon her cruife fhe appears to have taken one American fchooner.

I have the honour to be, &c.
Vice-Admiral Kingfmill. (Signed) M. DE COURCY.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Richard Johns, Junior, commanding the Dolphin Revenue Cutter, to Mr. Nepean, dated Marazion, July 20, 1797.

SIR,

I HAVE the pleafure to inform you, that from information I received yefterday morning from the captain of a floop, of his being chafed in here by a French privateer, I immediately flipped my cable and went in purfuit of her, and in the courfe of fix hours came up with and

and captured the privateer La Papillon, Capt. Thomas Franerie, Lieutenant de Vaisseau, mounting four swivels and plenty of small arms, with thirty men, out four days from Brest; had recaptured, the evening before, the St. Anne chasse marée, with wine from Nantz, bound to Brest, John Acalre master; which chasse marée was first captured by the squadron under the command of Sir John Borlase Warren.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c. &c.

(Signed) RICH. JOHNS, Jun.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, July 29, 1797.

Admiralty Office, July 29, 1797.

Extract of Letter from the Right Hon. Lord Bridport, K. B. Admiral of the White, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated on board his Majesty's Ship Royal George, at Sea, July 24, 1797.

I ACQUAINT you, for their Lordships' information, that I this day joined the ships under the orders of Sir John B. Warren, who has transmitted me the inclosed letters and papers, which are copies of originals he sent by express to me at Torbay, which did not arrive there till after I had quitted that anchorage.

MY LORD, *La Pomone, at Sea, July* 18, 1797.

I BEG leave to acquaint your Lordship, that in obedience to your command, I continued off Ushant with his Majesty's squadron under my orders, consisting of the ships and vessels named in the margin *, until the 16th instant, when hearing the report of many guns to the southward, I stood round the west end of the Saints, and at day-break in the morning of the 17th, I discovered a frigate, with a ship, corvette, and brig, having fourteen sail of vessels under convoy, in Hodierne Bay, eight of which were captured.

I am sorry to add, that the ship, corvette, and brig, escaped round the Penmarks, and the frigate, by cutting away her masts, and being otherwise lightened, ran on shore: a brig, laden with ordnance and naval stores, came to an anchorage near her, where it was impossible for the Anson and Sylph to follow. The brig, however, was sunk, and the frigate (La Calliope) much damaged in her hull by the shot of the abovementioned ship, whose officers and men behaved with the greatest zeal and activity, which induces me to hope that the enemy will not be enabled to get her off, as the wind soon after changed to the south-west, with a great swell upon the beach.

I was obliged to burn La Freedom, a large ship armed en flute, laden with squared timber, as the enemy had run her on shore at high water, and the crew, with the wounded, got away in their boats.

I have enclosed to your Lordship a list of the vessels captured and destroyed on the 17th instant, with a return of the wounded on board his Majesty's brig Sylph.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c. &c.

JOHN WARREN.

* La Pomone, Artois, Anson, Sylph, Dolly cutter.

La Pomone, at Sea, July 18, 1797.

An Account of Vessels belonging to the French Republic, captured and destroyed on the 17th of July, 1797, in Hodierne Bay, by a Squadron of Frigates, under the Orders of Sir John Borlase Warren, Bart. K. B.

Vessels captured.

La Thalia, transport ship, laden with a large anchor 6000lbs. weight, one purchase crane, flour, bread, beef, pork, brandy, soldiers' clothing, &c. Brig, name unknown, laden with brandy and wine. Brig, name unknown, laden with brandy and salt. Brig, name unknown, laden with flour, biscuit, and one mooring chain. Chasse marée, name unknown, laden with brandy, wine, and provisions. Chasse marée, name unknown, laden with brandy, wine, and provisions. Chasse marée, name unknown, laden with brandy, wine, and provisions. La St. Rene, chasse marée, laden with coffee, sugar, &c.

Vessels destroyed.

La Freedom, an English-built ship, armed en flute, burnt, being on shore, laden with square timber. Brig, name unknown, sunk, laden with cannon and naval stores.

Run on Shore.

La Calliope frigate, of thirty-six guns, totally dismasted, and supposed to be scuttled.

(Signed) JOHN WARREN.

Right Hon. Lord Bridport.

La Pomone, at Sea, July 18, 1797.

Return of Men wounded on board his Majesty's Brig Sylph, John Chambers White, Esq. Commander, in engaging La Calliope French Frigate, of 36 Guns, in Hodierne Bay, on the 17th of July, 1797.

John Green, seaman, in the hand. Wilson Wescot, seaman, in the hand. Toby Burke, seaman, in the back. Richard Batt, seaman, in the neck. Thomas Izzard, seaman, in the head. Thomas Egan, marine, in the knee.

To the Right Hon. Lord Bridport. JOHN WARREN.

MY LORD, *La Pomone, at Sea, July 24, 1797.*

I HAVE the satisfaction of acquainting your Lordship that I had an opportunity of seeing that La Calliope republican frigate, of thirty-six guns and two hundred and fifty men, that was left on shore on the 17th by the Anson and Sylph, is totally destroyed, having separated in the midship body, and part of her sunk. The crew are encamped near her to save such stores as may be driven on shore. I am particularly indebted to Captain White, of the Sylph brig, who having anchored with springs on his cable, within pistol shot of the said frigate, on the above day, and for some hours kept up an incessant and well-directed fire, which was at every convenient opportunity returned by her. I perceived likewise the wrecks of La Freedom, armed en flute, laden with timber, and the brig with ordnance stores, which were driven on shore the same day, and destroyed.

I have the honour to remain, &c. &c. &c.

The Right Hon. Lord Bridport. JOHN WARREN.

La

La Pomone, at Sea, July 24, 1797.

An Account of two Vessels belonging the French Republic, which were burnt in Hodierne Bay on the 23d July, 1797, by the Boats of the Squadron under the Orders of Sir John B. Warren, K. B.

La Fidelle brig, laden with wine and wads. La Henri sloop, in ballast.

JOHN WARREN.

The Right Hon. Lord Bridport, &c. &c. &c.

Admiralty Office, July 29, 1797.

Extract of a Letter from Admiral Sir Peter Parker, Knt. Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels at Portsmouth, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated the 25th of July, 1797.

PLEASE to acquaint their Lordships, that his Majesty's armed cutter Telemachus arrived here yesterday evening with La Hardi, French privateer lugger, of four carriage guns and thirty men. That active officer, Lieutenant Newton, also brought in with him two brigs, which had been captured by a French privateer, and were retaken by the Telemachus the 23d instant, as reported in the enclosed letter.

SIR, *Telemachus Cutter, Spithead, July 25, 1797.*

I HAVE the honour to inform you, that yesterday, at half past two o'clock A. M. off Cape La Hogue, his Majesty's cutter under my command captured La Hardi, a French lugger privateer, mounting four carriage guns, small arms, &c. and manned with thirty men; she had been out from Cherbourg about five hours, and had not taken any thing, and I have the pleasure to add, that I retook two merchant brigs the same day, that had been captured by a French privateer.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c. &c.

Admiral Sir Peter Parker, Bart. THOMAS NEWTON.

Admiralty Office, July 29, 1797.

Extract of a Letter from Admiral Sir Peter Parker, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels at Portsmouth, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated on board the Royal William at Spithead, July 27, 1797.

ENCLOSED is a letter from Lieutenant Garrett, of the Trial cutter, giving an account of his having captured Le Courier de la Mer, French privateer, of twelve guns and twenty men, and captured a brig taken by the said privateer.

SIR, *Trial, Spithead, July 27, 1797.*

I HAVE the honour to acquaint you that, on Monday evening last, observing the signal on Portland Point for an enemy's cruiser, I ordered the chasse marées to anchor in Portland Roads, and proceeded in his Majesty's cutter under my command in quest of her; at half past two, Tuesday morning, I discovered two brigs standing to the southward, which I immediately gave chase to, and soon perceived them to be a French privateer and her prize; about half past four, I got within gun-

 shot

ſhot of the privateer, and at five, after giving us two broadſides (which fortunately did us no damage), ſhe ſtruck, Portland bearing N. E. by E. three leagues; ſhe proved to be the Courier de la Mer, Andre Mouilleron captain, mounting twelve ſmall carriage guns, and had, when ſhe failed, fifty-one men, but had when taken only twenty. She had been out four days, and had taken three prizes, one of which I have ſince retaken. Being ſo many priſoners on board, I thought proper to put in here.

I am, &c.

HENRY GARRET.

Admiralty Office, July 24, 1797.

Copy of a Letter from S. Pellew, Eſq. Collector of his Majeſty's Cuſtoms at Falmouth, to Evan Nepean, Eſq. dated Falmouth, July 24, 1797.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to acquaint you, for the information of their Lordſhips, that the Hind revenue cutter, ſtationed at this port, Mr. Murray acting commander, has captured and ſent into this port L'Incroyable French privateer, mounting two carriage guns and twenty-one men, out four days from St. Maloes; alſo retaken the ſloop Three Brothers, John Colliſon maſter, from Neath, laden with coals, prize to the ſaid privateer, the only capture ſhe had made ſince ſhe had left St. Maloes.

I am, &c.

S. PELLEW.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, Auguſt 1, 1797.

Admiralty Office, Auguſt 1, 1797.

THE following diſpatches have been received at this office by Evan Nepean, Eſq.

SIR, *Ville de Paris, off Cadiz, July 5, 1797.*

I DESIRE you will acquaint the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, that the Terpſichore, with the Thunder bomb, having a detachment of artillery on board, and the Urchin gun-boat, from Gibraltar, joined on the 22d inſtant; and the night following Rear-Admiral Nelſon, having made his diſpoſitions, the bomb, covered by the gun-boat, launches and barges of the fleet, was placed near the tower of San Sebaſtian, and fired ſome ſhells into the town, when an attempt was made by the gun-boats and launches of the enemy to carry her. The Rear-Admiral, who is always preſent in the moſt arduous enterpriſes, with the aſſiſtance of ſome other barges, boarded and carried two of the enemy's gun-boats, and a barge launch of one of their ſhips of war, with the commandant of the flotilla. In this ſhort conflict, eighteen or twenty Spaniards were killed, the commandant and ſeveral wounded; he had twenty-five men made priſoners; the reſt ſwam aſhore.

This ſpirited action was performed with inconſiderable loſs on our part, as per encloſed. The launch of the Ville de Paris was ſunk by a raking ſhot from the enemy's gun-boats; but by the active, intelligent mind of Captain Troubridge, got up yeſterday morning, and repaired on board the Culloden.

Rear-

Rear-Admiral Nelſon's actions ſpeak for themſelves; any praiſe of mine would fall very ſhort of his merit.

I am, Sir,
Your moſt obedient humble Servant,
J. JERVIS.

P. S. The encloſed report from Rear-Admiral Nelſon has juſt reached me.

Evan Nepean, Eſq.

Return of Killed and Wounded on the Attack of the Spaniſh Gun-Boats, the Night of the 3d of July, 1797.

Theſeus, five wounded; Irreſiſtible, one wounded; Seahorſe, one wounded; Ville de Paris, five wounded; Prince George, one killed, five wounded; Diadem, one wounded; Barfleur, one wounded; Egmont, one wounded.—Total, one killed, twenty wounded.

Officers wounded.—Seahorſe, captain Fremantle, ſlightly; Ville de Paris, lieutenant William Selby, ditto; Diadem, lieutenant W. J. Rowe, ditto; Prince George, lieutenant Gregory Grant, ditto; Ditto, Mr. R. Tooley, midſhipman, ditto; Barfleur, Mr. Hugh Pearſon, maſter's mate; Theſeus, John Sykes, admiral's coxſwain.

J. JERVIS.

SIR, *Theſeus, July* 4, 1797.

IN obedience to your orders, the Thunderer bomb was placed, by the good management of Lieutenant Gourly, her preſent commander, aſſiſted by Mr. Jackſon, maſter of the Ville de Paris, who volunteered his able ſervices, within 2500 yards of the walls of Cadiz, and the ſhells were thrown from her with much preciſion, under the direction of Lieutenant Baynes of the Royal Artillery; but unfortunately it was ſoon found that the large mortar was materially injured from its former ſervices; I therefore judged it proper to order her to return under the protection of the Goliath, Terpſichore, and Fox, who were kept under ſail for that purpoſe, and for whoſe active ſervices I feel much obliged.

The Spaniards having ſent out a great number of mortar gun-boats and armed launches, I directed a vigorous attack to be made on them, which was done with ſuch gallantry, that they were drove and purſued cloſe to the walls of Cadiz, and muſt have ſuffered conſiderable loſs; and I have the pleaſure to inform you, that two mortar-boats and an armed launch remained in our poſſeſſion.

I feel myſelf particularly indebted for the ſucceſsful termination of this conteſt to the gallantry of Captains Fremantle and Miller, the former of whom accompanied me in my barge, and to my Coxſwain, John Sykes, who, in defending my perſon, is moſt ſeverely wounded, as was Captain Fremantle, ſlightly, in the attack: and my praiſes are generally due to every officer and man, ſome of whom I ſaw behave in the moſt noble manner, and I regret it is not in my power to particularize them. I muſt alſo beg to be permitted to expreſs my admiration of Don Miguel Tyraſon, the commander of the gun-boats, in his barge; he laid my boat alongſide, and his reſiſtance was ſuch as to honour a brave officer, eighteen of the twenty-ſix men being killed, and himſelf and all the reſt wounded. Not having a correct liſt of the killed and wounded,

wounded, I can only ſtate, that I believe ſix are killed and two hundred and twenty wounded.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your moſt obedient humble Servant,
(Signed) HORATIO NELSON.

Sir John Jervis, K. B.

Copy of a Letter from the Earl of St. Vincent, Commander in Chief of his Majeſty's Ships and Veſſels employed on the Coaſt of Portugal, to Evan Nepean, Eſq. dated on board his Majeſty's Ship Ville de Paris, off Cadiz, the 9th of July, 1797.

SIR,

I ENCLOSE, for the information of the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, letters I have lately received from Captain Elphinſtone, of his Majeſty's ſhip the Hamadryad, and the Honourable Courtney Boyle, commander of his Majeſty's ſhip the Kangaroo, relating the capture of ſome of the enemy's veſſels.

MY LORD,

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordſhip, that on my paſſage from Plymouth (with the Boyne tranſport under my convoy), his Majeſty's ſloop Kangaroo, on the 22d inſtant, lat. 46 deg. 25 min. N. long. 7 deg. 12 min. W. I fell in with and captured La Surpriſe French lugger privateer, of 47 tons, 8 guns, and 48 men; had been ſix days out of Croſic (entrance of the Loire), and made no capture.

I have further to inform your Lordſhip, that on the 3d inſtant, Cadiz bearing E. by S. diſtance 17 leagues, I fell in with and captured La Puriſſima Conception, a lugger, ſent out from Cadiz with a king's officer and nine men, under orders to cruiſe for a brig from the Havannah, having diſpatches for her.

I am, &c.

The Right Hon. Earl of St. Vincent. BOYLE.

SIR, *Hamadryad, in Gibraltar Bay, July* 3, 1797.

IN obedience to your orders, I proceeded to ſea on the 29th of June: light airs and a ſtrong current ſet us a little to the eaſtward. On the 30th I fell in with two xebecks, one of which we took, and the other, which was a Spaniſh privateer, we drove on ſhore; the crew of the latter made their eſcape. After ſeeing her ſafe into Gibraltar yeſterday morning, I ſtretched acroſs to Ceuta, and at two A. M. I fell in with and captured L'Acteon French cutter privateer, of ſix guns, coppered, and thirty men. I have anchored for the ſole purpoſe of putting the priſoners on board the priſon ſhip, and getting my people out of the prize, and ſhall weigh again in a few hours.

I have the honour, &c.

Admiral Sir John Jervis, K. B. THO. ELPHINSTONE.

Copy

Copy of another Letter from the Earl of St. Vincent to Mr. Nepean, dated Ville de Paris, off Cadiz, the 10th of July, 1797.

SIR,

I DESIRE you will acquaint the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, that Rear-Admiral Nelſon ordered a ſecond bombardment of Cadiz on the night of the 5th, under the direction of Captain Bowen, of the Terpſichore, Captain Miller, of the Theſeus, and Captain Waller, of the Emerald; and appointed Mr. Jackſon, maſter of the Ville de Paris, to place the Thunderer, Terror, and Strombolo; and that the bombardment produced conſiderable effect in the town, and among the ſhipping; ten ſail of the line, among them the ſhips carrying the flags of Admirals Mezzaredo and Gravina, having warped out of the range of ſhell with much precipitation the following morning; and it is with great ſatisfaction I inform you, that this important ſervice was effected with very little loſs on our ſide, as per encloſed return of killed and wounded. The Rear-Admiral meditated another operation on the night of Saturday the 8th, under his own direction, but the wind blew ſo ſtrong down the Bay, he could not get his bomb veſſels up to the point of attack in time.

Mr. Hornſey, maſter's mate of the Seahorſe, diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a very remarkable manner.

A Return of the Officers and Men belonging to the Squadron, who were killed or wounded on the Night of the 5th inſtant, attending the Bomb Veſſels, and attacking the Spaniſh Gun-Boats.

Victory, W. Cuming commander, one officer wounded; Blenheim, W. Bowen commander, one ſeaman killed; Theſeus, R. W. Miller commander, one ſeamen killed, two officers, five marines or ſoldiers, wounded; Colloden, T. Troubridge commander, one ſeaman killed, two ſeamen wounded; Irreſiſtible, G. Martin commander, one ſeaman wounded; Audacious, D. Gould commander, one officer, three ſeamen wounded; Seahorſe, T. F. Fremantle commander, one officer wounded.

Officers wounded.—Victory, lieutenant Collins, much bruiſed; Theſeus, John Oldfield, captain of marines; ditto, John Coltier, midſhipman; Audacious, —— Stephenſon, ditto; Seahorſe, John Hornſey, acting lieutenant.

J. JERVIS.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, Auguſt 5, 1797.

Admiralty Office, Auguſt 5, 1797.

Copies of two Letters from Rear-Admiral Harvey, Commander in Chief of his Majeſty's Ships and Veſſels at the Leeward Iſlands, to Evan Nepean, Eſq. dated Prince of Wales, Fort Royal Bay, Martinique, June 22, 1797.

SIR,

BE pleaſed to acquaint the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, that Lieutenant Reynolds, commanding his Majeſty's ſloop Zephyr, fell in

 with

with and captured, the 18th inſtant, off Dominica, Le Vengeur des François, French privateer, belonging to Guadaloupe, of four guns and thirty-five men.

I have the honour to be, &c.

HENRY HARVEY.

SIR,

BE pleaſed to acquaint the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, that his Majeſty's ſhip Tamer has captured the following privateer ſchooners belonging to Guadaloupe:

La Jalouſe, of 4 guns and 45 men, the 22d of May, off Antigua.

La Galatée, of 8 guns and 55 men, the 28th of May, off Antigua.

La Heureuſe, of 2 guns and 26 men, the 10th of June, off Martinique.

The two former Captain Martin ſent to Antigua, the latter to this iſland.

I have the honour to be, &c.

HENRY HARVEY.

Admiralty-Office, Auguſt 5, 1797.

Copy of a Letter from Captain Henry Wray, Commander of his Majeſty's Sloop Seagull, to Evan Nepean, Eſq. dated July 23, 1797, at Sea.

SIR,

YOU will be pleaſed to inform their Lordſhips, that after a chaſe of three hours, Chriſtianſand bearing N. by W. ten or eleven leagues, the King George cutter in company, I captured the Captain Thurot, a ſmall French cutter privateer, carrying two braſs ſix pounders, four ſwivels, and twenty-two men. She had taken on this coaſt the ſhip Tom, of Liverpool, from Riga, with timber, and the brig Bachelor, of Saltcoats, in Scotland.

I have the honour to be, &c.

HENRY WRAY.

Admiralty Office, Auguſt 5, 1797.

Copy of a Letter from Vice-Admiral Kingſmill, Commander in Chief of his Majeſty's Ships and Veſſels at Cork, to Evan Nepean, Eſq. dated L'Engageante, Cork Harbour, July 25, 1797.

SIR,

PLEASE to inform my Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, that having intelligence of a ſmall privateer being off Bally Cotton, I ſent out Lieutenant Pulling, in the Mary revenue cutter, in queſt of her, and in a few hours he fell in with the Beresford revenue brig, coming from Waterford, juſt as ſhe had captured the ſaid privateer, a chaſſe-marée, named L'Acheron, of 28 tons, out of Morlaix, carrying one carronade eight-pounder and ſix ſwivels, and forty men. She is juſt arrived here, and had taken three veſſels, all of which I underſtand are recaptured.

I have, &c.

R. KINGSMILL.

Admi-

Admiralty Office, August 5, 1797.

Extract of a Letter from Vice-Admiral Kingsmill, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels at Cork, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated L'Engageante, Cork Harbour, July 29, 1797.

PLEASE to inform the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that his Majesty's ship Doris arrived here yesterday with a fine ship privateer, of twenty-two guns, she has captured. Enclosed is Lord Ranelagh's letter to me on the subject.

SIR, *Doris, off the Old Head of Kinsale, July 28, 1797.*

SINCE my last, informing you of the recapture of the Santa Patronia and Nostra Senora da Concucao, two valuable Portugueze Brazil ships, I beg leave to acquaint you, that in latitude 47 deg. 42 min. N. longitude 9 deg. 57 min. West, I chased and captured Le Duguai Trouin, a French ship of twenty six-pounders and two twelve-pounders, manned with one hundred and twenty-seven men, out four days from Nantes, and had taken nothing; as usual, the guns were thrown overboard. Le Duguai Trouin is a remarkable fine and fast-sailing vessel. On her last cruize she took the Sandwich packet of Falmouth.

I am, &c.

Vice-Admiral Kingsmill, &c. RANELAGH.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, August 14, 1797.

DISPATCHES, of which the following are copies, have been this day received by the Right Honourable Henry Dundas, one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state, from Lieutenant-General Simcoe, commanding his Majesty's troops in the island of St. Domingo.

SIR, *Port-au-Prince, June 20, 1797.*

I DO myself the honour of inclosing Brigadier-General Churchill's report of the attack made by the enemy on the Grand Anse, and the repulse they met with in that quarter.

The Brigadier-General acknowledges, in the strongest manner, the important services which Captain Ricketts, of the Magicienne, with the squadron under his command, effected in the destruction of the vessels of the enemy in Carcasse Bay.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) J. G. SIMCOE.

Right Hon. Henry Dundas, &c. &c. &c.

SIR, *Jeremie, April 30, 1797.*

THE republican General Rigaud thinking the moment favourable to make a second attempt on Irois, collected his very best troops, to the amount of 1200 men: on the night of the 20th of April, at twelve o'clock, they attempted to storm the fort, in which were only at the time five and twenty of the 17th infantry, with their officers, commanded by Lieutenant Talbot, of the 82d regiment, and about twenty colonial artillery-men, commanded by Captain Brueil. The attack was one of the most formidable and determined I ever heard of, they returning to

 the

the charge three ſeveral times with ſuch increaſed vigour, that many of them were killed in the fort; but, to the immortal honour of its brave defenders, they were repulſed with equal courage and intrepidity, which gave time to Colonel Dagreſs, with 350 men of Prince Edward's black chaſſeurs, to gain the fort from the Bourg below, from whence, indeed, they were obliged to cut their way. This reinforcement ſaved the place, for it would have been impoſſible for the Engliſh and cannoneers to have ſtood much longer the perſevering and reiterated attacks of the moſt daring and deſperate enemy, which never ceaſed until morning, when they retired (leaving the fort ſurrounded with their dead) to a higher ground, where they made a ſtand, in ſpite of a ſortie that was immediately made with ſome advantage. Here they continued till the 22d inſtant, when they made an incurſion into the interior of our cordon, took and burnt the Bourg Dance Marie, and made an attack upon the fort of L'Iſlot, from whence they were driven with great loſs. In the mean time they were making every diſpoſition for a regular ſiege of Irois, when, fortunately, the Magicienne frigate attacked their ſmall fleet in the Bay des Carcaſſes, ſunk three of their barges, and took two ſchooners, all loaded with cannon and military ſtores for the ſiege. The loſs, in their various attacks, is generally eſtimated at 1000 men; it cannot be leſs than 800; before Irois alone were found upwards of 200 bodies, among whom were many whites and mulattoes. Our loſs was trifling indeed, conſiſting only of three privates killed; but I have to lament Lieutenant Talbot, of the 82d regiment, an officer of the moſt extraordinary bravery and good conduct, and Lieutenant Colville, of the black chaſſeurs, the only perſons wounded and ſince dead. My moſt pleaſing taſk, Sir, is to bear teſtimony of the courage, alacrity, and ſpirit, with which all the troops diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the various combats, particularly Monſ. de Brueil, commanding the artillery, whom I beg leave to recommend to your favour and protection. I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) GEO. CHURCHILL, Brig. Gen.

Lieut. Gen. Simcoe.

SIR, *Port-au-Prince, June* 20, 1797.

I DO myſelf the honour of informing you, that on various conſiderations of great military importance, I determined to repoſſeſs myſelf of the poſt of Mirebalais: in conſequence, I collected the forces, and calling Brigadier-General Churchill from the Grand Anſe, gave him the command, with directions to execute a plan that Colonel La Pointe, from whom I have experienced the moſt friendly and active aſſiſtance, had ably digeſted.

The Brigadier-General's letter, which I beg permiſſion to incloſe, will inform you of the ſucceſs of this expedition; but I have to regret, that, from ſome delay of the columns, they did not move with that exactitude and concert I had hoped, by which circumſtance a conſiderable object of the expedition failed of ſucceſs; for it was my intention to accord the protection of his Majeſty's arms, in the beſt manner poſſible, to the inhabitants of theſe diſtricts, by directing the troops, in their different routes, to march with a ſecrecy and rapidity that might inſure, on all ſides, the ſurpriſal of the enemy, compel them to a haſty retreat, and, driving them before them, might prevent their having an opportunity of

of burning the plantations, as had recently happened at Jeremie, or from carrying off the negroes and property beyond the Artibonite, at this time ſo ſwollen by the rainy ſeaſon, as to render any paſſage over it difficult and precarious. But I have reaſon to believe, from the report of Colonel Depeſtre, who commands in that quarter, that many of the negroes will eſcape and return to their plantations; many were left upon them; and I learn with pleaſure, that the enemy had not the time or means to remove the coffee from the plantations in the Grand Bois, which is daily coming into Port-au-Prince.

As the troops were on their march to their deſtined cantonments in the Archaye Mountains, to protect St. Marc's from an attack preparing againſt it at Gonaives, I received information of that town's being beſieged. The greater part of the army aſſembled under the command of General Churchill, by forced marches, proceeded to its aſſiſtance; and as the retaking the Mirebalais was unexpected by the enemy, it had not only a tendency to diſconcert their meaſures, but, as I had foreſeen, gave me an opportunity of ſending a conſiderable detachment by ſea from the plain of the Cul de Sac to the immediate aſſiſtance of St. Marc's, without hazard.

At the ſame time, Colonel the Count de Rouvray, with a detachment of 300 men, was detached to ſtrike at a camp of the Brigands in the mountains on the ſide of Leogane. The energy and activity of this officer overcame the difficulties of the ſituation; he effectually burned the camp, and beat the enemy from their ſeveral poſts, killing between forty and fifty; and he returned to Grenier with the loſs of two men killed and ſeven wounded.

The enemy, having attacked and carried ſome of the out-poſts of St. Marc, began the ſiege of this important place, but were fortunately driven from before it with very conſiderable loſs. In the ſucceſsful defence of St. Marc, the undaunted and active courage, and the military conduct of the Marquis de Cocherell, have merited my fulleſt approbation.

I have the honour to be, with the utmoſt reſpect, &c.

J. G. SIMCOE.

"SIR, *Mirebalais, June 2, 1797.*

I HAVE the honour to inform you, that, after giving previous orders to Colonel Deſſources to proceed with his column, in the morning of the 30th ult. to his deſtined poſt of La Selle, where, according to your Excellency's inſtructions, he was enabled to take poſt, I moved forward with the centre column, under Colonel Depeſtre. We arrived, after two very hot days march, at Port Mitchell, not quite completed, and occupied by about fifty of the enemy, who retired on our approach. In the evening we diſcovered a column of troops deſcending the hills on our left, where they encamped. A detachment of cavalry was immediately ſent to reconnoitre them; they proved to be Colonel Deſſource's column. This officer was unable, from the badneſs of the roads, and the heavy rains which we have had every evening, to proceed to the place of his deſtination: he therefore, in a very proper and ſoldier-like manner, marched and joined us, which, in ſome meaſure, defeated your original plan of cutting off the enemy's retreat by La Selle: but I cannot help deeming this junction rather a fortunate cir-

 cumſtance,

cumſtance, as it enabled us to drive the enemy from a very advantageous poſition they had taken the next day, to diſpute our paſſage, which, from their ſuperiority of numbers (about 1200 men, with three pieces of cannon), muſt, in all probability, have coſt us a number of valuable lives to have carried; but this additional ſtrength gave us an eaſy victory, for no ſooner did they perceive a detachment of infantry and cavalry, which I ſent to gain the heights and turn their right flank, than they immediately fled in the utmoſt confuſion, and with ſuch precipitation, that though Lieutenant-Colonel Carter, with the detachments of the 14th, 18th, and 21ſt Britiſh light dragoons, purſued them with that alacrity and ſpirit which has ever diſtinguiſhed him, he could only come up with a very few. He ſucceeded, however, in driving a great many into the river Artibonite, moſt of whom periſhed; and he had the good fortune to take two of their guns, with their ammunition, mules, &c. &c.: the third was moſt probably loſt in the river, the carriage being left behind. We found the fort in the Bourg of Mirebalais as perfect as it ever had been, and in no manner deſtroyed.

We did not ſee Colonel Bazil and his column till near an hour after we were in poſſeſſion of Mirebalais; he was, however, at the place appointed, and, had the enemy made any ſtand, would have fallen on their rear, and have enabled us, no doubt, to have given a better account of them.

Although the action, from the rapid retreat of the enemy, was very ſhort, yet, Sir, I have the ſatisfaction to inform you, time enough was given to evince as much alacrity and ſpirit to enter it, both in the officers and men, as I ever remember to have witneſſed.

I encloſe a return of the artillery and ammunition found in the fort of Mirebalais; and I am happy to inform your Excellency, that the repoſſeſſion of this important poſt and diſtrict was effected without loſs, one ſerjeant and one private of the dragoons being all our wounded.

I have the honour to be, &c.

GEO. CHURCHILL, Brig. Gen.

Lieut. Gen. Simcoe, &c.

Return of Ordnance and Ordnance Stores taken in the Fort of Mirebalais, on the 2d of June, 1797.

Two French eight pounders, badly ſpiked, ſince unſpiked, and rendered ſerviceable.

Two ſix-pounders, ſerviceable.

Two two-pounders, ditto.

A large proportion of ſhot for the above ordnance of every deſcription; the ammunition not aſcertained, but it is ſtated to be damaged.

GEORGE CHURCHILL, Brig. Gen.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, Aug. 22, 1797.

Admiralty Office, Aug. 22, 1797.

Extract of a Letter from Captain James Boorder, Commander of his Majeſty's Sloop Eſpiegle, to Evan Nepean, Eſq. dated in Yarmouth Roads, the 20*th of Auguſt,* 1797.

I HAVE the honour to inform you, for the information of my Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, that, agreeably to my orders from Admiral

Admiral Duncan of the 12th inſtant, I was proceeding for Yarmouth Roads; on the 13th, at ſix P. M. Yarmouth bearing W. S. W. diſtance ſeventy miles, we fell in with a French brig privateer, and which, after a chaſe of twenty-four hours (running upwards of 197 miles), we came within piſtol ſhot of her. After firing one broadſide at her, ſhe ſtruck to his Majeſty's ſloop under my command; the captain and firſt lieutenant were killed, and two men wounded; I am happy to ſay, I had only one man ſlightly hurt in the head.

She proves to be the Prodigy, from Dunkirk, out 28 days; had made no captures; pierced for 18 guns, mounting 14, and had on board 87 men.

My officers and men behaved well; and I am confident, from their cool and ſteady conduct, that, had the chaſe been ſuperior, we ſhould have given a good account of her.

Admiralty Office, Aug. 22, 1797.

Copy of a Letter from Admiral Peyton, Commander in Chief of his Majeſty's Ships and Veſſels in the Downs, to Evan Nepean, Eſq. dated on board the Overyſſel, the 21ſt of Auguſt, 1797.

SIR,

ENCLOSED herewith is a copy of a letter I have received from Mr. George Broad, commanding his Majeſty's hired lugger Reſolution, ſtating his having capured a French lugger privateer, of ten guns (only four of which were mounted), and thirty-four men, named the Revenge. I am, &c. &c.

(Signed) JOSEPH PEYTON.

SIR, *Reſolution Lugger, at Sea, Aug. 21, 1797.*

I BEG leave to acquaint you, that on the 19th inſtant, Oſtend bearing S. S. E. about ſix or ſeven leagues, I obſerved his Majeſty's ſhips Ariadne and Plover in chaſe of a lugger, in the N. W. quarter, with ſignals flying of the chaſe being an enemy; upon which I made all poſſible ſail after her I could, and in about two hours came up with and captured her. She proves to be the Revenge French lugger privateer, carrying ten carriage guns, two and three pounders, but only four mounted (the reſt being in the hold), and manned with thirty-four men, one of whom was wounded by exchange of ſhot during the chaſe. She had been out two days from Dunkirk, but had made no captures. I am, &c. &c.

(Signed) GEORGE BROAD.

Admiral Peyton, &c. &c.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, Auguſt 26, 1797.

Admiralty Office, Auguſt 26, 1797.

Extract of a Letter from Captain John Matthews, Commander of his Majeſty's Ship Maidſtone, to Evan Nepean, Eſq. dated Carliſle Bay, Barbadoes, the 28th of June, 1797.

I BEG leave to acquaint you, for the information of my Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, that I arrived in this bay on the 26th inſtant,

inſtant, after a long and very tedious paſſage of fifty-three days, from Princes, with all the convoy under my charge, and a privateer brig of twelve guns and 104 men, called the Flibuſtier, commanded by Antoine Fuet, with a national commiſſion ſigned Victor Hugue, which veſſel I captured on the evening of the 24th inſtant, about ninety leagues to the windward of Barbadoes. Another privateer hovered upon the rear of the convoy the night before my arrival, but we loſt ſight of her almoſt as ſoon as diſcovered. The veſſel is Engliſh built, ſails remarkably well, and has very much annoyed the trade to Barbadoes; the capture of her, therefore, has given me a very ſenſible pleaſure, and afforded much ſatisfaction to the merchants.

Admiralty Office, Auguſt 26, 1797.

Copy of a Letter from Captain A. S. Burrows, Commander of his Majeſty's Ship Roebuck, to Evan Nepean, Eſq. dated Roebuck, Barbadoes, the 7th of July, 1797.

SIR,

AS it is uncertain how ſoon I may have an opportunity of communicating with the commander in chief on this ſtation, I beg leave to tranſmit the following extract from my letter to him, of this date, for the information of my Lords Commiſſioners. I am, &c.

Roebuck, Barbadoes, July 7, 1797.

YESTERDAY morning we ſaw a ſloop about twenty leagues to windward of the iſland, which, after a chaſe of nine hours, we had the good fortune to capture, about ſeven leagues due North from this. She proves to be Le Batave, of twelve guns and fifty-four men, Citizen Jean Boze commander, belonging to the Dutch Republic, and fitted at Curaçoa; ſhe had been out five weeks, but had not made a capture, and, when we took her, had on board proviſions and ſtores for three months. Her ill ſucceſs ſurpriſes me much, as ſhe is the faſteſt ſailer of her kind I ever met with.

(Signed) A. S. BURROWS.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, Auguſt 29, 1797.

Admiralty-Office, Auguſt 29, 1797.

Copy of a Letter from Vice-Admiral Kingſmill, Commander in Chief of his Majeſty's Ships and Veſſels on the Coaſt of Ireland, to Evan Nepean, Eſq. dated on board the Engageante, in Cork Harbour, Auguſt 21, 1797.

SIR,

I HAVE the ſatisfaction of tranſmitting herein, for the information of my Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, a letter from the Hon. Captain De Courcy, of his Majeſty's ſhip Magnanime, giving an account

count of his further succeſs in capturing a French ſchooner privateer, and retaking one of our Jamaica ſhips, the Proſperity, of London, which that privateer had made prize of.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c. &c.

R. KINGSMILL.

SIR, *Magnanime, Auguſt* 15, 1797.

SINCE my departure from the prizes, as ſpoken of in my letter of the 10th inſtant, it has been the fortune of his Majeſty's ſhip under my command to fall in with and capture, in the 48th degree of north latitude, and in the 13th of weſtern longitude, Le Tiercelet, a French ſchooner privateer, of eight guns, ten ſwivels, and forty-ſeven men, together with the Proſperity, of London, which the privateer had captured three days before, on her homeward-bound voyage from Jamaica.

Le Tiercelet, which is copper-bottomed, appears to have ſailed from Rochefort on the 10th of July, with a complement of ſixty-eight men, and to have captured in the courſe of her cruiſe, beſides the Proſperity, as mentioned above, the Falcon brig, from Trinity Iſland, bound to Pool, and the Friends, a ſnow, from Liverpool, bound to Martinique.

After giving eſcort to the Proſperity and Le Tiercelet as far as the Iriſh coaſt, and tranſmitting to the commiſſary's charge the French ſeamen which are now on board his Majeſty's ſhip, it is my purpoſe, without delay, to proceed to the further execution of your orders.

I have the honour, &c.

Vice-Admiral Kingſmill. M. DE COURCY.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, September 2, 1797.

Admiralty Office, September 2, 1797.

Copy of a Letter from Vice-Admiral Kingſmill, Commander in Chief of his Majeſty's Ships and Veſſels on the Coaſt of Ireland, to Evan Nepean, Eſq. dated on board L'Engageante, at Cork, the 24th of Auguſt, 1797.

SIR,

I HEREWITH tranſmit, for the information of my Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, a letter to me from Captain Pulling, of his Majeſty's ſloop Penguin, containing particulars relative to a capital brig privateer, and a prize ſhe had made of the brig Expreſs, of Dartmouth, bound to Newfoundland, both of which he has brought in here.

I have the honour to be, &c.

R. KINGSMILL.

SIR, *Penguin, Cork Harbour, Aug.* 23, 1797.

I HAVE the honour to inform you, that on the 21ſt inſtant, in latitude 48 deg. 30 min. north, longitude 8 deg. weſt, being on the larboard tack, with the wind eaſterly, blowing hard, at half paſt eight A.M. ſaw two ſail a-head ſtanding towards us, with every appearance of being cruiſers. At half paſt nine, having weathered us about a mile, they bore down, the headmoſt under Engliſh colours, but very ſoon diſcovered themſelves to be the enemy, when we opened our fire, which obliged them to haul up again on the ſtarboard tack; I wore immedi-

ately,

ately, keeping under their lee, with a conftant fire at both. At three quarters paft nine the fternmoft ftruck, and hove-to, but the fea running too high to take immediately poffeffion of her, and finding the other of much more confequence, who was making every endeavour to efcape, I continued the purfuit, when, after an hour and forty minutes running fire, having fhot away her main-top-maft, fhe ftruck, and at nine took poffeffion of her: found her to be L'Oifeau French privateer, of eighteen guns (pierced for twenty), fixteen nine-pounders, and two long French twelves, with 119 men on board. At half paft meridian wore, and made fail after the other, who by this time was nearly out of fight, endeavouring to get off. At four brought her to, and took poffeffion, finding her to be the Exprefs, of Dartmouth, prize to L'Oifeau, formerly L'Appocrate French privateer, of twenty-eight guns, taken a few months ago.

L'Oifeau is quite new built for a corvette, launched in June laft, and coppered; her length of keel feventy-three feet, of gun-deck eighty-feven feet, and breadth of beam twenty-five feet: her firft cruife from Nantz, out thirty-four days, and had taken two other veffels. She had been chafed five times before by his Majefty's frigates, but always maintained a decided fuperiority of failing; fpares the Penguin at leaft one-third of her canvas; and we are much indebted to their diforder and high fea for our fuccefs. She had one man killed and five wounded.

I beg leave to exprefs my warmeft approbation of the conduct of my firft lieutenant, Mr. George Neat Tremblett, with every officer and man in his Majefty's floop I have the honour to command, for their zeal and fteady exertion during the chafe, working the guns knee-high in water for upwards of an hour and an half, carring a great prefs of fail, with a heavy fea making fair breaches conftantly over us. I am, &c.

Vice-Admiral Kingfmill, &c. J. K. PULLING.

Admiralty Office, September 2, 1797.

Copy of a Letter from Vice-Admiral Kingfmill, Commander in Chief of his Majefty's Ships and Veffels at Cork, to Evan Nepean, Efq. dated on board his Majefty's Ship L'Engageante, in Cork Harbour, Auguft 25, 1797.

SIR,

PLEASE to inform my Lords Commiffioners of the Admiralty, that his Majefty's fhip Dryad has captured and fent in a French brig privateer of fourteen guns; further particulars of which will be feen in the accompanying letter to me from Lord Amelius Beauclerk, which I requeft may be laid before their Lordfhips. I have the honour, &c.

R. KINGSMILL.

SIR, *Dryad, at Sea, Auguft* 19, 1797.

I BEG leave to inform you, for the information of the Lords Commiffioners of the Admiralty, that at five P. M. in lat. 45 deg. long. 12 deg. we came up with and captured L'Eclair, French brig privateer, mounting

mounting ten four-pounders and four eight-pounders, with 108 men; ſailed from L'Orient on the 11th inſtant, and had not taken any thing.

I am, &c.

Vice-Admiral Kingſmill, &c. A. BEAUCLERK.

Admiralty Office, September 2, 1797.

Extract of a Letter from Captain Payne, Commander of his Majeſty's Ship Impetueux, to Evan Nepean, Eſq. dated in Cawſand Bay, the 28th of Auguſt, 1797.

ON the 23d of laſt month we chaſed a lugger and brig, both of which we captured; the latter being an American veſſel, prize to the former (which was called Petite Cherie), a French privateer of four guns and ſmall arms, and twenty-two men. The privateer was manned and ſent in ſhore by Captain Stopford, and ſeized two polacres in Muros Bay, which were deſtroyed.

Admiralty Office, September 2, 1797.

CAPTAIN Waller, of his Majeſty's ſhip Emerald, arrived here yeſterday with diſpatches from Admiral Lord St. Vincent to Evan Nepean, Eſq. Secretary to the Admiralty, of which the following are extracts:

SIR, *Ville de Paris, off Cadiz, Auguſt 16, 1797.*

I DESIRE you will acquaint the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, that I detached Rear-Admiral Nelſon, and the ſquadron named in the margin *, with orders to make an attempt upon the town of Santa Cruz, in the iſland of Teneriffe, which, from a variety of intelligence, I conceived was vulnerable. On Saturday the 15th of July the Rear-Admiral parted company, and on Tueſday the 18th, the Leander having joined from Liſbon, I ſent her after the Rear-Admiral, under inſtructions left by him.

The Emerald joined yeſterday, with the encloſed diſpatch and reports from the Rear-Admiral; and although the enterpriſe has not ſucceeded, his Majeſty's arms have acquired a very great degree of luſtre: nothing from my pen can add to the eulogy the Rear-Admiral gives of the gallantry of the officers and men employed under him. I have greatly to lament the heavy loſs the country has ſuſtained in the ſevere wound of Rear-Admiral Nelſon, and the death of Captain Richard Bowen, Lieutenant Gibſon, and the other brave officers and men who fell in this vigorous and perſevering aſſault.

The moment the Rear-Admiral joins, it is my intention to ſend the Seahorſe to England with him; the wound Captain Fremantle has received in his arm alſo requiring change of climate; and I hope that both of them will live to render important ſervices to their king and country.

I am, Sir, your moſt obedient humble Servant,

ST. VINCENT.

* Theſeus, Culloden, Zealous, Seahorſe, Emerald, Terpſichore, Fox (1ſt) cutter.

SIR, *Theſeus, off Santa Cruz, July 27, 1797.*

IN obedience to your orders to make a vigorous attack on the town of Santa Cruz, in the iſland of Teneriffe, I directed, from the ſhips under my command, 1000 men, including marines, to be prepared for landing, under the direction of Captain Trowbridge, of his Majeſty's ſhip Culloden, and Captains Hood, Thompſon, Fremantle, Bowen, Miller, and Waller, who very handſomely volunteered their ſervices; and although I am under the painful neceſſity of acquainting you, that we have not been able to ſucceed in our attack, yet it is my duty to ſtate, that I believe more daring intrepidity never was ſhown than by the captains, officers, and men, you did me the honour to place under my command.

Encloſed I tranſmit to you a liſt of killed and wounded; and amongſt the former it is with the deepeſt ſorrow I have to place the name of Captain Richard Bowen, of his Majeſty's ſhip Terpſichore, than whom a more enterpriſing, able, and gallant officer, does not grace his Majeſty's naval ſervice; and with great regret I have to mention the loſs of Lieutenant John Gibſon, commander of the Fox cutter, and a great number of gallant officers and men.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Sir John Jervis, K. B. &c. &c. HORATIO NELSON.

Liſt of Killed, Wounded, Drowned, and Miſſing, of his Majeſty's Ships under mentioned, in ſtorming Santa Cruz, in the Iſland of Teneriffe, on the Night of the 24th of July, 1797.

Theſeus—8 ſeamen, 4 marines, killed; 25 ſeamen wounded; 34 ſeamen and marines drowned.

Culloden—1 ſeaman, 2 marines, killed; 12 ſeamen, 6 marines, wounded; 36 ſeamen and marines drowned.

Zealous—3 ſeamen, 2 marines, killed; 19 ſeamen, 2 marines, wounded.

Leander—2 ſeamen, 5 marines, killed; 1 ſeaman, 4 marines, wounded; 1 marine miſſing.

Seahorſe—2 ſeamen killed; 13 ſeamen, 1 marine, wounded.

Terpſichore—8 ſeamen killed; 9 ſeamen, 2 marines, wounded; 4 ſeamen and marines miſſing.

Emerald—5 ſeamen, 3 marines, killed; 11 ſeamen wounded; 10 ſeamen and marines drowned.

Fox cutter—17 ſeamen and marines drowned.

Total—28 ſeamen, 16 marines, killed; 90 ſeamen, 15 marines, wounded; 97 ſeamen and marines drowned; 5 ſeamen and marines miſſing.

Officers killed—Richard Bowen, captain of the Terpſichore; George Thorpe, firſt lieutenant of ditto; John Weatherhead, lieutenant of the Theſeus; William Earnſhaw, ſecond lieutenant of the Leander; Raby Robinſon, lieutenant of marines, of ditto; Lieutenant Baſham, marines, of the Emerald; Lieutenant John Gibſon, of the Fox cutter, drowned.

Officers wounded—Rear-Admiral Nelſon, his right arm ſhot off; Captain Thompſon, of the Leander, ſlightly; Captain Fremantle, of the Seahorſe, in the arm; Lieutenant J. Douglas, of ditto, in the hand; Mr. Waits, midſhipman, of the Zealous.

HORATIO NELSON.

From

From the LONDON GAZETTE, September 5, 1797.

Admiralty Office, September 5, 1797.

Copy of a Letter from Rear-Admiral Harvey, Commander in Chief of his Majeſty's Ships and Veſſels at the Leeward Iſlands, to Evan Nepean, Eſq. dated Prince of Wales, Fort Royal Bay, Martinique, July 16, 1797.

SIR,

I AM ſorry to acquaint you, for the information of their Lordſhips, that the Grantham packet, from England for Jamaica, was captured by a privateer ſchooner of the enemy, of fourteen guns and 120 men, the 2d inſtant, about fifty leagues to the windward of Barbadoes: but I have alſo to beg you will acquaint their Lordſhips, that ſhe was retaken the 4th inſtant, to windward of Deſeada, by his Majeſty's ſhip Tamer, and that the above-mentioned privateer narrowly eſcaped being taken by the Tamer at the ſame time, having been obliged to throw their guns, boats, and caſks, overboard, by which means they got into Guadaloupe. I have the honour to be, &c.

HENRY HARVEY.

Copy of another Letter from Rear-Admiral Harvey to Evan Nepean, Eſq. dated July 16, 1797.

SIR,

BE pleaſed to acquaint their Lordſhips, that ſince tranſmitting my laſt diſpatches, the following privateer ſchooners, belonging to Guadaloupe, have been captured at the times, and by his Majeſty's ſhips and veſſels under my command, againſt their ſeveral names expreſſed:

Poiſſon Volante, of four guns and thirty-eight men, captured the 4th of June, 1797, off Deſeada, by the Tamer, Captain Martin.
Le Barbaroſſe, of eight guns and ſixty-one men, captured the 23d of June, 1797, off Deſeada, by the Tamer, Captain Martin.
Louis Bonfoi, of four guns and ſixty-ſix men, captured the 9th of June, 1797, off Barbuda, by the Lapwing, Captain Barton.
La Legere, of ſix guns and fifty men, captured the 6th of July, 1797, off Marigalante, by the Zephyr, commanded by Lieut. G. Reynolds.
Le Va Tout, of two guns and thirty-two men, captured the 8th of July, 1797, off Martinique, by the Zephyr, commanded by Lieutenant G. Reynolds.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

HENRY HARVEY.

Admiralty Office, September 5, 1797.

Copy of a Letter from Captain Boorder, of his Majeſty's Sloop L'Eſpiegle, to Evan Nepean, Eſq. dated in Yarmouth Roads, the 4th inſtant.

SIR,

I BEG you will be pleaſed to inform their Lordſhips of my arrival in theſe Roads with La Victoire French lugger privateer, mounting one three-pounder, five ſwivels, and carrying twenty-two men, which we

took off the Dutch coast the 27th of August, after a chase of two hours, Borcum island bearing S. W. by S. distance five leagues.

The above lugger belongs to Havre de Grace, out eight days, but had not made any captures.

I have the honour to remain, &c. &c.

JAMES BOORDER.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, September 9, 1797.

Admiralty Office, Sept. 9, 1797.

Extract of a Letter from Vice-Admiral Kingsmill, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels on the Coast of Ireland, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated on board the Penguin, Cork Harbour, the 3d of September, 1797.

PLEASE to inform my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that his Majesty's ship Doris has sent in a Spanish privateer lugger, of four guns, besides swivels and small arms, and eighty-five men, El Derrepente, of Bilboa, which she captured in latitude 46 deg. 30 min. longitude 10 deg. 36 min. This privateer had taken two Danish vessels.

Extract of a Letter from Captain Henry Carew, Commander of his Majesty's Ship Swan, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated in Yarmouth Roads, the 6th of September, 1797.

I HAVE the honour to communicate to you, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that on the 12th ultimo, at nine P. M. the Fly bearing S. W. six leagues, I fell in with and captured the Goede Verwayteng sloop privateer, of eight guns and twenty-eight men, belonging to Amsterdam, out fifteen weeks, and has taken three prizes.

Extract of a Letter from Admiral Sir Peter Parker, Bart. Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels at Portsmouth and Spithead, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated the 6th of September, 1797.

YOU will receive herewith a letter from Captain Parker, of the Orestes sloop, giving an account of his having captured Le Furet French lugger privateer.

SIR, *Orestes, at Sea, September* 4, 1797.

YESTERDAY evening, Portland bearing N. N. W. distance nine leagues, I saw a lugger standing to the southward, which we gave chase to; it coming light winds, and finding she gained on us, I manned and armed our six-oared boat, and sent the master of the Orestes, Mr. Craddock, in chase of her, who captured her, and brought her down to the brig about three o'clock this morning: she proves to be the French lugger privateer Le Furet, commanded by Citizen Vianson, manned with seventeen men, armed with four swivels and small arms; she has been two days from Cherbourg, and taken nothing. I am, Sir, &c.

Admiral Sir Peter Parker, &c. CHRISTOPHER PARKER.

From

From the LONDON GAZETTE, September 16, 1797.

Admiralty Office, September 16, 1797.

Extract of a Letter from the Right Hon. Lord Bridport, K.B. Commander in Chief of the Channel Fleet, to Evan Nepean, Esq. Secretary of the Admiralty, dated on board his Majesty's Ship Royal George, at Torbay, the 13th of September, 1797.

SIR,

HEREWITH you will receive copies of letters, with the papers therein referred to, from Commodore Sir John Borlase Warren, which I transmit for their Lordships' information. I am, &c.

BRIDPORT.

MY LORD, *La Pomone, at Sea, August 12, 1797.*

I BEG leave to inform your Lordship, that on the morning of the 11th instant, a convoy of the enemy, with a ship corvette, a brig and schooner gun-boats, two armed luggers, several chasse marées and brigs, were discovered standing to sea, out of the Pertuis de Breton, from Rochfort: I attempted to cut them off or destroy them with La Pomone and Jason, who attacked a fort, in order to cover the Sylph, who was anchored near the two corvettes, having left the Triton in chase to windward. The enemy, perceiving our intention, anchored at the entrance of the river of Sable d'Olonne, close under the fort, the ship corvette and gun-boat with springs upon their cables.

At eleven, being near enough, the firing commenced, and continued for an hour, when the gun-boat slipped her cables to run on shore, but sunk before she got into the river, near the small vessels, and the corvette remained fast a-ground, but deserted by her people and much damaged. As I did not think it possible to set her on fire with the boats of the squadron, there being little wind, and the tide of flood setting us upon the coast, we hauled our wind to the southward.

I have the satisfaction of acquainting your Lordship, that it has occasioned a delay for some time of the enemy's supplies arriving at Brest, as one of the vessels is destroyed, and it is doubtful if the other can be repaired so as to be of any use in future.

The ships of the squadron have sustained very trifling damages. A return of the killed and wounded in each ship is enclosed.

I have only to lament, that a more favourable moment did not present itself to afford the officers and men an opportunity of distinguishing themselves; but the enemy must have suffered considerably on board the vessels and in the fort, from the number of shot that struck them.

Some hot shot were fired from a battery of five guns, which set fire to the Sylph, but any ill effects were prevented by the exertions of the officers and men of that vessel, who cut them out, and behaved otherwise with much spirit and zeal. I have the honour to remain,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,

JOHN WARREN.

P.S. Since I began this letter, not having an opportunity of sending it to your Lordship, I have received information from three vessels who

had

had left Sable d'Olonne fubfequent to the above affair, and the following is the refult of thefe reports:

"The fhip corvette is in the harbour, but fo damaged as to be unfit for fervice.

"The gun-boat remains funk and deftroyed.

"The enemy loft feveral killed and wounded in the two veffels.

"In the fort five foldiers were killed and two guns difmounted, and fome wounded; two or three houfes much fhattered.

"We were off Sable d'Olonne on the 26th, and faw the fhip in the harbour."

An Account of the Killed and Wounded on board the Ships of his Majefty's Squadron under the Orders of Commodore Sir John B. Warren, K. B. on the 11th of Auguft, 1797.

La Pomone—1 feaman killed; 2 feamen, 1 marine, wounded.
Jafon—None killed or wounded.
Sylph—1 petty officer, 1 feaman, killed; 4 feamen wounded.

Names of the Officer and Men killed and wounded.

La Pomone—Roderick M'Kenzie, feaman, killed; Thomas Singleton, Thomas Williams, feamen, William Flower, marine, wounded.
Sylph—Mr. Wrixen, mafter's mate, James Mufquet, feaman, killed; John Shaw, John Simpfon, John Pate, Walter Ward, feamen, wounded.

(Signed) JOHN WARREN.

Right Hon. Lord Bridport, K. B. &c.

Extract of another Letter from Commodore Sir John B. Warren, K. B. to the Right Hon. Lord Bridport, dated on board the Pomone, at Sea, the 23d of Auguft, 1797.

I BEG leave to inform your Lordfhip, that on the 23d inftant I chafed and drove upon the coaft of Ifle Dieu, L'Egalité armed chaffe marée, of four fix-pounders and eight fwivels, and which we afterwards got off.

MY LORD, *La Pomone, at Sea, September* 6, 1797.

I BEG leave to inform your Lordfhip, that I continued fteering for the mouth of the Garonne, and on the 27th ultimo, being to the fouthward of that river, a number of veffels were feen in the fouth-weft quarter. I made the fignal for a general chafe, and continued until night, when, from the Triton being far advanced a-head, and the Jafon to windward, the fhips kept the enemy in fight after the approach of night. Owing to the exertions of Captains Gore and Stirling five of them were captured.

At two A.M. being near the fhore, a cutter was feen at anchor, that had accompanied the convoy, and one of the boats of this fhip was fent to her; but, being ordered to keep off, and feeing fhe was a veffel of force, returned. I ftood in after her, and upon our firing a few fhot, one of which cut away her maft, fhe flipt her cable, and run among the breakers upon the coaft of Arcaffon, and into a moft tremendous furf that broke on board her, and muft have ftove her to pieces. She at laft drove through, and I fancy feveral of her crew were drowned, and as the tide left her, fhe fell over; the remainder of the men, about ninety in number, got on fhore. She was called Le Petit Diable, a very fine veffel, pierced for eighteen or twenty guns, and 100 men complement.

The

The prizes are laden with ſhip-timber, roſin, and tar, and were intended to fit out privateers from the enemy's principal ports upon the coaſt. I have the honour to be, &c.

Right Hon. Lord Bridport, K. B. &c. JOHN WARREN.

A Liſt of Veſſels belonging to the French Republic, captured and deſtroyed by the Squadron under the Orders of Commodore Sir John Borlaſe Warren, Bart. K. B. between the 17th of July, 1797, *and the 6th of September following.*

Veſſel of War captured.

L'Egalité, chaſſe marée, 50 tons, 8 guns and 20 men.

Veſſels of War deſtroyed.

La Calliope, frigate, 36 guns and 250 men, ſunk.—La Freedom, ſhip, 300 tons, 8 guns and 47 men, burnt.—A ſhip corvette, 22 guns and 200 men, bilged.—A brig gun-veſſel, 12 guns and 72 men, ſunk.—Le Petit Diable, cutter, 18 guns and 180 men, bilged and fell over.

Merchant Veſſels captured.—La Thalia, ſhip, ſent to Falmouth.—A brig, ſent to Falmouth.—A brig, ſent to Falmouth.—A brig, ſent to Falmouth.—Three chaſſe marées, ſent to Falmouth.—L'Arche de Flotte, chaſſe marée, cargo of wine and ſoap diſtributed to the ſquadron.—A brig, ſent to Falmouth.—A chaſſe marée, ſent to Falmouth.—Le Republicaine, brig, foundered, crew ſaved.—Le Sardine Fraiche, brig, foundered, crew ſaved.—A brig, ſent to Falmouth.—Le Dauphine, brig, ſent to Falmouth.—Les Tois Sœurs, chaſſe marée, ſent to Falmouth.

Merchant Veſſels deſtroyed.—Le ———, brig, ſunk.—Le Henri, ſloop, burnt.—Le Fidele, brig, burnt.—L'Anne, chaſſe marée, ſunk.—La Marie Anne, ſloop, ſunk.—Le Pierre, ſloop, burnt.

J. B. WARREN.

Admiralty Office, September 14, 1797.

Copy of a Letter from Vice-Admiral Kingſmill, Commander in Chief of his Majeſty's Ships and Veſſels at Cork, to Evan Nepean, Eſq. dated on board the Penguin Sloop, in Cork Harbour, the 8th of September, 1797.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to acquaint you, for the information of my Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, that Le Fabius, French privateer, of twenty guns and 140 men, out of Nantes, is juſt brought in by his Majeſty's ſhip Doris. Lord Ranelagh's letter to me on this ſubject is encloſed herein. I have the honour to be, &c.

ROB. KINGSMILL.

SIR, *Doris, off the Old Head of Kinſale, Sept.* 8, 1797.

SINCE my laſt, acquainting you of the capture of the Derrepente, a Spaniſh privateer lugger, I beg leave to inform you, that in latitude 46 deg. 40 min. N. long. 12 deg. W. I chaſed and captured the Fabius, a famous privateer ſhip, of Nantes, having on board ſixteen ſix-pounders and four twelve-pounders, with 140 men. She had been out ten days from Nantes, and had captured a ſmall Portugueſe veſſel from Cork, bound to Liſbon. I am, &c. &c.

Vice-Admiral Kingſmill, Cork. RANELAGH.

Copy of a Letter from Captain Thomas Wolley, Commander of his Majesty's Ship Arethusa, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated Spithead, September 13, 1797.

I AM to acquaint you, that on the 20th of August, being in latitude 30 deg. 49 min. and long. 55 deg. 50 min. having in tow a ship under Prussian colours, from Surinam, which I have detained, suspecting her to be Dutch property, we perceived at day-light three sail to windward of us, one of which, deceived by our appearance, bore down upon us under French colours, to within half gun-shot, when she began to fire, which she continued for more than half an hour before she attempted to escape. We were, however, fortunate enough to have so disabled her in that time as to render her endeavours fruitless. On striking, she proved to be La Gaieté, French corvette, of twenty French eight-pounders and 186 men, commanded by M. Guinée, Enseigne de Vaisseau. She is a very handsome ship, and quite new, this being her first voyage. She left France in April last for Cayenne, which last place she sailed from about four weeks before we fell in with her, in company with the L'Espoir, a brig of fourteen guns, who kept to windward during the action, and stood away as soon as she saw the fate of the Gaieté. They had not taken any thing. I am sorry to add a list of the killed and wounded.

Return of Killed and Wounded on board his Majesty's Ship Arethusa, in the Action with La Gaieté, French Corvette, on the 20th of August, 1797.

1 Seaman killed.
Mr. W. D. Morton, captain's clerk, lost his leg.
2 Seamen wounded.

Return of Killed and Wounded on board La Gaieté, French Corvette, M. Guience, Commander.

2 Seamen killed.
8 Ditto wounded.

(Signed) T. WOLLEY.

Admiralty Office, September 16, 1797.

Copy of a Letter from Rear-Admiral Harvey, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels at the Leeward Islands, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated Prince of Wales, Fort Royal Bay, Martinique, July 25, 1797.

SIR,

I AM to acquaint you, for the information of their Lordships, that his Majesty's ship Lapwing, the 6th instant, being to leeward of Montserrat, captured Le Veteran French privateer sloop, belonging to Guadaloupe, of eight guns and twenty-four men; and the following day captured La Dorad French privateer sloop, belonging also to Guadaloupe, of four guns and seventy-four men.

You will also be pleased to acquaint their Lordships, that his Majesty's ship Roebuck captured to windward of Barbadoes, the 6th instant, Le Batave Dutch privateer sloop, of ten guns and fifty-four men, five days from Curaçoa, and had taken nothing.

From

From the LONDON GAZETTE, September 19, 1797.

Admiralty Office, September 18, 1797.

Copy of a Letter from Admiral the Earl of St. Vincent, K. B. Commander in Chief of his Majeſty's Fleet on the Coaſt of Portugal, to Evan Nepean, Eſq. dated on board the Ville de Paris, off Cadiz, the 31ſt of Auguſt, 1797.

SIR,

I HAVE this moment received the encloſed report from Captain Downman, of his Majeſty's ſloop the Speedy, ſtating the capture of a Spaniſh privateer. I am, &c.

ST. VINCENT.

MY LORD, *Speedy, in the River Tagus, Aug. 26, 1797.*

I HAVE the honour to acquaint you, that on the 1ſt inſtant, twenty leagues S. W. of Oporto, we captured El Domini Lucas, a Spaniſh lugger privateer, of two four-pounders, twelve ſwivels, and twenty-eight men, after a chaſe of five hours. She is new, had been out ſixteen days, and had not taken any thing. I have the honour to be, &c.

The Earl of St. Vincent, K. B. HUGH DOWNMAN.

Copy of a Letter from Admiral Sir Richard King, Commander in Chief of his Majeſty's Ships and Veſſels at Plymouth, to Evan Nepean, Eſq. dated on board his Majeſty's Ship Cambridge, in Hamoaze, September 16, 1797.

SIR,

I HEREWITH tranſmit, for their Lordſhips' information, a letter I received from Captain Seymour, of his Majeſty's ſloop Spitfire, acquainting me of his having captured a French ſchooner privateer, with which the Spitfire arrived this morning. I am, &c.

R. KING.

His Majeſty's Sloop Spitfire, Lizard N. N. E.
SIR, *13 Leagues, September 15, 1797.*

THE Spitfire has captured the French privateer ſchooner L'Incroyable, of three ſix-pounders and thirty-one men, out fourteen days from St. Maloes, had taken nothing. I am, &c.

MICH. SEYMOUR.

Admiralty Office, September 18, 1797.

Copy of a Letter from Vice-Admiral Kingſmill, Commander in Chief of his Majeſty's Ships and Veſſels at Cork, dated the 13th September, 1797, to Evan Nepean, Eſq.

I REQUEST you will acquaint my Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, that his Majeſty's ſhip Dryad returned here yeſterday; and alſo that you will lay before their Lordſhips the accompanying letter from Lord Amelius Beauclerk, giving an account of his having ſunk a French brig privateer, La Cornelie, of Nantz, mounting twelve guns,

SIR, *Dryad, Cork Harbour, Sept. 12, 1797.*

I HAVE to inform you, that on the 9th inſtant, at eight P. M. in latitude 50 deg. longitude 13 deg. we diſcovered a ſail to the S. E. At half paſt nine we came alongſide of her, after many manœuvres on her part to get away; the conſequence of which was, I was under the neceſſity of firing ſeveral ſhot at her; which proved in the end her deſtruction; running alongſide of her for ſome time, frequently deſiring of her to bring to, but without effect; when all of a ſudden I heard a great noiſe from her, and was informed his veſſel was on fire. Fearing the conſequence of that, I ſheered off a little, but ſoon found he was ſinking, upon which I ordered him to run on board of us; but I believe ſhe was then too far gone, as I perceived her to ſettle very faſt, and in a few minutes ſhe went down. I immediately hoiſted the boats out, though it blew freſh, and the ſea ran high, and every exertion made on the part of the ſhip's company. I am ſorry to ſay we could only ſave ſeventeen, and them owing to the perſeverance of my ſenior lieutenant, Mr. Palmer, and a few ſeamen, in the launch. She proved to be La Cornelie, French privateer brig, of Nantz, mounting twelve guns, and ninety men; had been out ſixteen days, and only captured a Daniſh ſhip. I am, Sir, your very humble ſervant,

(Signed) A. BEAUCLERK.

Robert Kingſmill, Eſq. &c. &c.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, September 23, 1797.

Admiralty Office, September 22, 1797.

Copy of a Letter from Captain George Scott, of his Majeſty's Ship Albatroſs, to Evan Nepean, Eſq. dated Nore, September 21.

BE pleaſed to inform my Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, that on the 8th inſtant, the Naze of Norway N. E. twenty-eight leagues, being a great diſtance in the rear of the convoy under the charge of his Majeſty's ſhip Leopard, I diſcovered, chaſed, and captured, a Dutch privateer ſchooner, called De Brave (commanded by Hendrick Meyers Ditloſs), mounting five carriage guns and eight ſwivels, complement forty men, but had only twenty-five on board when taken. The above privateer ſailed from Egeroe in Norway on the 2d inſtant, but had not taken any thing.

Admiralty Office, September 23, 1797.

Copy of a Letter from Captain Honeyman, Commander of his Majeſty's Ship Tyſiphone, to Evan Nepean, Eſq. dated Yarmouth Roads, September 19.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour of acquainting you, for the information of my Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, that, on the 6th inſtant, at one P. M. Hellegoland bearing S. E. by E. five leagues, I fell in with and captured, after a chaſe of an hour, in his Majeſty's ſhip under my com-

command, Le Cerf Volant, French privateer lugger, Citoyen Margolle commanding, a few hours from the Wefer, belonging to Calais, and only four months off the ftocks; had captured nine prizes. She mounted fourteen three-pounders and fix fwivels; eight of the carriage guns were thrown overboard in the chafe; and had on board fixty-three men. She received the fire of feveral of our guns, and ftruck without making any refiftance.

The commander of Le Cerf Volant informs me, that fhe is fuppofed to be one of the fafteft failing veffels out of France. I have, &c.

ROB. HONEYMAN.

Admiralty Office, September 23, 1797.

Copy of a Letter from Vice-Admiral Kingfmill, Commander in Chief of his Majefty's Ships and Veffels at Cork, to Evan Nepean, Efq. dated Penguin, Cork Harbour, September 16.

PLEASE to inform my Lords Commiffioners of the Admiralty, that his Majefty's fhip Diana anchored off this harbour yefterday afternoon, and fent in a French privateer cutter fhe has captured, named Le Neptune, of twelve guns and fifty-five men. Enclofed is Captain Faulknor's letter to me on the fubject.

SIR, *Diana, off the Old Head, September 15.*

I BEG leave to acquaint you, that on Tuefday the 12th inftant, in latitude 47 deg. 42 min. longitude 8 deg. 28 min. I fell in with and captured, after a chafe of nine hours, the French privateer cutter Le Neptune, of twelve guns and fifty-five men, from L'Orient, out three days, had not taken any thing. I am, &c.

Vice-Admiral Kingfmill. JON. FAULKNOR.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, September 25, 1797.

Admiralty Office, September 25, 1797.

Extract of a Letter from Captain Sir Richard Strachan, Bart. of his Majefty's Ship Diamond, to Evan Nepean, Efq. dated at Spithead, the 23d inftant.

SINCE writing my letter of yefterday's date, we chafed on fhore, near Cape La Heve, a lugger privateer. The crew had left her, and affembled on the top of the cliffs; and, being joined by numbers, prepared to repel any attempt we might make to get her off. I fent the boats, under the orders of Lieutenant Rogers, to deftroy her. This fervice he effected with great judgment; and, notwithftanding a conftant fire from the enemy, we had the good fortune to have only one man wounded; we fuppofe the enemy have loft feveral.

Admiralty Office, September 26, 1797.

Copy of a Letter from Admiral Lord Bridport, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Fleet employed in the Channel Soundings, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated the Royal George, at Sea, the 22d of September, 1797.

HEREWITH you will receive the copy of a letter from the Hon. Captain Stopford, of the Phaëton, dated at sea the 6th instant, which I received this morning from Plymouth, acquainting me with his having captured Le Chasseur, French schooner privateer, of six guns and forty-seven men, which I transmit for their Lordships' information.

My Lord, *Phaëton, at Sea, September 16, 1797.*

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship, that the squadron under my orders this day captured a French schooner, Le Chasseur privateer, carrying six guns and forty-seven men; had been out from Bourdeaux fifty days, and made no captures. I have the honour, &c.

ROB. STOPFORD.

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opy of a Letter from Admiral the Earl St. Vincent, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels employed on the Coast of Portugal, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated on board the Ville de Paris, off Cadiz, the 24th of August, 1797.

Sir,

HEREWITH I enclose, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, a letter I have received from Capt. Digby, of his Majesty's ship the Aurora. I am, &c.

ST. VINCENT.

My Lord, *His Majesty's Ship Aurora, Lisbon, August 17, 1797.*

I HAVE to acquaint you of the capture, on the 13th instant, in latitude 39 deg. 41 min. north, longitude 14 deg. 25 min. west, of La Marie Anne, French privateer, of fourteen guns and ninety men, commanded by T. J. Dechaille; had been twenty-one days from Nantz without a capture. I have the honour to be, &c.

Earl St. Vincent, &c. H. DIGBY.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, October 3, 1797.

Admiralty Office, October 2, 1797.

Copy of a Letter from Captain Lewis, of his Majesty's Sloop Weazle, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated at Sea, September 26, 1797.

I BEG to acquaint you, for the information of their Lordships, that I yesterday captured, off the Land's End, L'Entreprennant, French cutter privateer, which sailed from Morlaix on the 20th instant, carrying one four-pounder, some swivels, and twenty-three men. She had taken, on the 23d, an English brig, the master and crew of which I found on board; and as there were three convoys in sight, I am happy to say she is prevented from further mischief.

Admiralty

Admiralty Office, October 3, 1797.

Extract of a Letter from Sir Peter Parker, Bart. Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels at Portsmouth, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated on board the Royal William, at Spithead, the 30th of September, 1797.

ENCLOSED is a letter from Lieutenant Thomas Newton, commanding the Telemachus armed cutter, giving an account of his having yesterday captured the Jean Bart, French lugger privateer.

SIR, *Telemachus, Spithead, September 30, 1797.*

I HAVE the honour to acquaint you, that yesterday morning, off Portland, his Majesty's armed cutter under my command, after a chase of five hours, captured the Jean Bart, French lugger privateer, of eight swivels, coppered, and manned with twenty-four men; had been three days out of Cherbourg, and had taken nothing.

THOMAS NEWTON.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, October 7, 1797.

Admiralty-Office, October 7, 1797.

Copy of a Letter from the Right Hon. Lord Bridport, K.B. to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated on board his Majesty's Ship Royal George, at Sea, the 1st of October, 1797.

SIR,

I THIS day fell in with his Majesty's ship Unité, Captain Rowley, having under his protection the Indian, a French privateer of 16 guns, and the Egmont, one of the Leeward Island convoy, which were taken by the Phaëton and Unité, on the morning of the 24th ultimo; and herewith I transmit, for their Lordships' information, a copy of Captain Stopford's letter to me on that subject. I am, &c.

BRIDPORT.

MY LORD, *Phaëton, off the Roches Bonnes, Sept. 24, 1797.*

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship, that the Indian, a French privateer of sixteen guns, together with her prize the Egmont, a homeward-bound West Indiaman of 450 tons, were taken this morning by the Phaëton and Unité.

I have the honour to be, my Lord, &c.

ROBERT STOPFORD.

From the LONDON GAZETTE, October 10, 1797.

Admiralty-Office, October 10, 1797.

Copy of a Letter from Admiral Peyton, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels in the Downs, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated on board the Overyssel, the 9th instant.

SIR,

I HEREWITH enclose a copy of a letter I have received from Captain Horton, of his Majesty's sloop Fairy, giving an account of his

having sunk a French lugger; which you will be pleased to lay before their Lordships.

JOSEPH PEYTON.

On board his Majesty's Sloop Fairy, the 8th of October, at Sea.

SIR,

I HAVE to inform you, that on the 5th, at day-break, being off Blanchez, I discovered three luggers to the S. W. and one brig to the westward, which proved to be a prize to them; and, after every effort to cut them off from the land proving unsuccessful, about eleven A. M. a little to the westward of Estaples, I anchored a-breast of the brig, one of the luggers having regained her, and, after heaving as close in as I could, and attempting to drive the lugger's crew, soldiers, and people assembled about the brig, from her, as well as having sent my boats in twice to see if it was practicable to board the brig, in vain, I was under the necessity of leaving the brig, though not before I had the satisfaction to sink the lugger, which, from the manner they dismantled her at low water, I conceived to have rendered totally unserviceable.

As the tide flowed, the enemy moved the brig close in shore under the batteries, and got her into Bologne.

The lugger appeared to have from thirty to forty men on board, mounted swivels only.

J. SYDNEY HORTON.

Admiralty Office, October 10, 1797.

Copy of a Letter from Captain Barlow, Commander of his Majesty's Ship Phœbe, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated at Falmouth, the 6th of October, 1797.

SIR,

BE pleased to inform their Lordships of the arrival, at this port, of his Majesty's ships Phœbe and Melampus, under my command: the Melampus joined me off the harbour this morning, having, on her return from seeing the Janus and her convoy safe into the Downs, captured a French lugger privateer; for the particulars of which I refer you to Captain Moore.

ROB. BARLOW.

Melampus, Carrick Roads, Falmouth, October 6, 1797.

SIR,

I HAVE to acquaint you, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that yesterday, at four A. M. Casket lights bearing south six leagues, after a chase of four hours, we captured Le Rayon, a French privateer lugger, mounting six carriage guns and eight cohorns, and fifty-four men, commanded by Jean Baptiste Leonard Gosselin. She sailed from Cherbourgh ten hours before, on a six weeks cruise, between the Lizard and Cape Clear, was well appointed, and sails remarkably well.

GRAHAM MOORE.

Admiralty

Admiralty Office, October 10, 1797.

Copy of a Letter from Admiral the Right Hon. Lord Bridport, K. B. to Mr. Nepean, dated Royal George, at Sea, October 2, 1797.

SIR,

HEREWITH you will receive, for their Lordships' information, the copy of a letter from the Hon. Captain Stopford, commander of his Majesty's ship Phaëton, dated the 18th ultimo, off L'Isle Dieu, informing me of the capture of La Brunette, French brig privateer, pierced for sixteen guns, by his Majesty's ship Unité, which was delivered to me by Sir Charles Hamilton on the Melpomene joining me this morning. I have the honour to be, &c.

BRIDPORT.

MY LORD, *Phaëton, off L'Isle Dieu, Sept. 18, 1797.*

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship, that the Unité last night captured a French brig privateer, called La Brunette, pierced for sixteen guns and carrying ten (eight of which were thrown overboard in chase), and eighty men.

La Brunette had sailed from Bourdeaux only two days, and is completely fitted for a long cruise. I have the honour to be, &c.

ROB. STOPFORD.

Right Hon. Lord Bridport, K. B. &c. &c. &c.

INDEX.

INDEX.

A.

ADAMS, Mr.—His ſpeech to the Congreſs, *Page* 339—His meſſage reſpecting Spain, 382—His meſſage upon the ſtate of the country, 383

Addreſs—Of the citizens of Aux Cayes to the French government for the Leeward Iſlands, 1—Of the Prince of Condé to his army, reſpecting their being taken into the ſervice of Ruſſia, 128—Of General Maſſena's diviſion to the Directory, 129—Of General Jubert's, ditto—Of General Bernadotte's diviſion, 144—Of General Vignolles' and Angereau's diviſions, and of the army of the Rhine and Moſelle, 145, 146, 147—Of General Angereau to his troops, 157—Of the two councils to the departments and the armies, on the 4th Sept. 199—Of the diet of Ratiſbon, on the revolutionizing the left bank of the Rhine, 276

America, the United States of—Communication from the Preſident reſpecting the differences with France, 278—Documents accompanying that communication, 280—Speech of the Preſident to the Congreſs, 339—Documents referred to in his ſpeech, 346 to 382—Meſſage from the Preſident reſpecting Spain, 382—Meſſage from the Preſident reſpecting the critical ſtate of the country, 383—Report of the committee of the ſenate upon Mr. Blount, 384—Impeachment of Mr. Blount, 386—His expulſion, ditto—Documents reſpecting the Floridas, 387

Angereau, General—Addreſs of his diviſion to the Directory, 144, 145—His addreſs to the troops, 151

Anſwer of the court of Rome to General Buonaparte, 3

Antraigues, M. d', documents found in his port-folio, 180

Archduke Charles—His reply to General Buonaparte's letter reſpecting peace, 64

Army of the Rhine and Moſelle—Their addreſs to the Directory, 147

Armiſtice between General Buonaparte and the Archduke Charles, 65

Arret of the Executive Directory reſpecting neutral powers, 107

Aubry—His report to the Council of Five Hundred, on the marching of troops to Paris, 123

Audience, public, given by the Directory to the Daniſh, Neapolitan, Geneveſe, Spaniſh, and Turkiſh ambaſſadors, 78

B.

Barras, his ſpeech at the ceremony of taking the oath againſt royalty, 35

Bellegarde, General, his letter to General Buonaparte, 64

Bernadotte, General, addreſs of his diviſion to the Directory, 144

Blount, Mr. report reſpecting him, 384—His letter, *note*, 384—Impeached, 386—Expelled, 387

His Britannic Majeſty—Treaty with Heſſe Darmſtadt, *Page* i—With Ruſſia, vi—His letter to his Imperial Majeſty reſpecting Nuremberg, 131—To his Pruſſian Majeſty on the ſame ſubject, 132

Buonaparte, General—Convention at Montebello with the deputies of Genoa, xv

——————— letter to General Ruſca on the inſurrection at Ferrara, 7

——————— letter to the Executive Directory relative to the intercepted letters from Cardinal Buſca, 15

——————— letter to Cardinal Mattei reſpecting the breaking of the armiſtice with the Pope, 48

——————— his anſwer to the letter written to him by the Pope, 49

——————— his proclamation to his ſoldiers after the ſurrender of Mantua, 53

——————— his letter to the Archduke reſpecting peace, 58

——————— his proclamation to the Carinthians, 59

——————— his letter to the Executive Directory reſpecting the armiſtice, 64

——————— his anſwer to Generals Bellegarde and Morveldt, 65

Buonaparte,

INDEX.

Buonaparte, General—His order respecting the union of the Romagna with the Cispadane, and the Modena, &c. with the Cisalpine republic, 75
——— his speech to the national guard of the department of Lano, 87
——— his speech to his soldiers on the 14th July, 95
——— his proclamation respecting the Cisalpine republic, 96
——— his letter to the chief of the Maniotes, 135

C.

Carnot, speech of, on the 14th of July, 92
Cherin, General, his proclamation to the Brest army, 32
Clarke, General, declaration to him by the court of Vienna, 28
Commission of the Batavian assembly to Citizen Noel, 8
Communication of the Electoral envoy of Brandenburgh, to the diet of Ratisbon, 67
Condé, Prince of—His address to his army on their being taken into the service of Russia, 128
Congress of Cispadana to the people of Bologna, 3
Convention at Montebello between Buonaparte and his Excellency M. Michael Angelo Cambrosa, xv
——— between General Buonaparte and the Marquis of Manfredini respecting the evacuation of Leghorn, 48
Council of Ancients—Message to, on the victories in Italy, 14—Message to, on the events of the 4th Sept. 164—Message to, on the same subject, 172—Their address to the departments and armies on the events of the 4th Sept. 199
Council of Five Hundred—Message to, on the pay of the troops, 12—Message to, on the conspiracy, 17—Message to, on the state of St. Domingo, 25—Message to, recommending an oath against royalty and anarchy, 54—Message to, respecting the armistice with Austria, 66—Message to, on the conduct of Venice, 69—Message to, respecting St. Domingo, 77—Message to, respecting Lyons, ditto—Message to, respecting the personal contribution, 83—Report to, upon the clubs, 89—Resolutions of, respecting priests, 94—Message to, respecting the finances, 98—Report to, on the approach of troops, 101—Their resolution respecting clubs, 109—Report to, upon the message of the Directory respecting the march of troops, 124—Report to, on the same subject, 126—Message to, on the peace with Portugal, 136—Message to, on British merchandise, 137—Message to, respecting the marching of troops within the constitutional limits, 153—Report to, on the same subject, 158—Report to, on the events of the 4th Sept. 165—Message to, on the 4th Sept, 172—Address to the departments and the armies on the events of the 4th Sept. 199

D.

Debry, Jean, his speech upon the victories of the French, 24
Declarations—Of the court of Vienna to General Clarke, 28
——— of the Prussian government at Wesel, 33
——— of the Bishop of Wurtzburg, in answer to the Imperial rescript upon the quintuple contingents, 47
——— of the general administration of Lombardy respecting Austrian prisoners deserting, 50
——— of the Emperor to the three colleges, on the opening of the campaign, 51
——— of the Emperor, respecting the defence of Vienna, 63
——— of Count Thurn, relative to the entrance of the Austrians into Venetian Istria, 85
——— of M. Duverne Dupresle, or Dunant, respecting the conspiracy, 189
——— of the British government, on the rupture of the negotiation, 268
Del Campo, Marquis, to the minister for foreign affairs, 5
Documents found at Venice in the port-folio of M. d'Antraigues, 180
Dumas, his speech upon the surrender of Mantua, 22
Dupresle, Duverne, or Dunant, his declarations respecting the conspiracy, 189

E.

Edict published at Berlin, respecting the Aulic council, 82
Embargo in the French ports, 55
Elector of Saxony, his letter to the King of Prussia, respecting the disputes with Franconia, 112
Emperor of Germany—Peace with the French republic, xxi—His declaration to the three colleges upon opening the campaign, 51
Executive Directory—Their message on the pay of the troops, 12—Their message on the victories in Italy, 14—Their message on the conspiracy, 17—Ditto on the state of St. Domingo, 25—On the oath against

against royalty, 55—On the armistice with Austria, 66—Their communication to the city of Frankfort, 68—Their message on the conduct of Venice, 69—Their message on the drawing by lot, 72—Their message respecting St. Domingo, 77—Their message respecting Lyons, ditto—Their message respecting the personal contribution, 83—Their arret respecting neutral powers, 107—Their message respecting the marching of troops to Paris, 123—Their message respecting the having taken the necessary steps to execute the laws respecting the constitutional limits, 126—Their message respecting finance, 130—Their message respecting the peace with Portugal, 136—Message respecting payments, 139—Message respecting the marching of troops within the constitutional limits, 153—Their message to the Council of Ancients on the events of the 4th Sept. 164—Their message on the state of the finances, 171—Their messages on the 4th Sept. to both Councils, 172—Their proclamation to the French people on the same subject, 174—Their proclamation to the Parisians on ditto, 177—Their proclamation respecting the constitution of 1793 and the Orleans family, 178—Decree of the Directory respecting the Odeon and School of Health, ditto—Their mandate respecting the Journals, 179

F.

French republic—Peace with Portugal, xvi—Definitive treaty with the Emperor, xxi

H.

Hesse Darmstadt, Landgrave of, treaty with Great Britain, i

Hoche, General, his regulations for the Prussian provinces on the left bank of the Rhine, 56—His address to the intermediate committee at Bonn, 134—Letter to the American citizen B—— at Paris, 152

I.

Imperial Aulic decree respecting the preliminaries of peace, 86

Instrument published at Madrid for raising a loan, 42

Joubert, General, his division's address to the Executive Directory, 129

L.

Letters—From the extraordinary deputies of the French commercial towns to the minister of finance respecting banks, 9—From Buonaparte to the Executive Directory, 15—From the Duke of Portland to the Lord Mayor respecting the descent upon Wales, 27—Of convocation to the plenipotentiary envoys of Northern Germany, 38—From Buonaparte to the Chevalier Azzara respecting the peace with the Pope, 43—Of General Buonaparte to Cardinal Mattei respecting the rupture of the armistice, 48—Of Buonaparte to the Archduke, offering peace, 58—Of the Archduke, in reply to General Buonaparte's letter, 64—Of Buonaparte to the Executive Directory respecting the armistice, ditto—Of Buonaparte to Generals Bellegarde and Morveldt, 65—From the Elector of Saxony to the King of Prussia upon the disputes with Franconia, 112—From his Britannic Majesty to his Imperial Majesty respecting Nuremberg, 131—To his Prussian Majesty on the same subject, 132—Of Buonaparte to the chief of the Maniotes, 135—Of General Hoche to the American citizen B—, at Paris, 152—Of the minister for foreign affairs to Citizen Noel respecting the Dutch constitution, 163—Of General Moreau to Citizen Barthelemy, 204

Louis XVIII.—His proclamations to the French, 35. 51

M.

Maffei, Cardinal—Letter to General Buonaparte, 5

Manifesto of Buonaparte against Venice, 69

Massena, General, his division's address to the Directory, 129

Memorial of the Pope's nuncio to the Prince of Peace, 44

Messages—From the Executive Directory to the Council of Five Hundred on the pay of the soldiers, 12—From the Executive Directory to the Council of Ancients on the victories in Italy, 14—From the Executive Directory to the Council of Five Hundred on the conspiracy, 17—From the Executive Directory to the Council of Five Hundred on the state of St. Domingo, 25—From the Executive Directory to the Council of Five Hundred, recommending an oath against royalty and anarchy, 55—From the Directory respecting the armistice with Austria, 66—From the Directory respecting the conduct of Venice, 69—From the Directory on the drawing by lot, 72—From the Directory

respecting St. Domingo, 77—From the Directory respecting Lyons, ditto—From the Directory respecting the personal contribution, 83—From the Directory respecting finances, 98—From the Directory respecting the marching of troops, 123—On the marching of troops, 124—From the Directory, that they have taken measures to execute the law respecting the constitutional limits, 127—From the Directory respecting France, 130—From the Directory respecting the treaty signed with Portugal, 136—From the Directory relative to British merchandise, 137—From the Directory respecting payments, 139—Respecting the marching of troops within the constitutional limits, 153—To the Council of Ancients on the events of the 4th Sept. 164—To the Council of Five Hundred on the state of the finances, 171—To both Councils on the events of the 4th Sept. 172

Meyer, minister plenipotentiary of the Batavian republic, to the French minister for foreign affairs, respecting the negotiations with England, 31

Minister for foreign affairs—Letter from the Marquis del Campo to him, 5—Minister for general police to his fellow-citizens, 96—Minister plenipotentiary of the French republic to the Batavian assembly respecting the Dutch constitution, 110—Minister of finance to the commissioners of the Directory on the national domains, 127—Minister of justice to the commissioners of the Directory respecting British merchandise, 136—Minister for foreign affairs to Citizen Noel respecting the Dutch constitution, 163—Of war, to the armies respecting the 4th Sept. 205—Minister of the interior to the central administration, upon the same subject, 206

Moreau, General, his letter to Citizen Barthelemy, 204

Morveldt, General, his letter to Buonaparte, 65

N.

Negotiation at Lisle—Official papers relative thereto, from 207 to 268

Remarks upon the negotiation in the French official paper, 274

Neutral powers—Papers relative to, 278 to 389

Noel, Citizen—Letter to him from the commission of the Batavian Assembly, 8—His address to the Batavian Assembly on the Dutch constitution, 110

Note by the chargé d'affaires of Russia to the Electoral Circle, 34

O.

Order of General Buonaparte respecting the union of the Romagna with the Cispadane, and of Modena, &c. with the Cisalpine republic, 75

Order of Council to the Bank to stop payments in specie, 27

Ordonnance published at Verona respecting George Giusti, 135

P.

Parliamentary Papers, 390 — Message from his Majesty respecting the measure adopted with regard to the Bank, 390—Address to his Majesty in consequence of that message, ditto—Mr. Sheridan's motion against exporting specie, 391—Mr. Whitbread's motion upon the conduct of ministers to Ireland, 391—The Earl of Albemarle's motion upon the attempt to invade Ireland, ditto—The Earl of Moira's motion relative to Ireland, ditto—The Earl of Oxford's motion upon the state of the country, 392—His protest, 393—Mr. Fox's motion relative to Ireland, 394—Colonel Wood's motion upon the defence of the country, ditto—Mr. Sheridan's motion respecting further advances to the Emperor, 395—Mr. Potter's motion upon the negotiation, ditto—Message from his Majesty respecting remittances to Ireland, and farther advances to the Emperor, ditto—The Duke of Bedford's resolutions respecting the Bank, 396—Mr. St. John's motion respecting the withdrawing of the British troops from St. Domingo, 400—Mr. Combe's motion for the dismissal of ministers, ditto—The Duke of Bedford's motion for the dismissal of ministers, 401—His protest, 402—Message from his Majesty respecting the mutiny at the Nore, 405—Address to his Majesty in consequence of that message, ditto—Message from his Majesty respecting pecuniary assistance to Portugal, ditto—Address to his Majesty in consequence of that message, 406—His Majesty's speech to both Houses on proroguing the Parliament, ditto—His Majesty's speech to both Houses on the meeting of Parliament, 407—Addresses of both Houses, 409

Plan of a general association in Great Britain, 102

Pope, the, his letter to General Buonaparte, 49

Proclamations—The congress of Cispadana to the people of Bologna, 3

———— to the second division of the Brest army, 4

———— respecting the reports of a suspension of hostilities on the Lower Rhine, 29

Proclama-

Proclamations of the administrators of the cantons of Cleves and Xanten to the inhabitants, 33
——— of General Cherin to the Brest army, 32
——— of Louis XVIII. 35 and 51
——— of Buonaparte to his soldiers, after the capture of Mantua, 53
——— of Buonaparte to the Carinthians, 59
——— of the Austrian government respecting peace, 61
——— of ditto to all strangers to leave Vienna, 62
——— of ditto respecting the Vienna Bank, ditto
——— of the Senate of Venice respecting the disturbances in the Venetian territory, 67
——— of the Austrian government on the signing of the preliminaries of peace, 68
——— of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland respecting United Irishmen, 73
——— of the municipal administration at Lisle respecting the negotiation, 85
——— published at Nuremberg respecting the Prussian troops, 91
——— of General Buonaparte respecting the Cisalpine republic, 96
——— to the French people on the events of the 4th Sept. 174
——— to the Parisians on the same subject, 177
——— of the Directory respecting the constitution of 1793, and the Orleans family, 178
Portland, Duke of—His letter to the Lord Mayor respecting the descent upon Wales, 27
Portugal—Treaty of peace with the French republic, xvi
Precautions against an invasion of England, 19
Pro-Memorial of Count Fugger to produce a rising in mass in Swabia, 60
Prince of Peace—His answer to the memorial of the Pope's nuncio respecting the interference of Spain, 44
Prussia, King of—His rescript respecting the Prussian territories on the left bank of the Rhine, 29

R.

Ratisbon, Diet of, proceedings of, on the preparations for peace, 133—Address to his Imperial Majesty on the revolutionizing of the left bank of the Rhine, 276
Regulations for the Prussian provinces on the left bank of the Rhine, 56
Reports—To the Council of Five Hundred upon the clubs, 89—To the Council of Five Hundred on the approach of troops, 101—Of the minister of finance to the Directory, 113—Of Aubry to the Council of Five Hundred on the marching of troops to Paris, 123—To the Council of Five Hundred on the message of the Directory respecting the marching of troops, 124—Of Delarue upon the same subject, 126—To the Council of Five Hundred upon the same subject, 158—Of Boulay de la Meurthe on the 4th Sept. 165
Rescripts—From the Emperor to the directorial minister of Austria, at the diet of Ratisbon, 21
——— by the King of Prussia, respecting the Prussian territories on the left bank of the Rhine, 29
——— to the diet at Ratisbon, respecting the quintuple contingents, 45
Resolutions of the Council of Five Hundred respecting the priests, 94—Of the Council of Five Hundred upon the clubs, 109
Russia, Emperor of, treaty with Great Britain, vi

S.

Speeches—Of Dumas, upon the surrender of Mantua, 22
——— of Jean Debry, upon the victories of the French, 24
——— of Barras, on the ceremony of taking the oath of hatred to royalty, 35
——— of Buonaparte to the national guard of the department of Lano, 87
——— of Carnot, on the 14th of July, 92
——— of the president of the Directory, on the fête of the 9th Thermidor, 104
——— of the president of the Council of Five Hundred, on the 9th Thermidor, 106
——— of Willot, upon the marching of troops, and of Delahaye upon the same subject, 125
——— of the president of the Directory, on the fête of the 10th of August, 140
——— of the president of the Council of Five Hundred, on the same subject, 143

T.

Thibaudeau, report of, to the Council of Five Hundred, upon the marching of troops within the constitutional limits, 158
Treaties—Between Great Britain and the Landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt, i
——— between Great Britain and Russia, vi
——— of peace between the French republic and Portugal, xvi
——— of definitive peace between the Emperor and the French republic, xxi

Vi-

V.

Vignolle, General, addreſs of his diviſion to the Directory, 145

U.

Ukaſas, Imperial, reſpecting the importation of French wines, &c. 45 and 46

W.

Wurmſer, General, his anſwer to the ſummons to ſurrender Mantua, 34.

Wurtzburg, Biſhop of, his anſwer to the Imperial reſcript upon the quintuple contingent, 47

THE END OF THE SIXTH VOLUME.